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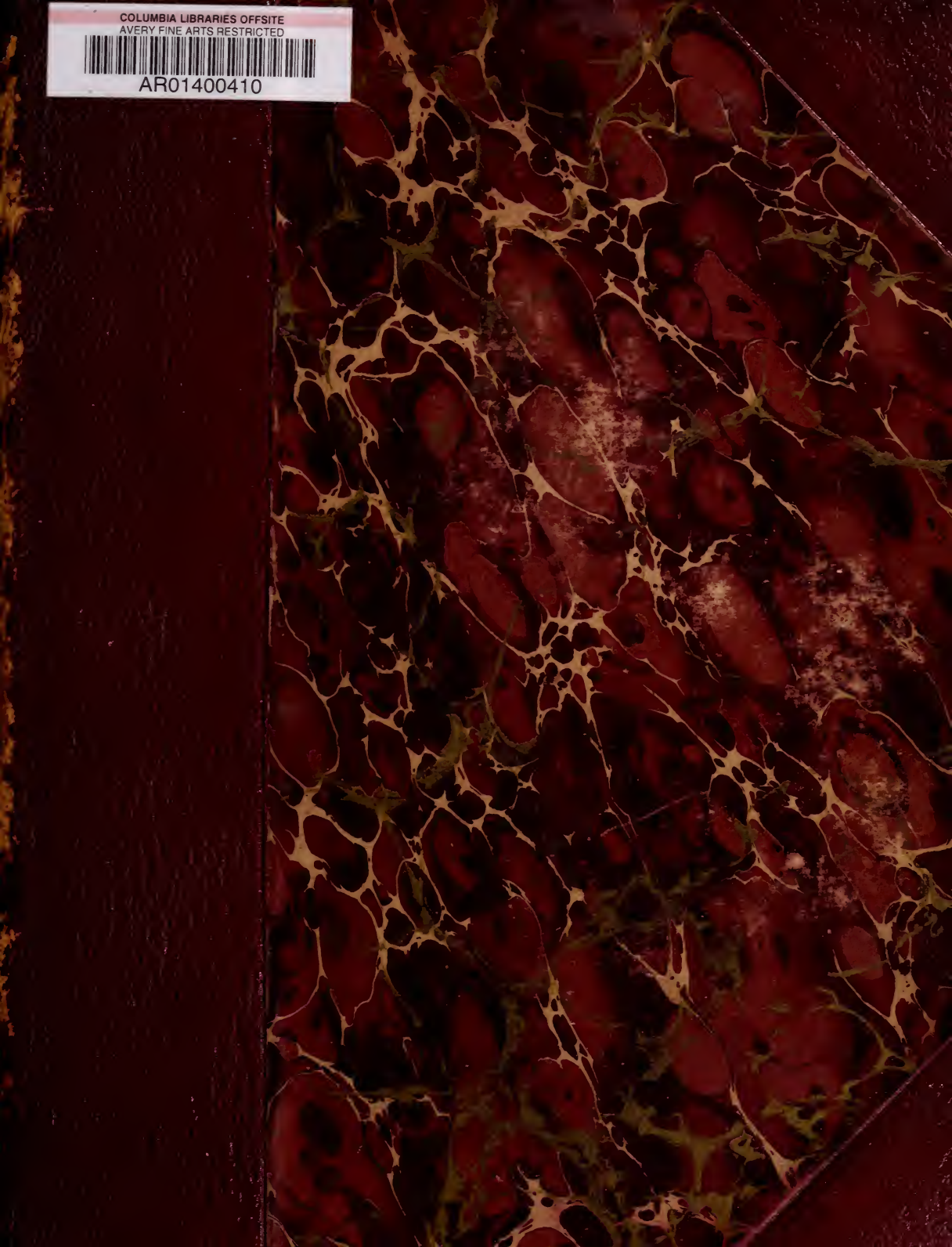

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The English Scholar's Library.

No. 16

Captain J. Smith's Works.

1608–1631.

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The English Scholar's Library.

Capt. JOHN SMITH,

of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire; President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England.

Works.

1608–1631.

What shall I say? but thus we lost him [4 *Oct.* 1609] that, in all his proceedings, made Justice his first guide, and Experience his second: ever hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himself than his souldiers with him; that upon no danger, would send them where he would not lead them himself; that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any means get us; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay; that loved actions more than words, and hated falsehood and cozenage worse than death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose loss, our deaths. RICHARD POTS, *Clerk of the Counzil at James Town, Virginia.*
[1612.] W. PHETTIPLACE, *Gentleman.* [*p.* 167.]

To CHRIST and my Country a true Souldier, and faithfull Servant,
[*Dec.* 1626.] JOHN SMITH. [*p* 788.]

Edited by EDWARD ARBER,

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No. Seven

Edward Arber

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The Present Edition.

The text of the nine books, originally printed in different styles, has herein been normalized as to style of printing; and also broken up into convenient paragraphs, according to the sense. The punctuation has been harmonized with this; and also occasionally altered (though always with reluctance), wherever it plainly conflicted with the sense.

For all matter between square brackets, [ ], except on *pp.* ci–cxiv, the present Editor is responsible.

PREFACE.

THE present Volume is intended to be a Literary Monument of one of the best and bravest of Englishmen. But though it may be regarded rather as a collection of materials for the *Life and Observations* of an English Captain in the reign of JAMES I., than any adequate Story of our colonization of Virginia, Bermuda, New England, Newfoundland, and some of the West Indian islands: yet there will be found in it, a large amount of irrefragable information, at first or second hand, respecting the first English Settlements in the New World.

Two hundred and fifty years have now passed away since JOHN SMITH of Willoughby in Lincolnshire, accomplished his noble life; and yet in his native land he is unsung in Song, uncommemorated in stone or metal. Indeed, some, of late, would have him to be the Baron MUNCHAUSEN of his Age; others, its swaggering and boasting PISTOL: but this unmerited cloud of detraction and discredit, with this Volume, passes away for ever; and with a fuller knowledge, we delight to contemplate this hero of many fights, not only as the experienced and clear-headed practical man of business, but in his unstained character as an English Gentleman and Officer.

What Sir FRANCIS DRAKE was in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, that was Captain JOHN SMITH in the reign of her successor. The times were changed. It was easy for DRAKE to equip fleets with

wealth acquired by captures at sea; a career that SMITH would have only been too glad to have followed: but Colonial Pioneering brought with it no gains; so that the victory therein lay rather in the endurance of starvation and hardships, in patience and self-forgetfulness, and in the unfaltering pursuit of a noble work through all losses and disparagements.

For want of an accessible Collected Edition of his Writings, popular ignorance has fastened itself upon one small fact in SMITH's career, that *mauvais quart d'heure* about the 3rd of January 1608, when POCAHONTAS saved his life: so that SMITH of Virginia without POCAHONTAS, would be like WILLIAM TELL without the Apple story. Whereas, that narrow escape formed but a mere incident in a life, which till then, and for some time afterwards, was simply replete with similar desperate hazards of all kinds. If he were now living, he would, we think, say that too much had been made of that POCAHONTAS matter: and that the terror of it was nothing like that of those fifteen days' flight on horseback from Nalbrits to Ækopolis, in the autumn of 1603; or that dreadful night in an open boat off the Ile de Ré in November 1615. As an actual fact, SMITH took no particular notice of this short sudden jeopardy and his fortunate escape (having been daily carrying his life in his hand for years past, with an Englishman's usual delight in perils and adventures), until in the *General History* of 1624, he felt himself bound to do so, in order to give in its completeness the whole story of the James river Colony, *pp.* 85, 383. To have dwelt upon it in his earlier books would have been thought, at the time, an exhibition of personal vanity, in making too much of one out of many narrow escapes: his first five Works not being intended so much as records of personal adventures, as wholly consecrated to the advocacy and history of English colonization and fishing on the North American coasts.

For our part, we should say that we had no special knowledge of the sayings and doings of this Lincolnshire Captain, before we began this Collection of his Writings; this reprint of which is

but a part of a general design to make the Eye-witness Accounts of the first English Settlements in the New World, a section of our modern English Literature.

In the Second Volume of *An English Garner*, we have reprinted Prince's *New England Chronology* (1736–1755); which is a kind of Primer of the whole subject down to 5 August 1633.

The present Text deals largely with Virginia, Bermuda, and New England.

In the Eighth Volume of *An English Garner* will be found a number of Eye-witness Accounts of the Settlements in Massachusetts Bay, &c.

We have already announced in this *English Scholar's Library*, the *Works* of William Bradford, the second Governor of the Pilgrim Fathers: and it is our hope to follow that up with the *Works* of John Winthrop, which give us a full account of the Massachusetts Planting of 1629–30.

This series of reprints will therefore give such an insight into our early colonial struggles, as is possessed at present by very few Englishmen; and will also restore to us a lost chapter of our general Literature.

Therefore, as it is our purpose to do justice to all sides of this fascinating subject, we have approached the present Text perfectly free from any kind of partizanship. Inasmuch however as the accuracy of some of Captain Smith's statements has, in this generation, been called in question; it was but our duty to subject every one of the nearly forty thousand lines of this book, to a most searching criticism; scanning every assertion of fact most keenly, and making the Text, by the insertion of a multitude of cross-references, prove or disprove itself.

The result is perfectly satisfactory. Allowing for a popular style of expression, the Text is homogeneous; and the nine books comprising it, though written under very diverse circumstances, and at intervals over the period of twenty-two years (1608–1630), contain no material contradictions. Inasmuch, therefore, as wherever we *can* check Smith, we find him both modest and accurate; we are led to think him so, where no much check is

possible, as at Nalbrits in the autumn of 1603, and on the Chickahominy in the winter of 1607–8.

One cannot read the following Works, without seeing that JOHN SMITH was something more than a brave and experienced soldier. Not only in his modesty and self-restraint, his moderation and magnanimity, his loyalty to the King, affection for the Church, and love for his Country, did he represent the best type of the English Gentleman of his day; but he was also a man of singular and varied ability. His manysidedness is seen, as he is a Captain of Artillery at Stühlwessenberg and at Kanizsa, in Hungary, in 1601; or while "managing the fights" of the French pirate ship, off the Azores, in 1615: as he is a Captain of Cavalry in the plains of Girke in Hungary in 1601, and the battle of Rothenthurm in Transylvania, in 1602: as he is a Promoter, and the Saviour of the London or Southern Virginia Company in 1605–9: as he is the masterly Surveyor of inland Virginia in 1607–8: as he is the Discoverer of the Chesapeake Bay in 1608, and of the New England coast in 1614: as he is the enthusiastic Advocate and the eloquent Historian of English Colonization in America, 1614–30: as he is the first landsman who ever described in print all the parts, and all the working, of an English ship; and who wrote our first *Sea Grammar* in 1626: not to speak of the *History of the Sea* which he did not live to complete, and which is apparently now lost.

Put all this beside the one single POCAHONTAS incident by which he is popularly remembered, and one sees that the real JOHN SMITH is a far greater man than the mythical one.

It is not too much to say, that had not Captain SMITH of Willoughby, strove, fought, and endured as he did, the present United States of America might never have come into existence. It was contrary to all probability that, where so many had succumbed already, the Southern Virginian Company's expedition of 1606–7 should have succeeded. The Spaniards under DE SOTO, and the French under LAUDONNIÈRE had failed. The men sent out twenty years before by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, had never been

neard of: and the corresponding attempt of the Northern Virginian Company to Sagadahock, in that same year 1606, came to nothing.

To what one single cause, under GOD, can be assigned the preservation of the James river Settlement after the early death of Captain BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, on 22 August 1607, but to the fortunate presence of this English Captain, so self-denying, so energetic, so full of resources, and so trained (by his conflicts and captivity in Eastern Europe) in dealing with the savage races? RATCLIFFE, ARCHER, and MARTIN, with all the rest of those who opposed him, lived in a fool's Paradise; and paid for their folly with the loss of their lives, after SMITH came home: when, in spite of all that he had done, the Colony went to rack and ruin, all through that terrible winter of 1609–10, known as *The Starving Time*.

If SMITH had died, or left, earlier than he did; the James river Settlement must have succumbed: for manifestly he was the life and energy of the whole Plantation. If the Third Supply, on their arrival there, in August 1609 [*pp.* xcvi, xcviii] had found an abandoned, or a destroyed Colony: that they alone could not have succeeded, where SMITH would have failed, is quite evident from the fact that they *did* all but perish through *The Starving Time*, in spite of all the following resources, which he left ready to their hands, at his going home, after he had been accidentally blown up by gunpowder, on the 4th of October 1609.

Leaving vs thus with three ships, seaven boats, commodities readie to trade, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and od persons, twentie-foure Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets Snaphances and Firelockes; Shot Powder and Match sufficient; Curats Pikes Swords and Morrio[n]s, more then men; the Salvages, their language, and habitations well knowne to an hundred well trayned and expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing; Tooles of all sorts to worke; apparell to supply our wants; six Mares and a Horse; fiue or sixe hundred Swine; as many Hennes and Chickens; some Goats; some sheepe. What was brought or bred there, remained.

Besides Iames *towne that was strongly Pallizadoed, containing some fiftie or sixtie houses, he let fiue or sixe other severall Forts and Plantations: though they were not so sumptuous as our successors expected, they were better then they provided any for vs. All this time*

we had but one Carpenter in the Countrey, and three others that could doe little, but desired to be learners; two Blacksmiths; two saylers; and those we write Labourers were for most part Footmen, and such as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they could perswade to goe with them, that neuer did know what a dayes worke was: except the Dutch-*men and* Poles, *and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore Gentlemen, Trad*[e]*smen, Serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Common-wealth, then either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one. For when neither the feare of God, nor the law, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends could rule them here* [in England], *there is small hope ever to bring one in twentie of them ever to be good there* [in Virginia]. *Notwithstanding, I confesse divers amongst them, had better mindes and grew much more industrious then was expected: yet ten good workemen would haue done more substantiall worke in a day, then ten of them in a weeke. Therefore men may rather wonder how we could doe so much, then vse vs so badly because we did no more, but leaue those examples to make others beware; and the fruits of all, we know not for whom.* *pp.* 486–7.

If, then, this James river Colony had failed before August 1609, when the Third Supply arrived; the Colony at Bermuda would never have been attempted: and the Pilgrim Fathers would not have gone to New England; but, if anywhere, to Guiana, to perish among its forests and swamps. So that, for about a couple of years, all the glorious possibilities that are still wrapped up in the words, *United States of America*, hung, as on a slight thread, upon the hardened strength and powers of endurance, the self-forgetfulness and public spirit of this enthusiastic young English Captain. He has therein given us a noble example, not to flinch from duty or sacrifice; for we never know the great results that may come through our doing the one, or making the other.

It need hardly be said that this Colonizing section of our English Literature has been a life study to such authorities as HENRY STEVENS, CHARLES DEANE, JUSTIN WINSOR, R. A. BROCK, the Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, and many an other American Scholar now living; who have probably forgotten more of this

subject than we ever knew. Still it is a gain to have the entire *Works* of Captain Smith made accessible in one volume for ever. All that can be hoped is, that the entire amount of information here given may be found substantially accurate, so far as it goes. It by no means exhausts the subject. The History of the English Colonies in the New World has yet to be written ; in the meanwhile, this Volume may be regarded as a Grammar thereof.

At last, then, the reader possesses all the Writings of Captain John Smith, with all the repetitions, &c.; which were inevitable, because the earlier books went so soon out of print, and our Author felt himself bound to keep the facts constantly before the public.

For some portions of the Story, there are three Versions; for other portions, two: a minute study of these successive accounts will shew additions and omissions of facts, but no material contradictions. As an example of this, one would think there *could not* be much variation in the two Versions, at *pp.* 221, 734, of the same *Deposition* by Daniel Baker, Smith's Steward, as to his Captain's abandonment in 1615, by his ship's officers and crew, among the French pirates; and yet there is variation, but no contradiction. In the same way, Smith's later account of those three months' imprisonment on board the French pirate ship, at *p.* 736, contains a number of facts not to be found in the earlier one at *p.* 224. Once we are assured of the integrity and unboastfulness of the Writer (and of that, there can be no doubt as regards Smith), these differences are so much gain to posterity, as affording us additional details for the filling up of the picture.

Another point to be observed, is that the periods of time given, are to be taken popularly, *e.g.*, broken weeks at the beginning or end of a period are counted as whole weeks. Sometimes, also, it is evident that by mere failure of memory after the lapse of years full of incessant work, periods of time are roughly and inaccurately given: as the "*six* weeks" of his capture by Opechancanough, when it could not, as will be seen at *p.* 531, have exceeded three weeks; though it might have seemed a much longer period to one who was looking for his death at every

moment. We have endeavoured, wherever possible, to insert precise dates in the Text between square brackets [ ].

The large number of cross-references will help to make the Text self-interpreting: yet it has not been possible to make these cross-references so complete as we should have liked.

For fully one-third of the Text, Captain SMITH is not directly responsible: he is therein but abridging and editing the Relations of others, making running observations on the same, from time to time. In order to assist the reader, therefore, the name of the author and the approximate date of publication or writing of the matter on each page, will be found in its headline, as on *p.* 334, [J. Brierton. Oct. 1602.]. And also, inasmuch as the Text goes backward and forward in time, a catch date like [**1608**], [**1621**], has been put at the top of each side column, to shew the date of the history on that particular page. Furthermore, references like [**18**], [**134**], [**201**], have been inserted in the Text itself, to the pagination of the original editions (where there has been any), shewing where such original pages *begin*.

Bibliographical and other information will be found on the reverse of each of the nine original Title pages: and the *General History* being of itself so bulky, seven sectional Title pages have been inserted, one before each of its Six Books, and the seventh at *p.* 489.

In this way, it is hoped that this bulky Text, with its multitudinous detail, will have been made thoroughly accessible. It is too much, however, to expect that, despite the care that has been lavished on it, the reprint is quite free from errors; any intimation of which will be gratefully received.

In the following *Introduction*, our purpose is to give a number of somewhat disjointed observations and hints towards a better understanding and appreciation by the English reader, of the Text that follows. American scholars, like those we have mentioned, with all their fulness of local knowledge, could do this to much better advantage. The subject matter itself, however, possesses an endless fascination. Inadequately as it is here of necessity treated, it is nevertheless a Story of bravery and cowardice, of

prudence and folly, of misery and thankfulness, of pathos and suffering, fit for any Poet. Man is seen struggling, and often struggling in vain, among the great forces of Nature; which were then, many a time, a terror to the human spirit. In this Age of Science, Nature has been robbed of much of her horror, and is becoming more and more the Slave of the Lamp for the service and help of Man. This difference of outlook should never be forgotten by the reader.

There now remains but the pleasant duty of returning grateful thanks. First and chiefest, to Henry Stevens, Esq., F.S.A., of Vermont, now of London, and to his son, H. N. Stevens, Esq.; not only for the loan of original editions, but also for help and guidance in the reproduction of the six Plates or Maps, which but for these gentlemen had not been done. If Mr. Henry Stevens would only print all he knows on the subjects of this Volume, the World would be a great gainer. To Henry Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Librarian to the University of Cambridge, for the loan of the very rare original of the *True Travels* Plate facing *p.* 820; and for other help. To Charles Deane, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., for a photograph of the extremely rare page reprinted at *p.* 232, and for much bibliographical help on a subject that he knows so well that he has it all at his fingers' ends. To Justin Winsor, Esq., the eminent Librarian of Harvard College, Mass., U.S.A., for the various *States* of the Smith's *New England* Map. To G. E. Cokayne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Norroy King of Arms, for the inspection of Sir William Segar's official registration of our Author's Coat of Arms, *pp.* 807, 842–43. To Mrs. Herbert Jones, of Sculthorpe, Fakenham, Norfolk, for the history of the Gorleston painting of Pocahontas. To C. H. Coote, Esq., of the Map Department of the British Museum, for much valuable topographical help. To Major Jed. Hotchkiss, Topographical Engineer, of Staunton, Va., U.S.A., for a copy of his, the best existing, Map of Virginia, dated 1874. To R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond, Va., U.S.A., Corresponding Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, for important guidance and information.

With these helpers should be associated J. F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., of Charlston, Mass., U.S.A., the present possessor of the *Spelman Manuscript*, reprinted at *pp.* ci–cxiv.

In conclusion, the reader will please ever to remember that this book is rather a Biography than a History; and it will, we think, be found that Captain JOHN SMITH's life was but a realization of that nobleness of character, which he thus so well described in 1616.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to aduance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he haue but the taste of virtue and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without preiudice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God; then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely su[i]tes with honour and honestie, as the discouering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Natiue mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her: finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? pp. 208–9.

Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: Seeing our good deedes, or our badde, by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death, to haue an honourable memorie of our life: and seeing by noe meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities and glories of our Predecessors; let vs imitate their vertues to bee worthily their successors. p. 229.

May Almighty GOD, of His mercy, make us all, in our day, as worthy in character, as skilful in action, and as eloquent with the pen, as was Captain JOHN SMITH of Willoughby.

Edgbaston, Birmingham.
10 *June*, 1884.

EDWARD ARBER.

INTRODUCTION.

A. Early Life. 1593–1604 A.D.

Vincere est vivere. Accordamus.

John Smith "descended of ye Family of *Cuardly* in Lancashire" is the record of Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms, in 1625, see *p.* xxiv.

As our Author never went to any University, the most reliable information respecting his family will be found in his father's Will, and the entries in the parish registry of Willoughby *juxta* Alford, in Lincolnshire.

Mr. John Swan, the present District Registrar of the Probate Court, at Lincoln, states there are no Wills in his charge, of any Smith at Willoughby in 1592 or 1593; and has obligingly furnished the following copy of George Smith's Will of 1596.

In the Name of God, Amen. In the thyrtyth day of Marche a thowsande five hundreth ninety six I *George Smith* of *Willougbie juxta Alford* on *Marisco* in the Countie of *Lincolne* beinge of good and perfect memorie I thanke God for itt thoughe in bodie weake and paynde doe ordeyne and make this my last Will and Testamentt in maner and forme followinge *Fyrst* I bequeathe my Soule into the mercifull hands of th[e]almightie God in the mediation of *Jesus Chryst* myne alone and all sufficientt saviour, and my bodie to be buried within *Willoughbie* Churche

Item I give to *Lincoln* Minster vj*d.*

Item to ye poore of ye foresaide *Willoughbie* iijs. iiij*d.*

Item I give to ye Right Honorable my Lord *Willoughbie* under whome I have many yeares lived as his poore tennant as a token of my dewtifull good will the best of my two yeares old colts

Item I geve and bequeathe unto *Alice* my Wyfe ye ferme which I now dwell in which I houlde by coppie of Court rowle as ye grant of ye Right Honorable my foresaide good Lorde duringe her widdow hoode accordinge to ye custome of his Lordshippe manner of *Willoughbie*; and if it shall please God that my saide Wyfe doe marry agayne and take a second husband, then my Will is that my saide ferme shall come to *John Smyth* my eldest sonne whome I chardge and command to honoure and love my foresaide good Lord *Willoughbie* duringe his lyfe

Item I geve to *Alice Smyth* my Wyfe tenne pounds of good and

lawfull currant mony of *England* to be paide unto her att ye quarter off a yeares end next after my deathe

Item I will and bequeathe unto ye saide *Alice* my Wyfe a bedsteade in ye first Chamber with a fetherbedd a coveringe a paire of lynne[n] sheets one blanckett a bowlster with pillow and pillowe beare

Item I geve to *Alice Smyth* my doughter tenn pownds of good and lawfull currant monie of *England*, with a bedstead in the parler and a fetherbedd and coveringe and a blanckett a paire of lynne[n] sheets and a pare of hempen sheets with boulster pillow and pillow beares

Item I give to the saide *Alice* my doughter halfe of all my pewter and brasse And if ye saide *Alice* my daughter doe dye before ye age of eighteene yeares, I will that all her parte and porcion aswell of money as of other things be equally devided betweene myne executors

Item I geve and bequeathe to *Robert Smyth* my Kynsman fourty shillings of good and lawfull currant monye of *England* to be given him within one halfe yeare next after my death

Item I geve to *John Smyth* mine eldest sonne and to ye heires of his body lawfully begotten Seaven acres of pasture lyenge within ye territoare of *Charleton* Magne

Item I geve to *Frauncis Smyth* my younger sonne and to ye heires of his bodie lawfully begotten my two tenements and one Little Close in a certeyn Streete in *Lowthe* called Westgate And if ye saide *Frauncis* dye without issue of his bodie lawfully begotten I will that ye saide tenements and close remaine to my said sonne *John Smyth* and his issue of his bodie lawfully begotten

All ye rest of my goods nott yett given nor bequeathed aswell moveable as unmoveable; my debts paied and my bodie honestly brought to ye grounde I will shall equally be devided betwixt my saide two sonnes *John Smyth* and *Frauncis Smyth* whome I make the Coexecutors of this my last Will and Testament: and I hartely and earnestly entreate my goode Frende Master *George Mettham*, to be ye supervisor of this my last Will and Testament to whome I give in consideracon of his paynes xs

Wittnesses to this last Will and Testament

Thomas Scarboroughe and *Bartholomew Lawrence*

[*Extracted from the District Registry attached to the Probate Division of the High Court of Justice at Lincoln.*]

The parish register of Willoughby by Alford in Lincolnshire begins in 1538; but the earlier portion of it is very worn, and in parts, very illegible. In the seventeenth century, however, a transcript was made of this earlier portion, which still exists.

By the kindness of the present Rector, the Rev. John S. Warren, M.A., we are enabled to give the following information of our author's family.

Iohn the sonne of *George Smyth* was baptized the ixth daie of Ianuarye [1579, *or according to the modern reckoning* 1580].

This occurs in the original register thus.

Iōhes smith filius Georgie smith babtizatus fuit ixth die Ianuarie Anno supradicto.

Francis the sonne of *George Smyth* was baptised the vi daie of Nouember [1581].

Richard, the sonne of *George Smyth* was baptised the xvi daie of Iulie [1586].

Richard Smith was bur[ied] ye xxvi daie of Iulie [1586].

Alice the daughter of *George Smith* was baptised the first daie of ffebruarie [1589].

Georg[e] Smyth of Willoughbi was bur[ied] ye iij day of April [1596].

The original registry of this entry is not now extant.

With these entries we may associate another, which perhaps refers to some connection with our Author's family.

Grace the daughter of *Iohn Smyth* was baptized the x daie of November [1581].

II.

And truly there is no pleasure comparable to that of a generous spirit; as good employment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens and Infidels; to see daily new countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems; to relieve the oppressed, comfort his friends, pass miseries, subdue enemies, adventure upon any feasible danger for GOD and Country. It is true, it is a happy thing to be born to strength, wealth, and honour; but that which is got by prowess and magnanimity is the truest lustre: and those can the best distinguish Content, that have escaped most honourable dangers; as if, out of every extremity, he found himself new born to a new life, to learn how to amend and maintain his Age.

J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 962.

The wars in Europe, Asia, and Africa taught me how to subdue the wild savages in Virginia and New England in America. J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 925.

Sir *Robert Cotton*, that most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie, having by perusall of my Generall Historie, and others [*i.e.*, *his other earlier publications*], found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by it selfe. *p.* 808.

These "Travels," SMITH dedicated to the Earls of PEMBROKE, LINDSEY, and DOVER: the second of whom, ROBERT BERTIE (who succeeded to the Barony of WILLOUGHBY D'ERESBY in 1601, and who was created on the 26th November 1626) Earl of LINDSEY, had, with his brother, twice met our Author during his wanderings abroad: viz., at Orleans, in 1596, *p.* 822; and at Siena, in 1601, *p.* 827.

We know enough of London society in the year 1629, and of the Episcopal censorship of the English press at that time, to be quite sure that no man would have dared to have offered to Sir ROBERT COTTON and those three Earls as *true travels*, a deliberately made up story of adventures which never happened. This alone is sufficient to shew that these *true travels* is an honestly written narrative of personal experiences.

2. That narrative however is fully corroborated by a number of incidental details and minute points, such as the following, occurring in his Works long before he has any thought of writing it.

In July 1608, SMITH exploring Chesapeake Bay in an open boat, named a headland, Point Ployer, *pp.* 110, 414, in memory of the great kindness of Earl PLOYER of Brittany to him, eight years before, *p.* 825. This name first appears in his *Map of Virginia* printed at Oxford in 1612.

In May—June 1614, he named the present Cape Anne in New England, Cape Tragbigzanda, *pp.* 204, &c., in memory of the kindness, if not the personal affection shewn him, while a Christian slave at Constantinople in 1603, by CHARATZA TRAGABIGZANDA, *pp.* 276, 853, 866: whose brother, TIMOR the Pasha of Nalbrits, he afterwards, in pure self-defence, killed; escaping away in his clothes and on his horse, across the steppes to the Russian outposts. At the same time in 1614, he named three islands, off Cape Anne the Three Turks Heads, *p.* 204, in memory of his famous passage of arms at Regal in Transylvania in 1602, *p.* 838. Both designations were first published in his *Description of New England*, in June 1616, long before he designed to print his travels.

The allusions to what he had seen in his travels in his earlier Works at *pp.* 56, 59, 62 come in naturally, are true as to fact, and could hardly have been invented.

In this connection may be considered our Author's general reticence about himself in the *Travels*. Evidently his personal adventures are rather understated than overstated therein. He was surely not idle on board the Breton ship, in that fight in 1601, in the Strait of Otranto, when she took the Venetian argosy, *pp.* 826–7; or in that other sea-fight in 1604, off Cape Bojador, when the English ship (in which, by stress of weather, he made an involuntary cruise), under the command of Captain MERHAM, whom he so delightedly calls "the old fox," fought two Spanish men-of-war at once, *pp.* 878–880: yet of the personal help, which we are sure he gave on both these occasions, he says not a word. So generally, while he is proud of his strategy and devices, he tells us very little of his personal bravery in the various battles in Eastern Europe in which he took part: with the exception of the succession of duels that he fought at Regal in 1602; which he could hardly have left out, seeing he bore the three Turks' heads in his coat of arms.

3. Whatever difficulty there may be about that manuscript History or Biography of FRANCISCO FARNESE, *p.* 788, there is no doubt that Rev. S. PURCHAS had it, or a copy of it, in his hands about 1623, or 1624.

". . . The Earle of *Meldritch*, with whom [*Smith*] going to *Vienna* in *Austria*, hee made him Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, vnder whose

Regiments how he spent his time, this insuing Discourse will declare, as it is written in a Booke intituled, The Warres of *Transiluania*, *Wallachi*[*a*], and *Moldauia*, written by *Francisco Ferneza* a Learned *Italian*, Secretarie to *Sigismundus Bathor* the Prince," ii. 1363–61, *Ed.* 1625.

PURCHAS then gives what in the present Text forms the greater part of Chapters iv.–xi., at *pp.* 829–852, as "Extracts of Captaine *Smiths Transyluanian Acts*, out of *Fr. Fer.* his Storie :" which account SMITH says, at *p.* 852, PURCHAS himself translated, apparently from the Italian. Señor Don PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS has seen a printed Spanish translation of this Italian history, rendered into Spanish by a MONTALVO : but the manuscript History itself is apparently lost. That it existed, and that a copy of it was in PURCHAS's hands there can be no doubt, as he thus distinctly refers to it at ii. 1366, "as the Historie at large will plainly shew, the times, place, chiefe Commanders, with the manner and order of their battels, and fights ; to which I refer you." It is also to be noted that though Vol. ii. of PURCHAS's *Pilgrimes* is dated 1625, it was in hand two or three years ; so that this translation being made by him in 1623 or 1624, is fully five years earlier than SMITH's *True Travels*.

It may also be pointed out that SMITH, with his usual modesty, in giving this portion of his adventures, especially in the account of his fights with the three Turks, at *pp.* 829–852, mainly reprints PURCHAS's "Extracts" from FARNESE, *i.e.*, he chiefly uses the words of another person, and that person a foreigner.

4. A third corroboration of the truth of the Travels will be found in the *Complimentary Verses*, first printed in his *Description of New England*, in June 1616, *pp.* 230–1. These *Verses* are written by two old Officers of his company of 250 men, one of the four making up the regiment of 1,000 horse, in which our Author served under the Earl of MELDRI, in Eastern Europe ; of which regiment, after the victorious combats at Regal, the Earl made SMITH, Major, or second in command, *p.* 840.

The writers of these Verses, were his Ensign, THOMAS CARLTON ; and his Sergeant, EDWARD ROBINSON : who were the only two Englishmen out of the twelve present, *p.* 852, who escaped alive from the battle of Rothenthurm (Rottenton) in Transylvania, on the 18th of November 1602 ; when SMITH was left sore wounded on the battle-field, only to become afterwards a Turkish slave. The testimony as to the Writers' personal knowledge and admiration of our Author contained in these *Verses* is precise and valuable.

5. Mr. J. G. PALFREY, in his famous note on the *True Travels*, in his History of *New England*, i. 89, *Ed.* 1858, is simply laughable for his ignorance of the regulated conditions of publishing books in London during the lifetime of our Author. He states that "hack-writers abounded in London at the time. SMITH was just such a person [!], as, for the saleableness of his narratives, would naturally fall into their hands, and into the hands of their masters, the booksellers. . . . On the whole, the reader perhaps inclines to the opinion that JOHN SMITH was not the sole author of his books."

Mr. PALFREY errs in applying to the lifetime of our Author, the mendacities of the Grub-street era of GEORGE I. and II. Not only were there no "hack-writers," at that time, for books of colonization, &c. ; but SMITH manifestly wrote most of his books for nothing, and between 1616 and 1620 "divulged to my great labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps," *p.* 941. As a matter of fact, the *General History*, for which he issued a Prospectus signed by himself, in which he said, "nor shall the Stationers have the copy for nothing,"

p. cxxvi, did not sell well ; as is proved by the succession of fresh title pages in 1626, 1627, and 1632 to the same text. Mr. PALFREY's view of our Author is a degrading opinion of one of the most highminded of men, eminently possessing that keen sense of honour which was usual in an English Officer at that time ; and whose perspicuous honesty, had we space, could be demonstrated through every line of the present Text. Yet, in spite of his prejudice, in this same note, Mr. PALFREY is compelled to admit the substantial agreement of SMITH's account of his Eastern experiences with the known facts of history.

So far from the following Text having been written by anonymous hack-writers in SMITH's name, it will be seen that no one could have been more scrupulously careful than he was, in naming the authorities for everything he prints : so that, as the headlines of the present edition will shew, we have hardly any difficulty in assigning the authorship and date of composition of every *page* in the Text. The only exceptions to this, are those bits of verse scattered throughout the *General History* which are intended to "point the moral" of the Story, and which we must attribute to SMITH's deep religious feeling, wide reading, and not very great poetical powers.

For our own part, beginning with doubtfulness and wariness, we have gradually come to the unhesitating conviction, not only of SMITH's truthfulness, but also that, in regard to all personal matters, he systematically understates rather than exaggerates anything he did.

Why New England writers should attack our Author (after the manner of Mr. E. D. NEILL, who says "his writings are those of a gascon and beggar," *p.* 211, *Hist. of Virginia Co., &c.*, 1869) is simply amazing : seeing that SMITH preferred New England, as a colony, to Virginia or any other part of the world, *p.* 193 ; that he tried so hard, for years, to go out and end his days there, *pp.* 205, 218, 732 ; and that he actually did effect more, by his advocacy and publications, towards its colonization, than ever he was able to accomplish for Virginia, with all his money, personal services, dangers, and magnanimity. Only Virginia was England's forlorn hope in colonization in JAMES I.'s reign, and was therefore generally the more perilous enterprise ; especially as James town was 32 miles inland, and the New England settlements were on the coast.

6. We have, by the kindness of G. E. COKAYNE, Esq., Norroy King of Arms, and H. F. BURKE, Esq., Rouge Croix, personally inspected, in April, 1884, in the official register of Sir WILLIAM SEGAR's *Grants of Arms*, at the Heralds College in London, the following record of the Arms granted to our Author, by SIGISMUNDUS BÁTORI.

To *John Smith*, descended of ye Family of *Cuardly* in Lanc. Captaine of 250 Soldiers vnder *Henry Volda*, Earl of *Meldritch*, &c. A Grant of these Arms in Memory of thre Turks heades which with his Sword before ye Town of *Regal* he did overcome, kill and cut off, in the Province of *Transiluania*. This granted in a Letter of safe conduct, by *Sigismond Balthori*, Duke of *Transilvania*, 9 Dec. 1603. *p.* 371 of a volume labelled *Segar's Grants*. E. D. N. 57.

There is also in the Heralds College, an unofficial copy (in VINCENT's *Collectanea*, 169, *p.* 131), of the Latin Patent and Certificate printed at *pp.* 842–3. It has, however, some variations from the text as given by SMITH, which we have noted in the margin.

Of the authenticity therefore of this Grant of Arms, and of the all-important corroboration that it affords to the *True Travels*, there is no doubt at all.

Therefore though they may offer not a few points which have yet to be cleared up, the general credibility of the *Travels* is beyond question ; and in its clear, graphic and condensed style, the narrative is among the very best written English books of travel printed in Smith's lifetime.

III.

Our Author's intineraries come next for consideration. Except in Eastern Europe, &c., they present but little difficulty. The names, where he wrote down phonetically, we have here placed in round brackets.

John Smith's earlier travels on the Continent. 1596–1600 *A.D.* ; *æt.* 16–20.

1596 London. *p.* 822.
Orleans.
Paris.
Rouen.
Havre.
1596 A soldier in the French army.
1596–9 A soldier in the Dutch army.
1600 Enkhuisen (*Ancusan*).
1600 Shipwrecked at Holy Island or Lindisfarn. *p.* 822.
Northumberland.
Leith (*Lethe*).
? (*Ripweth*). *p.* 823.
? (*Broxmoth*).
Willoughby.

John Smith's later Travels on the Continent, until his arrival at Vienna. 1600–1601 *A.D.* ; *æt.* 20–21.

1600. Tattershall. *p.* 823.
Holland.
St. Valery sur Somme. *p.* 824.
Dieppe.
Caudebeck (*Codebeck*).
Honfleur (*Humphla*).
Pontaudemer (*Pountdemer*).
Caen.
Mortagne.
Pontorson (*Pounterson*). *p.* 825.
Dinan.
St. Malo.
Mont St. Michel.
Lamballe.
St. Brieuc (*Simbreack*).
Lannion.
Tonquedeck (*Tuncadeck*), the residence of the Earl of Plouha (*Ployer*).
1600. Guingamp (*Gigan*). *p.* 825.
Rennes (*Raynes*).
Nantes.
Poitiers.
Rochelle.
Bourdeaux.
Bayonne.
Lescar.
Pau.
Toulouse.
Beziers (*Bezers*).
Carcassone.
Narbonne.
Montpellier.
Nismes.
Avignon.
Arles.
Marseilles (*Marcellos*).
Toulon.

1600. The Isle of St. Mary, near Nice. *p.* 825.
Corsica. *p.* 826.
Sardinia.
Cape Bon (*Bona*).
Lampedusa (*Lampadosa*).
Cape Rosetta (*Rosata*).
Alexandria.
Scanderoon.
Cyprus.
Rhodes.
The Archipelago.
Crete (*Candia*).
Greece.
Zephalonia.
The Strait of Otranto.
Calabria. *p.* 827.
Sicily.
Sardinia.
Corsica.
Antibes in Piedmont (*Antibo in Peamon*).

1601. Leghorn (*Lygorne*). *p.* 827.
Tuscany.
Siena.
Viterbo.
Rome.
Civita Vechia. *p.* 828.
Naples.
Capua.
Rome.
Siena.
Florence.
Bolognia.
Ferrara.
Mantua.
Padua.
Venice.
Malamocco.
Raguza.
Capo d'Istria.
Laybach (*Lubbiano*).
Grätz (*Grates*).
Vienna (*Vienne*)

JOHN SMITH's Itinerary in Eastern Europe, &c., until the battle of Rothenthurm Pass, in Transylvania, 18 November 1602. 1601–1602 A.D.; æt. 21–22.

Here the names of places, as written by our Author, present some difficulties; inasmuch as many of the towns had, and still have, two or three names—one German, another Hungarian, and possibly a third Sclavonic: however, many can be identified. We give the usual, which is often the German name, first; and the countries where they will now be found.

HUNGARY.

1601. Ober Limbach; *in Hungarian*, Felso Landre. (*Olumpagh*) *p.* 829.
Stühlweissenberg; *in Latin* Alba Regalis. (*Stowllewesenburg*) *p.* 831.
Komorn. (*Comora*) *p.* 832.
The plains of ? (*Girke*). *p.* 833.
[*In Hungarian* Tzigetvar. (*Zigetun*)]
[Buda-Pesth. (*Buda*)] *p.* 835.
[Grosskirchen, *in Hungarian* Kanizsa. (*Caniza*)]
[Gran. (*Strigonium*)]

1601. [Komorn (*Komara*).] *p.* 835.

TRANSYLVANIA.

1602. ? (*Land of Zarkam*) *p.* 837.
? (*Regall*).
? (*Veratio*). *p.* 841.
? (*Solmos*).
? (*Kupronka*).
Eisenburg, *in Hungarian* Vasvar. (*Esenburg*)
[Temesvar. (*Temesware*)] *p.* 847.

WALLACHIA &c.

The river Aluta (*Altus*). *p.* 847.

1602. Rimnik (*Rebrinke*). *p.* 847.
Retch (*Raza*).
Arjish, on the river of the same name (*Argish*). *p.* 848.
Pitesti (*Peteske*).

1602. Longenaw (*Langanaw*). *p.* 849.
Rothenthurm, *in Hungarian* Verres Töröny (*Rottenton*). A Pass in Transylvania.

John Smith's Itinerary in Turkey, Tartary, Russia, &c., till his return to Hermannstadt in Transylvania.
1602–1603 *A.D.*; *æt.* 22–23.

Turkey.

1602. *Either* Tchernavda *or* Rassowa *on the Danube* (*Axopolis*). *p.* 853.
Adrianople.
1603. Constantinople.
? (*Sander*). *p.* 854.
Serai (*Screwe*).
? (*Panassa*).
? (*Musa*).
Lascillo (*Lastilla*).
Varna.
The Black Sea.
Cape (*Taur*).
Cape (*Pergilos*).
Strait of Kertch (*Niger*).
Sea of Azov (*Dissabacca*).
Sirxu (*Susax*).
? Tcherkrsh *on the river Don* (*Curuske*).
? (*Bruapo*).

1603. *The* Combra *of* Mercator (*Cambia*). *p.* 854.
The Nalbrits *of* Mercator (*Nalbrits*). *p.* 855.
(On the Don, *Æcopolis*.) *p.* 867.
? (*Zumalacke*.)
? (*Caragnaw*.)
? (*Letch*.)
? (*Donka* in *Cologske*.)
? (*Berniske*, ? (*Newgrod*) } In *Seberia*).
? (*Rezechia* on the *Niper*.)
? (*Coroski*, ? (*Duberesko*, ? (*Duzihell*, ? (*Drohobus*, ? (*Ostroge* } *p.* 868. In *Volonia*.)
? (*Saslaw*, ? (*Lasco* } In *Podolia*.)
? (*Halico*, ? (*Collonia* } In *Polonia*.)
Hermannstadt (*Hermonstat*).

John Smith's return home from Transylvania.
1603–1604 *A.D.*; *æt.* 23–24.

Hungary.

1603. Filleck (*Fileck*), Tokay (*Tocka*), Kaschaw (*Cassovia*), Arva (*Underoroway*) } In High *Hungary*.) *p.* 869.

Germany.

Olmütz (*Ulmicht* in *Moravia*). *p.* 869.
Prague.
1603. Dec. Leipsic in Lower Saxony (*Lipswick* in *Misenland*.)
Dresden.

1604. Magdeburg. *p.* 869.
Brunswick.
Cassell.
Wittemberg.
Ulm.
Munich.
Augsburg.
? (*Hama*).
Frankfort.
Mayence.
The Rhine Valley (*Palatinate*).
Worms.
Spires.
Strasburgh.

FRANCE.

1604. Nancy. *p.* 869.
Paris.
Orleans.
Down the Loire.
Angers.
Nantes.

SPAIN.

Bilbao.
Burgos.
Valladolid.
The Escorial.
Madrid.
Toledo.
Cordova.
Ciudad Real.
Seville (*Civill*).
Xeres (*Cheryes*).
Cadiz (*Cales*).
San Lucar de Barrameda (Saint *Lucas*).

1604. Gibraltar. *p.* 869.

AFRICA.

Ceuta (*Guta*).
Tangier (*Tanger*).
Saffi (*Saffee*).
Trip to the town of Marocco (107 miles inland from Saffi), and back.

SMITH'S INVOLUNTARY CRUISE.

Saffi. *p.* 878.
The Canaries.
Cape Bojador.
Santa Cruz. *p.* 880.
Cape Ghir (*Goa*).
Mogadore.
Saffi.

HOME AT LAST.

England.

It will be seen that these Itineraries are perfectly consistent, that the Author is always moving forward.

PURCHAS thus gives us some more particulars as to SMITH's return home. "Then vnderstanding that the Warres of *Mully Shah* and *Mully Sedan*, the two Brothers in *Barbarie* of *Fez* and *Moroco* (to which hee was animated by some friends) were concluded in peace, he imbarked himselfe for *England* with one thousand Duckets in his Purse, which after with a great deale more hee employed, in searching more dangers in the West *Indies*, and the vnknowne parts of vnciuilized *America*." ii. 1370.

It would also seem that SMITH, after his return home, made a walking tour in Ireland.

WINGFIELD, in his recrimination, *p.* lxxxix, says of him :

It was proued to his face, that he begged in *Ireland* like a rogue, without a lycence.

Of course, this is a distortion. To a man who had tramped or ridden over nearly all Europe, a tour on foot in Ireland would be a small matter.

Not satisfied with all this adventure, our Author next turned his attention to the river Oyapok in South America.

In the yeare 1605. Captaine *Ley*, brother to that noble Knight Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himselfe in the River *Weapoco*, wherein I should have beene a partie; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried: and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could. *p.* 896.

From this it is clear, that as he had hitherto followed the Wars wherever he

found them ; so now, the times having changed to peace, he gave himself to Colonization : and that having missed going to South America, and Virginia being the next Attempt that offered, he went to Virginia. The James town Settlement did not convert him to the Colonizing Effort to which he henceforth gave his entire energies ; but was his second endeavour in that new life which was now opening to him

B. Virginia. 1605–1612 A.D.

IV.

It is not a work for every one to plant a Colony ; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of Art, Judgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence, and Experience, to do but near[ly] well : and there is a great difference between Saying and Doing.
J. Smith, 1620, *p.* 244.

There was a little city, and few men within it ; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city ; yet no man remembered that same poor man. *Ecclesiastes* ix. 14, 15.

When Captain Smith went to Virginia, the most adventurous part of his life had passed away. He was often, while there, in most imminent danger ; but nothing that he faced or endured in America, came up in peril and dread, to that which he had already undergone in Eastern Europe and Tartary. By this time, he was a hardened soldier ; a wary, foreseeing, and energetic Officer : so that he already possessed more experience of savage and semi-savage life than any other man in the Virginia expedition of 1606–7. Indeed, in his exceeding wariness, he seems to have over-estimated the military skill of the Virginian Indians, by making those forts of which he thus writes in 1629.

The Forts Captaine *Smith* left a building, [are] so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were. *p.* 888.

Yet had he to find out for himself a way to manage the Virginian Indians, respecting which others wrote, in 1612.

Though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures he had long and oft indured as wel in some parts of *Africa* and *America*, as in the most partes of *Europe* and *Asia*, by land or sea, had taught him much : yet, in this case, he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience ; which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end when hee had but onlie learned how to begin. *pp.* 159, 160.

In October 1622, he wrote himself—

For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong : with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weekes ; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes

before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine *George Percie* and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechankanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. When their owne wants was such, I haue given them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I have caused *Powhatam* send his owne men to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuer me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution; hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six monthes came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia* [*pp.* 170, 498].

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more [to] run away then went. *pp.* 262–3.

And again:

I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America*, where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, n[or] could I euer learne to beg: what there I got, I haue thus spent.

These sixteen yeares I haue spared neither paines nor money

according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares [1604–1609] worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis; where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided than euer I was: from which blessed virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*.

This Virgins sister, now called *New England*, *an.* 1616. at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince Charles, hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which I neuer got shilling, but it cost me many a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities. *pp.* 266–7.

Once more, in 1624, he wrote:

Hauing spent some fiue yeares [1604–1609], and more than fiue hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus these nineteene yeares [1603–1624] I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue beene preuented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleeue me till now too deerely they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left all then vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all. And though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of *Virginia*, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence; and beare with their errors till I haue done better. *pp.* 613–4.

For our Author's own account of his Virginian experiences, the reader should first carefully read his Report &c. to the Royal Commissioners in 1624, at *pp.* 610–620; and his final review of the whole matter in his *Advertisements* of

1630, at *pp.* 927–931. He will then see things with SMITH's eyes, and from his standpoint.

In the second of these accounts, our Author speaks of "I with my party" in the James river Settlement. The Colony soon broke into two divisions, that headed by RATCLIFFE, MARTIN, and ARCHER; and that which followed SMITH.

As everything relating to that Settlement in the present Text, might (however true in itself) be antecedently prejudiced on the ground that it was an *ex parte* statement; the manifesto of a Party that did *not* perish, when the other side did in *The Starving Time* of 1609–10: we have printed in the following pages of this *Introduction* all the Eye-witness testimonies we could find, of the state of the Colony during the nearly thirty months our Author was there; he having arrived with the Expedition in Chesapeake Bay on the 26th April 1607, and left James town, after having been injured by gunpowder, for England on the 4th October 1609.

Here again the result is perfectly satisfactory. These Eye-witness Accounts supply us with a lot of new and most interesting information; and, above all, afford us a number of important dates on which to pivot the history of those thirty months.

Seeing therefore that all this illustrative material only brings out the general truthfulness of the Text at large; once more, from this fresh test, we accord to our Author a fresh measure of confidence. Undoubtedly, SMITH was the Saviour of the James river Settlement.

Before we give these most valuable contemporary documents, it may be well to touch upon the false charge of an imaginary mutiny, which nearly cost our Author his life while on the voyage out to Virginia.

It does not appear that SMITH actually did anything at all.

WINGFIELD states, *p.* lxxxiii, that on 17 September 1607, he was fined by the Colony to pay £200 [=£800 *now*] to Captain SMITH, *p.* 389,

for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany.

Also—

Master *Smyths* quarrell, [with me, was] because his name was mencioned in the entended and confessed mutiny by *Galthropp*. *p.* xc.

STEPHEN GALTHORPE died on 15 Aug. 1607, see *p.* lxxi.

This accusation appears to have been made at Dominica, on the 24th Mar. 1607, *p.* lvii–lviii; and during the six days [28th Mar.–2 Apr. 1607] the Expedition stayed at Nevis, *p.* lix, our Author says:

Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made; but Captaine *Smith*, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them: but not any one of the inventers but their lives by justice fell into his power to determine of at his pleasure; whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly would have betrayed him. *p.* 910.

The exact nature of the wild charge against SMITH will be seen at *p.* 388.

He however remained a prisoner until the Gentlemen in the Colony having on June 6, *p.* liii, put up a petition to the Council, he was sworn of the Council on the 10th June 1607, *p.* liv; or as he puts it at *pp.* 92, 388, he was imprisoned, [for nothing!] 13 weeks.

[*Illustrative Documents.*]

The London Virginia Company.

Instructions by way of advice, for the intended Voyage to Virginia.

In the Library of the Congress, at Washington, D.C., in two folio volumes, is a copy of the original Minutes of the London or Southern Virginia Company, between 1617 and the date of its dissolution 16 June 1624. In the same volume are copies of documents relating to an earlier period of the Colony; and among these, the following *Instructions*, which have been printed in a modernized form by Mr. E. D. Neill at *p.* 8 of his *History of the London Virginia Company*, Albany, N.Y., 1869; from whence we have here given them.

Instructions given by way of advice by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Counsel for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by those Captains and company which are sent at this present to plant there.

AS we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the Privy Seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following. [1606]

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making

[1606] choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-west for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.

When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions; but first let Captain *Newport* discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you [may] make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place; for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your casks, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground, may easily pull you out: and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles [in] the land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

And to the end that you be not surprized as the French were in *Florida* by *Melindus*, and the *Spaniard* in the same place by the *French*, you shall do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them, but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you: and if you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions; to the end that every man may know know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six score men into three parts: whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build, of which your first work must be your storehouse for victuals; the other[s] you may imploy in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as centinel at the haven's mouth. [1606]

The other forty you may imploy for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you; which charge Captain *Newport* and Captain *Gosnold* may undertake of these forty discoverers. When they do espie any high lands or hills, Captain *Gosnold* may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the bank's side, by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry, such as is used here in the *Thames*; by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and [it] is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run[s] the contrary way towards the East *India* Sea; for the great and famous rivers of *Volga*, *Tan*[*a*]*is* and *Dwina* have three heads near joyn[e]d; and yet the one falleth into the *Caspian* Sea, the other into the *Euxine* Sea, and the third into the *Pælonian* Sea.

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it; and imploy some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if you [? *they*] have any: and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them; for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the

[1606] danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

Your discoverers that passes over land with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them: and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass; for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons; for if they run from you with your shott, which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bould to assault you.

Above all things, do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also, not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any; which may also encourage them to many enterprizes.

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town: for all the men you have, shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year; besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people; for some part of that coast where the lands are low, have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs: but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you, under the fort: and [to] take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by; least some ill-disposed persons slip away with her.

You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not marr your trade; for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after: and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever. [1606]

It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be set up for any private person: and though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it; that from thence, with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captaine *Newport* of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by pasport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of any thing that may discourage others.

Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.

Robert Tindall,

Gunner to Prince Henry.

Letter to the Prince,

22 *June* 1607.

[*Harl. MS.* 7007. *fol.* 139; in the British Museum.]

Mightie Prince

[1607] I thought it no lesse than my duty beinge imployed in this voyage of Verginia, In all humble mannor to make your Princelye selfe acquainted with those accidentes which hathe happenned to vs in this our voyage. May it therefore please your grace to accepte at the handes of your most humble and dutifull seruante a dearnall of our voyage and draughte of our Riuer hearinclosed by vs discouered where neuer christian before hathe beene, and also to let your grace vnderstande wee are safelye arryued and planted in this Contreye by the prouidence and mercye of God, which wee finde to be in it selfe most fruitefull, of the whiche wee haue taken a Reall and publicke possession in the name and to the vse of your Royall father and our gratious kinge and soueraigne: Thus ceasing for being too tedious and troublesome vnto your grace, I in all humble mannour committ your Princelye selfe to the protection of almightie God whome on my knees I dayelye praye (as I am bounde)

to blesse and prosper your godlye and vertuous proceedings: [1607]
From Iames Towne in Virginia this: 22 of Iune 1607.

By your Graces most humble dutifull
and faithfull seruaunte and
Gunner:

ROBERTE TINDALL. [*pp.* xli, xcvi.]

[*Addressed*]

To the highe and Mightie Prince Henry Fredericke prince and heyre apparente of greate Brittaine Fraunce Ireland and Virginia.

[*Endorsed*]

Tindall his H. gunner
from Virginia.

The above-mentioned "dearnall of our voyage," and "draughte" of the James river (see *p.* xli) are apparently now lost.

There is, however, a later draught by this Gunner, which now forms *Cott. MS. Augustus* I., *Vol.* II. *No.* 46, in the British Museum; which is entitled

The Draught by Roberte Tindall
of virginia. Anno 1608.

A Gentleman of the Colony.

[? Captain GABRIEL ARCHER.]

A relayton of the Discovery, &c.
21 *May*—22 *June* 1607.

This is one of the many Relations that were written at this time. It was seen by President WINGFIELD; who, the next year, 1608, refers to it ; see *p.* lxxvi.

Out of the five Gentlemen of the Colony named on the opposite page, this narrative would seem to have been written by Captain GABRIEL ARCHER. The abridgement of the Hon. G. PERCY's Relation covering this period, we have at *pp.* lvii–lxxiii.

The writer, whoever he was, took an important subordinate part in the expedition, discussing matters with the natives, &c. Speaking of the Chesapeake Indians, at *p.* xliv, he tells a Chief, on 23 May 1607,

That we had warres with them also, shewing hurtes scarce whole received by them,

evidently referring to the attack of the Chesapeake Indians on the 26 April previous, when Captain ARCHER was hurt in both his hands, *p.* lxii : and he was the only one then present, so hurt on that occasion. The way this sentence is written makes us think that ARCHER was speaking of his own wounds. If another person had been writing of him, he would have mentioned Captain ARCHER's name.

Another slight presumption as to the authorship, is that, in the list of Discoverers, he puts his own name before SMITH's ; and also that the scrivener has written his name in larger letters than he has used in writing those of the three following Gentlemen.

[*State Papers, Colonial.* Vol. I. (1574–1621), No. 15.]

A relatyon of the Discovery of our River, from *Iames Forte* into the Maine: made by Captaine *Christofer Newport*: and sincerely writen and observed by a gent: of ye Colony.

May 21. 1607.

THursday the xxith of May, Captaine *Newport* (having fitted our shallop with provision and all necessaryes belonging to a discovery) tooke 5. gentlemen. 4. Maryners and. 14. Saylours, with whome he proceeded with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde ye head of this Ryver, the Laake mentyoned

by others heretofore, the Sea againe, the Mountaynes *Apalatsi*, or some issue. [1607]

The names of the Dysco-vererers are thes } Captaine *Christofer Newport*.

[Gentlemen]
George Percye esq.
Captaine *Gabriell Archer*
Captaine *Ihon Smyth*
Master *Ihon Brookes*
Master *Thomas Wotton*

Maryners.
ffrancys Nellson
Iohn Collson
Robert Tyndall [pp. xxxviii, xcvi.]
Mathew ffytch

1. *Ionas Poole.*
2. *Robert Markham.*
3. *Iohn Crookdeck.*
4. *Olyver Browne.*
5. *Beniamyn White.*
6. *Rychard Genoway.*
7. *Thomas Turnbrydge.*
8. *Thomas Godword.*
9. *Robert Iackson.*
10. *Charles Clarke.*
11. *Stephen.*
12. *Thomas Skynner.*
13. *Ieremy Deale.*
14. *Danyell.*

Thus from *Iames Fort* we tooke our leave about Noone, and by night we were vp the Ryver. 18. myle at a lowe meadow point, which I call *Wynauh*. Here came the people, and entertayned vs with Daunces and much reioycing. This kyngdome *Wynauh* is full of pearle muskles. The kyng of *Paspeiouh* and this king is at odds, as the *Paspeians* tould me, and Demonstrated by their hurtes: heere we anckored all night.

ffryday, omitting no tyme, we passed vp some. 16. myle further, where we founde an Ilet, on which were many Turkeys, and greate store of yonge byrdes like Black birdes, wherof wee tooke Dyvers, which wee brake our fast withall. Now spying. 8. salvages in a Canoa, we haled them by our worde of kyndnes; *Wingapoh*, and they came to vs. In conference by signes with them, one seemed to vnderstand our intentyon, and offred with his foote to Describe the river to vs: So I gaue him a pen and paper (shewing first ye vse) and he layd out the whole River from the *Chesseian* bay to the end of it so farr as passadg[e] was for boats: he tolde vs of two Iletts in the Ryver we should passe by, meaning that one whereon we were, and May 22. [pp. xliii, xlvii, lv.]

[1607] then come to an overfall of water, beyond that of two kyngdomes which the Ryver Runes by, then a great Distance of[f], the Mountaines *Quiranh* as he named them: beyond which by his relation is that which we expected. This fellow parting from vs promised to procure vs wheate if we would stay a little before, and for that intent went back againe to provide it: but we coming by the place where he was, with many more very Desirous of our Company, stayd not, as being eagre of our good tydinges. He notwithstanding with two wemen and another fellow of his owne consort, followed vs some sixe mile with basketes full of Dryed oysters, and mett vs at a point, where calling to vs, we went ashore and bartred with them for most of their victualls.

Here the shoare began to be full of greate Cobble stones, and higher land. The Ryver skantes of his breadth. 2. mile before we come to the Ilet mentyoned which I call *Turkey Ile*: yet keepes it a quarter of a mile broade most comonly, and Depe water for shipping. This fellow with the rest overtooke vs agayne vpon the Doubling of another point: Now they had gotten mulberyes, little sweete nuttes like Acorns (a verye good fruite), wheate, beanes and mulberyes sodd together and gave vs. Some of them Desired to be sett over the Ryver, which we dyd, and they parted.

Now we passed a Reach of. 3. mile ½. in length, highe stony ground on *Popham* syde. 5. or. 6. fadome. 8. oares length from the shoare.

This Daye we went about. 38. mile and came to an Ankre at a place I call *poore Cottage*; where we went ashore, and were vsed kyndly by the people, wee sodd our kettle by ye water syde within nighte, and rested aboorde.

May 23. [*f.* lxviii.] Satterday we passed a few short reaches; and. 5. mile of *poore Cottage* we went a shore. Heer we found our kinde Comrades againe, who had gyven notice all along as they came of vs: by which we were entertayned with much Courtesye in every place. We found here a *Wiroans* (for so they call their kynges) who satt upon a matt of Reedes, with his people about him: He caused one to be layd for Captaine *Newport*, gave vs a Deare roasted; which

according to their Custome they seethed againe: His people gave vs mullberyes, sodd wheate and beanes, and he caused his weomen to make Cakes for vs. He gave our Captaine his Crowne which was of Deares hayre, Dyed redd. Certifying him of our intentyon vp the Ryver, he was willing to send guydes with us. This we found to be a kynge subiect to *Pawatah* the Cheife of all the kyngdomes) his name is *Arahatec*: the Country *Arahatecoh*. [1607]

Now as we satt merye banquetting with them, seeing their Daunces, and taking Tobacco, Newes came that the greate kyng *Powatah* was come: at whose presence they all rose of[f] their mattes (saue the king *Arahatec*); separated themselves aparte in fashion of a Guard, and with a long shout they saluted him. Him wee saluted with silence sitting still on our mattes, our Captaine in the myddest; but presented (as before we Dyd to king *Arahatec*) gyftes of dyvers sortes, as penny knyves, sheeres, belles, beades, glasse toyes &c. more amply then before. Now this king appointed. 5. men to guyde us up the River, and sent Postes before to provyde us victuall. [*pp.* lxxvi, lxxxvi.]

I caused now our kynde Consort that described the River to vs, to draw it againe before kyng *Arahatec*, who in euery thing consented to his Draught, and it agreed with his first relatyon. This we found a faythfull fellow, he was one that was appointed guyde for us. [*pp.* xli, xlvii, lv.]

Thus parting from *Arahatecs ioye*, we found the people on either syde the Ryver stand in Clusters all along, still proferring vs victualls, which of some were accepted; as our guydes (that were with vs in the boate) pleased, and gaue them requitall.

So after we had passed some 10. myle, which (by the pleasure and ioye we tooke of our kinde interteynment, and for the Comfort of our happy and hopefull Discovery) we accompted scarce. 5. we came to the second Ilet Described in the Ryver; over against which on *Popham* syde is the habitatyon of the greate kyng *Pawatah*: which I call *Pawatahs Towre*; it is scituat upon a highe Hill by the water syde, a playne betweene it and the water. 12. score [yards] over, wheron he sowes his wheate, beane, peaze, tobacco, pompions, gourdes, Hempe, flaxe, &c. And were any Art vsed to the naturall state of this place, [*pp.* 163, 481.]

[1607] it would be a goodly habitatyon: Heere we were conducted vp the Hill to the kyng, with whome we found our kinde king *Arahatec*: Thes. 2. satt by themselves aparte from all the rest (saue one who satt by *Powatah*; and what he was I could not gesse but they told me he was no *Wiroans*): Many of his company satt on either side: and the mattes for vs were layde right over against the kynges. He caused his weomen to bring vs vittailes, mulberyes, strawberryes &c. but our best entertaynment was frendly wellcome.

In Discoursing with him, we founde that all the kyngdomes from the were frendes with him, and (to vse his owne worde) *Cheisc*, which is all one with him or vnder him. Also wee perceived the *Chessipian* to be an Enemye generally to all thes kyngdomes: vpon which I tooke occasion to signifye our Displeasure with them also: making it knowne that we refused to plant in their Country; that we had warres with them also, shewing hurtes scarce whole received by them, for which we vowed revenge, after their maner, pointing to the Sunne: ffurther we certifyed him that we were frendes with all his people and kyngdomes, neither had any of them offred us ill, or vsed vs vnkyndly. Hereupon he (very well understanding by the wordes and signes we made; the significatyon of our meaning) moved of his owne accord a leauge of frynd-ship with vs; which our Captaine kyndly imbraced; and for concluding therof, gaue him his gowne, put it on his back himselfe, and laying his hand on his breast saying *Wingapoh Chemuze* (the most kynde wordes of salutatyon that may be) he satt Downe.

[*pp.* lxii, 5, 31, 91, 387, 836.]

Now the Day Drawing on, we made signe to be gone, wherwith he was contented; and sent. 6. men with vs: we also left a man with him, and Departed. But now rowing some. 3. myle in shold water we came to an overfall, impassable for boates any further. Here the water falles Downe through great mayne Rockes, from ledges of Rockes aboue. 2. fadome highe: in which fall it maketh Divers little Ileets, on which might be placed 100. water milnes for any vses. Our mayne Ryver ebbs and flowes. 4. foote even to ye skert of this Downfall. Shippes of. 200. or. 300. tonne may come to within. 5.

myle hereof, and the rest Deepe inoughe for Barges, or small vessells that Drawe not aboue. 6. foote water. Having viewed this place, betweene Content and greefe we left it for this night, determyning the next Day to fitt our selfe for a March by Land. [1607]

So we road all night betweene *Pawatahs Tower* and that Ilet I call wheron is. 6. or. 7. families. One of our Guydes which we had from *Arahatecs Ioy* whose name was *Nauiraus*, and now we found to be brother in Lawe to king *Arahatec*, desired to sleepe in the boate with vs: we permitted him, and vsed him with all the kyndnes we coulde: He proved a very trustye frend, as after is Declared. Now we sent for our Man to *Pawatah*, who coming told us of his entertaynment, how they had prepared mattes for him to lye on, gave him store of victualls, and made asmuch on him as coulde be/

Sonday, Whitsonday, our Captayne caused two peeces of porke to be sodd a shore with pease; to which he invyted king *Pawatah*: for *Arahatec* perswading himselfe we would come Downe the Ryver that night, went home before Dynner, for preparatyon against our Coming. But in presence of them both it fell out that we missing two bullet bagges which had shott and Dyvers trucking toyes in them: we Complayned to theis kynges, who instantly caused them all to be restored, not wanting any thing. Howbeit they had Devyded the shott and toyes to (at least) a Dozen severall persons; and those also in the Ilet over the water: One also having stollen a knyfe, brought it againe vpon his Comaunde before we supposed it lost, or had made any signe for it: So Captaine *Newport* gave thanckes to the kinges and rewarded the theeves with the same toyes they had stollen, but kept the bullets: yet he made knowne unto them the Custome of *England* to be Death for such offences. May 24.

Now *Arahatec* departed, and it being Dynner tyme, king *Pawatah* with some of his people satt with vs, brought of his dyet, and we fedd familiarly, without sitting in his state as before; he eat very freshly of our meat, Dranck of our beere, Aquavite, and Sack. Dynner Done we entred into Discourse of the Ryver how far it might be

[1607] to the head therof, where they gat their Copper, and their Iron, and how many dayes Iornye it was to *Monanacah Rahowacah* and the Mountaines *Quirank*: requesting him to have guydes with vs also in our intended March; for our Captaine Determyned to haue travelled two or. 3. dayes Iornye a foote vp the Ryver: but without gyving any answer to our Demaundes, he shewde he would meete vs himselfe at the overfall and so we parted. This *Nauiraus* accompanyed vs still in the boate. According to his promyse he [*Pawatah*] mett vs; where the fellow whome I haue called our kinde Consort, he that followed vs from *Turkey Ile*, at the Coming of *Pawatah* made signe to vs we must make a shoute, which we Dyd.

Now sitting vpon the banck by the overfall beholding the same, he began to tell vs of the tedyous travell we should haue if wee proceeded any further, that it was a Daye and a halfe Iorney to *Monanacah*, and if we went to *Quiranck*, we should get no vittailes and be tyred, and sought by all meanes to Disswade our Captayne from going any further: Also he tolde vs that the *Monanacah* was his Enmye, and that he came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrye.

Now what I coniecture of this I haue left to a further experience. But our Captayne out of his Discreyton (though we would faine have seene further, yea and himselfe as desirous also) Checkt his intentyon and retorned to his boate; as holding it much better to please the king (with whome and all of his Comaund he had made so faire way) then to prosecute his owne fancye or satisfye our requestes: So vpon one of the little Ileets at the mouth of the falls he sett vp a Crosse with this [*pp.* lxix, 7.] inscription *Iacobus Rex.* 1607. and his owne name belowe: At the erecting hereof we prayed for our kyng and our owne prosperous succes in this his Actyon, and proclaymed him kyng, with a greate showte. The king *Pawatah* was now gone (and as we noted somewhat Distasted with our importunity of proceeding vp further) and all the Salvages likewise save *Nauiraus*, who seeing vs set vp a Crosse with such a shoute, began to admire; but our Captayne told him that the two Armes of the Crosse signifyed king *Powatah* and himselfe, the fastening

of it in the myddest was their vnited Leaug, and the shoute the reverence he Dyd to *Pawatah*, which cheered *Nauiraus* not a little. [1607]

Also (which I have omytted) our Captayne before *Pawatah* Departed shewed him that if he would, he would gyve the *Wiroans* of *Monanacah* into his handes, and make him king of that Country, making signes to bring to his ayde. 500. men, which pleased the king muche, and vpon this (I noted) he told vs the tyme of the yere when his enemyes assaile him.

So farr as we could Discerne the River above the overfall, it was full of huge Rockes: About a myle of[f], it makes a pretty bigg Iland; It runnes up betweene highe Hilles which increase in height one aboue another so farr as wee sawe. Now our kynde Consortes relatyon sayth (which I dare well beleeve, in that I found not any one report false of the River so farr as we tryed, or that he tolde vs vntruth in any thing ells whatsoeuer) that after a Dayes iorney or more, this River Devydes it selfe into two branches, which both come from the mountaynes *Quirank*. Here he whispered with me that theer *caquassan* was gott in the bites of Rockes and betweene Cliffes in certayne vaynes. [*pp.* xli, xliii, lv.]

Having ended thus of force our Discovery, our Captayne intended to call of kyng *Pawatah*, and sending *Nauiraus* vp to him he came Downe to the water syde; where he went a shore single vnto him, presented him with a Hatchet, and staying but till *Nauiraus* had tolde (as we trewly perceived) the meaning of our setting vp the Crosse, which we found Dyd exceedingly reioyce him, he came a boorde, with the kyndest farewell that possible might be. Now at our putting of[f] the boate, *Nauiraus* willed vs to make a shout, which we Dyd two severall times, at which ye king and his company weaved their skinnes about their heades answering our shout with gladnes in a frendly fashion. [*pp.* lxix, 7.]

This night (though late) we came to *Arahatec Ioy*, where we found the king ready to entertayne vs, and had provided some victualls for vs, but he tolde vs he was very sick, and not able to sitt vp long with us, so we repaired aborde.

Monday he came to the water syde, and we went a shore to him agayne. He tolde vs that our hott Drynckes May 25.

[1607] he thought caused his greefe, but that he was well agayne, and we were very wellcome. He sent for another Deere which was roasted and after sodd for us (as before) Our Captayne caused his Dynner to be Dressed a shore also. Thus we satt banquetting all the forenoone. some of his people led vs to their houses, shewed vs the growing of their Corne and the maner of setting it, gave us Tobacco, wallnutes, mulberyes, strawberryes, and Respises. One [*pp.* 74, 369.] shewed us the herbe called in their tongue *wisacan*, which they say heales poysoned woundes, it is like lyverwort or bloudwort. One gaue me a Roote wherwith they poison their Arrowes. they would shew vs any thing we Demaunded, and laboured very much by signes to make vs vnderstand their Languadge.

Nauiraus our guyde and this kings brother made a complaint to *Arahatec*, that one of his people prest into our boate to[o] vyolently vpon a man of ours; which Captaine *Newport* (vnderstanding the pronenes of his owne men to such iniuryes) misconstruing the matter, sent for his owne man, bound him to tree before King *Arahatec*, and with a Cudgell soundly beate him. the king perceiveing the error, stept vp and stayde our Captaynes hand And sytting still a while, he spyed his owne man that Dyd the iniurye: upon which he silently rose, and made towardes the fellow, he seeing him come, runn away, after ran the king, so swiftly as I assure my selfe he might gyve any of our Company. 6. score [yards] in. 12. with the king ran also Dyvers others, who all returning brought Cudgells and wandes in their hands all to be tewed, as if they had beaten him extreamly.

At Dynner our Captayne gaue the kyng a glasse and some Aquavitæ therin, shewing him the benefytt of the water, for which he thanckt him kindly: and taking our Leaue of him, he promised to meete vs at a point not farr of: where he hath another house, which he performed withall, sending men into the woodes to kill a Dere for vs if they could. This place I call *mulbery shade*. He caused heere to be prepared for us *pegatewk-Apyan* which is bread [*pp.* lxix, 62.] of their wheat made in Rolles and Cakes; this the weomen make, and are very clenly about it; we had parched meale, excellent good; sodd beanes, which eate as sweete as

filbert kernells in a maner, strawberryes and mulberyes new shaken of the tree dropping on our heads as we satt: He made ready a land turtle which we eate, and shewed that he was hartely reioyced in our Company. He was Desirous to haue a musket shott of[f], shewing first the maner of their owne skirmishes, which we perceive is violent Cruell and full of Celerity; they vse a tree to Defend them in fight, and having shott an Enemy that he fall, they maull him with a short wodden sworde. Our Captayne caused a gentleman Discharge his peece Souldyer like before him, at which noyse he started, stopt his eares, and exprest much feare, so likewise all about him; some of his people being in our boate leapt over boorde at the wonder hereof: but our course of kyndnes after, and letting him to witt that wee neuer vse this thunder but against our enemyes, yea and that we would assist him with thes to terrify and kill his Adversaryes, he rejoyced the more, and we found it bred a better affectyon in him towards vs; so that by his signes we vnderstood he would or long be with us at our ffort. Captayne *Newport* bestowed on him a redd wa[i]stcote, which highly pleased him, and so Departed, gyving him also. 2. shouts as the boate went of[f]. [1607] [*pp.* 72, 367]

This night we went some mile, and ankored at a place I Call *kynd womans care* which is mile from *Mulbery shade.* Here we came within night, yet was there ready for vs of bread new made, sodden wheate and beanes, mullberyes, and some fishe vndressed more then all we could eate. Moreover thes people seemed not to craue any thing in requitall, Howbeit our Captain voluntarily distributed guifts.

Tuesday we parted from *kynd womans care*, and by Directyon of *Nauiraus* (who still accompanyed in the boate with vs) went a shore at a place I call *Queene Apumatecs bowre.* He caryed vs along through a plaine lowe grownd prepared for seede, part wherof had ben lately Cropt: and assending a pretty Hill, we sawe the Queene of this Country comminge in selfe same fashion of state as *Pawatah* or *Arahatec*; yea rather with more maiesty: she had an vsher before her who brought her to the matt prepared vnder a faire mulbery tree, where she satt her May. 26. [*pp.* lxv, 7, 25, 400.]

[1607] Downe by her selfe with a stayed Countenance. she would permitt none to stand or sitt neere her: she is a fatt lustie manly woman: she had much Copper about her neck, a Crownet of Copper upon her hed: she had long black haire, which hanged loose downe her back to her myddle, which only part was Covered with a Deares skyn, and ells all naked. She had her woemen attending on her adorned much like her selfe (save they wanted ye Copper). Here we had our accustomed Cates, Tobacco and wellcome. Our Captayne presented her with guyfts liberally, whervpon shee cheered somewhat her Countenance; and requested him to shoote o[f] a peece, wherat (we noted) she shewed not neere the like feare as *Arahatec* though he be a goodly man. She had much Corne in the grownd: she is subiect to *Pawatah* as the rest are; yet within herselfe of as greate authority as any of her neighbour *Wy*[*r*]*oances*. Captayne *Newport* stayd here some. 2. houres and Departed.

Now leaving her, *Nauiraus* Dyrected us to one of king *Pamaunches* howses some. 5. myle from the *Queenes Bower*.

Here we were entertayned with greate ioye and gladnes, the people falling to Daunce, the weomen to preparing vitailes, some boyes were sent to Dive for muskles, they gaue vs Tobacco, and very kyndly saluted vs.

This kyng [*Opechancanough*] (sitting in maner of the rest) so set his Countenance stryving to be stately, as to our seeming he became foole. Wee gaue him many presentes, and certifyed him of our Iorney to ye falles our League with the greate kyng *Pawatah*, a most certayne frendship with *Arahatec* and kynde entertaynment of the Queene: that we were professed Enemyes to the *Chessepians*, and would assist kyng *Pawatah* against the *Monanacans*; with this he seemed to be much reioyced; and he would haue had our Captayne staye with him all night, which he refused not, but single with the king walked aboue two flight shott, shewing therby his trew meaning without Distrust or feare. Howbeit, we followed a loofe of[f], and coming up to a gallant Mulbery tree, we founde Divers preparing vittaiies for vs: but the kyng seing our intentyon was to accompany our Captaine, he altered his purpose and weaved vs in kyndnes to our boate. This *Wyroans Pamaunche* I holde to inhabite a Rych land of

Copper and pearle. His Country lyes into the land to another Ryver, which by relatyon and Descriptyon of the Salvages comes also comes also from the Mountaynes *Quirank*, but a shorter Iorney. The Copper he had, as also many of his people, was very flexible, I bowed a peece of the thicknes of a shilling rounde about my finger, as if it had ben lead: I found them nice in parting with any; They weare it in their eares, about their neckes in long lynckes, and in broade plates on their heades: So we made no greate enquyry of it, neither seemed Desirous to have it. The kyng had a Chaine of pearle about his neck thrice Double, the third parte of them as bygg as pease, which I could not valew lesse worth then. 3. or. 400. *li* had the pearle ben taken from the Muskle as it ought to be. His kyngdome is full of Deare (so also is moste of all the kyngdomes:) he hath (as the rest likewise) many ryche furres. This place I call *Pamaunches pallace*, howbeit by *Nauiraus* his wordes the kyng of *Winauh* is possessor hereof. The platt of grownd is bare without wood some. 100. acres, where are set beanes, wheate, peaze, Tobacco, Gourdes, pompions, and other thinges vnknowne to us in our tongue. [1607]

Now having left this kyng in kyndnes and frendship: we crossed over the water to a sharpe point, which is parte of *Winauk* on *Salisbury* syde (this I call *careles point*). Here some of our men went a shore with *Nauiraus*, mett. 10. or. 12. Salvages, who offering them neither victualls nor Tobacco, they requitted their Courtesy with the like, and left them.

This night we came to point *Winauk* right against which we rested all night.

There was an olde man with King *Pamaunche* (which I omitted in place to specify) who wee understood to be. 110. yere olde; for *Nauiraus* with being with vs in our boate had learned me so much of the Languadg[e], and was so excellently ingenious in signing out his meaning, that I could make him vnderstand me, and perceive him also wellny in any thing. But this knowledg[e] our Captaine gatt by taking a bough and singling of the leaues, let one drop after another, saying *caische* which is. 10. so first *Nauiraus* tooke. 11. beanes and tolde them to vs, pointing to this olde fellow, then 110. beanes; by [*p.* lxx.] [*pp.* 45, 381]

[1607] which he awnswered to our Demaund for. 10. yeares a beane, and also euery yere by it selfe. This was a lustye olde man, of a sterne Countenance, tall and streight, had a thinne white beard, his armes overgrowne with white haires, and he went as strongly as any of the rest.

May 27. Wensday we went a shore at Point *Winauk*, where *Nauiraus* caused them to goe a fisshing for us, and they brought us in a shorte space good store: Thes seemed our good frindes but (the cause I knowe not) heere [*pp.* 7, 92.] *Nauiraus* tooke some Conceyt, and though he shewed no discontent, yet would he by no meanes goe any further with vs, saying he would goe vp to kyng *Arahatek*, and then within some three dayes after he would see vs at our ffort. This greeved our Captayne very Deeply, for the loving kyndnes of this fellow was such as he trusted himselfe with vs out of his owne Country, intended to come to our fforte, and as wee came he would make frendship for vs, before he would lett vs goe a shore at any place, being (as it seemed) very carefull of our safety.

So our Captayne made all haste home, Determyning not to stay in any place as fearing some disastrous happ at our forte. Which fell out as we expected, thus.

After our Departure they seeldome frequented our ffort, but by one or two single now and then, practising vpon oportunity, now in our absence, perceiving there secure Caryadg[e] in the fort; and the xxvith of May being ye Day before our returne, there came aboue. 200. of them with their kyng and gave a very furious Assault to our fort, endaungering their overthrowe, had not the Shippes ordinance with their small shott daunted them: They came vp allmost into the ffort, shot through the tents, appeared in this Skirmishe (which indured hott about an hower) a very valiant people: they hurt vs. 11. men (wherof one Dyed after) and killed a Boy, yet perceived they not this Hurt in vs. We killed Dyvers of them, but one wee sawe them tugg of[f] on ther backes, and how many hurt we knowe not. A little after they made a huge noyse in the woodes, which our men surmised was at ye burying of their slayne men. ffoure of the Counsell that stood

in front were hurt in mayntayning the fforte, and our president Master *Wynckfeild* (who shewed himselfe a valiant Gentleman) had one shott cleane through his bearde, yet scaped hurte. [1607]

Thus having ended our Discovery, which we hope may tend to the glory of God, his Maiestes Renowne, our Countryes profytt, our owne advauncing and fame to all posterity: we settled our selues to our owne safety, and began to fortefye; Captayne *Newport* worthely of his owne accord causing his Sea men to ayde vs in the best parte therof.

Thursday we laboured, pallozadoing our fort. 28.

Fryday the salvages gave on againe, but with more feare, not daring approche scarce within musket shott: they hurt not any of us, but finding one of our Dogges, they killed him: they shott aboue. 40. arrowes into, and about the forte. 29.

Satterday, we were quyet. 30.

Sunday they came lurking in the thickets and long grasse; and a Gentleman one *Eustace Clovell* vnarmed stragling without the ffort, shot. 6. Arrowes into him, wherwith he came runinge into the ffort, crying Arme Arme, thes stycking still: He lyved. 8. Dayes, and Dyed. The Salvages stayed not, but run away.

Monday some. 20. appeared, shott Dyvers Arrowes at randome which fell short of our fforte, and rann away. June 1.

Tuesday } quyet and wrought upon fortification, Clap- 2.
Wensday } boord, and setting of Corne. 3.

Thursday by breake of Day. 3. of them had most adventurously stollen under our Bullwark and hidden themselves in the long grasse; spyed a man of ours going out to doe naturall necessity, shott him in the head, and through the Clothes in two places but missed the skynne. 4.

Fryday. quyet. 5.

Satterday there being among the Gentlemen and all the Company a murmur and grudg[e] against certayne preposterous proceedinges, and inconvenyent Courses, [they] put up a Petytion to the Counsell for reformatyon. 6.

Sonday. no accydent 7.

[1607] 8. Monday, Master *Clovell* Dyed that was shott with. 6: Arrowes sticking in him. This afternoone. 2. salvages presented themselues vnarmed a farr of[f] Crying *Wingapoh*; there were also three more having bowe and arrowes: these we Conjectured came from some of those kinges with whom we had perfect league: but one of our Gentlemen garding in the woodes and having no Comaundement to the contrary shott at them: at which (as their Custome is) they fell downe, and after run away: yet farther of[f] we heard them crye *Wingapoh* notwithstanding.

9. Tuesday in cutting downe a greate oke for Clapboord, there issued out of the hart of the tree the quantity of two barricoes of liquor, in taste as good as any vyneger, save a little smack it tooke of the oke.

10. Wensday the Counsell scanned the Gentlemans Petityon: Wherin Captayne *Newport* shewing himselfe no lesse Carefull of our Amitye and Combyned frendship, then became him in the deepe Desire he had of our good; vehemently with ardent affectyon wonne our hartes by his fervent perswasyon, to vniformity of Consent, and Callmed that, out of our Loue to him, with ease, which I doubt without better satisfactyon had not contentedly ben caryed. Wee confirmed a faythfull loue one to another, and in our hartes subscribed an obedyence to our Superyours this Day. Captaine *Smyth* was this Day sworne one of the Counsell, who was elected in England.

11. Thursday, Articles and orders for Gentlemen and Soldyers were vpon the Court of Garde, and Content was in the Quarter.

12. Fryday, Cutting downe another tree, the like accident of vineger proceeded.

13. Satterday. 8. salvages lay close among the weedes and long grasse: and spying one or two of our Maryners Master *Ihon Cotson* and Master *Mathew ffitch* by themselves, shott *Mathew ffytch* in the somwhat dangerously, and so rann away this Morning. Our Admiralls [*flagship's*] men gatt a Sturgeon of. 7. foote long which Captayne *Newport* gaue vs.

14. Sondaye, two salvages presented themselves vnarmed, to whome our President and Captaine *Newport* went out. one of these was that fellow I call in my Relatyon of

Discovery our kinde Consort, being hee we mett at *Turkye Ile*. These certifyed vs who were our frendes, and who foes, saying that king *Pamaunke* kyng *Arahatec*, the kyng of *Youghtamong*, and the king of *Matapoll* would either assist vs or make vs peace with *Paspeiouk*, *Tapahanauk*, *Wynauk*, *Apamatecoh* and *Chescaik*, our Contracted Enemyes: He counselled vs to Cutt Downe the long weedes rounde about our fforte, and to proceede in our sawing: Thus making signes to be with vs shortly agayne, they parted. [1607] [*pp.* xli, xliii, xlvii.]

Monday, we wrought vpon Clapborde for *England*. 15.

Tuesday, two salvages without from *Salisbury* syde being *Tapahanauks* Country, Captayne *Newport* went to them in the barge ymagining they had ben our Sonday frendes: but thes were *Tapahanauks* and cryed (treacherously) *Wingapoh*, saying their king was on the other syde of a point, where had our Barge gone it was so shold water as they might have effected their villanous plott: but our Admirall tolde them *Tapahanauk* was *matah* and *chirah*, wherat laughing they went away. 16.

Wensdaye. } 17.
Thursdaye. } no Accydent. 18.
Frydaye. } 19.
Satterday. } 20.

Sondaye, we had a Communyon: Captaine *Newport* Dyned a shore with our Dyet, and invited many of us to Supper as a farewell / 21.

[*Endorsed*]

Capten *Newports* relation of *Virginia* Discovery.

[From this endorsement, it would seem that whoever wrote this "relatyon," it was the official one presented by NEWPORT on his return home.

This *Relatyon* is followed by]

The Discription of the now discovered River and Country of *Virginia*; with the liklyhood of ensuing ritches, by *Englands* ayd and industry. /

A Breif discription of the People. /

DUDLEY CARLETON.

Letter to JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

18 *August* 1607.

[*Extract.*] [*State Papers, Domestic. James* I. (1607) Vol. 28, No. 34.

[1607] MAster *Chamberlain*, you may whilst you liue confess your obligation to Sir *W. Cope, &c.*

And now you have all our domestike newes, for publike you shall vnderstand, that Captaine *Newport* is come from owr late adventurers to *Virginia* hauing left them in an Island in the midst of a great river 120 mile into the land. They write much commendations of the aire and the soile and the commodities of it: but siluer and golde haue they none, and they can not yet be at peace with the inhabitants of the cuntrie. They haue fortified themselfs and built a small towne which they call *James-towne*, and so they date theyr letters: but the towne me thincks hath no gracefull name, and besides the *Spaniards* who thinck it no small matter of moment how they stile theyr new populations will tell us I dowbt it comes too neere *Villiaco*.

One Captaine *Waiman* a speciall favorit of Sir *Walter Copes* was taken the last weeke in a port in Kent shipping himself for *Spaine* with intent as is thought to have betraied his frends and shewed the *Spaniards* a meanes how to defeat this *Verginian* attempt. The great counsell of that State hath resolved of a dubble supplie to be sent thether with all diligence. The opinion is now generally that the Peace will be made in the low cuntreys.

Sir *Richard Spencer* saw not the king, *etc.*

from London this 18th of August. 1607.

Yours most assuredly

[*Added below.*] DUDLEY CARLETON.

Master *Porie* tells me of a name giuen by a *Duchman* who wrote to him in Latin from the new towne in *Verginia*, *Jacobopolis*, and Master *Warner* hath a letter from Master *George Percie* who names theyr towne *James-fort*, which we like best of all the rest because it comes neere to *Chemes-ford*.

[Rev. Samuel Purchas.]

Observations gathered out of *A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in* Virginia *by the* English, 1606:

Written by that Honorable Gentleman, Master George Percy.

[From the Rev. S. Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1685-1690. *Ed.* 1625. It would be very desirable to find the manuscript, of the beginning of which Purchas has here given us a Summary.]

ON Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell [*i.e.*, *down the Thames*] from *London*, and the fift of Ianuary we anchored in the *Downes*: but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time; where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger. [1606-7]

[*These side-notes are chiefly by the Rev.* S. Purchas.]

The twelfth day of February [1607] at night, we saw a blazing Starre; and presently [came] a storme.

The three and twentieth day [*of March* 1607], we fell [in] with the Iland of *Mattanenio*, in the West *Indies*. The next day [24 *Mar.* 1607

1607] The foure and twentieth day [*of March*], we anchored at *Dominico*, within fourteene degrees of the Line: a very faire Iland, the Trees full of sweet and good smels; [and] inhabited by many Sauage *Indians*. They were at first very scrupulous to come aboord vs. Wee learned of them afterwards, that the *Spaniards* had giuen them a great ouerthrow on this Ile; but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ships with their Canoas; bringing vs many kindes of sundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits; and *Roane* Cloth [in] abundance, which they had gotten out of certaine *Spanish* ships that were cast away vpon that Iland. We gaue them Kniues, [and] Hatchets for exchange; which they esteeme much. Wee also gaue them Beades, [and] Copper Iewels which they hang through their nosthrils, ears, and lips, very strange to behold.

Captaine *Smith* was suspected for a supposed Mutinie, though neuer no such matter.

Trade at *Dominica*.

Their bodies are all painted red, to keepe away the biting of Muscetos [*mosquitoes*]. They goe all naked without couering. The haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length, pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes. They suffer no haire to grow on their faces. They cut [*tattoo*] their skinnes in diuers workes. They are continually in warres; and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. They will lap vp mans spittle, whilst one spits in their mouthes, in a barbarous fashion like Dogges. These people and the rest of the Ilands in the West *Indies*, and *Brasill*, are called by the names of *Canibals*, that will eate mans flesh. These people doe poyson their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone. They worship the Deuill for their God, and haue no other beliefe.

Brutishnesse of the *Dominicans*.

Whilest we remayned at this Iland, we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a Sword-fish. They fought for the space of two houres. We might see the Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blowes which was strange to behold. In the end, these two fishes brought the Whale to her end.

Fight betwixt a Whale, the Thresher and Sword-fish.

The sixe and twentieth day [*of March*, 1607], we had sight of *Mari*[*a*]*galanta*: and the next day [27 *March*], wee sailed with a slacke saile, alongst the Ile of *Guadalupa*; where we went ashore, and found a Bath which was

Mar[*ia*]*galanta*.

Guadalupa. Bath very hot.

so hot that no man was able to stand long by it. Our Admirall [*here designating the Chief in command, not the flagship*], Captaine *Newport*, caused a piece of Porke to be put in it; which boyled it so, in the space of halfe an hour, as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboord, and sailed by many Ilands, as *Mounserot* [*Montserrat*] and an Iland called Saint *Christopher*; both vninhabited. [1607]

About two a clocke in the afternoone [28 *March*], wee anchored at the Ile of *Meuis* [*i.e.*, *Nevis*]. There the Captaine landed all his men, being well fitted with Muskets and other conuenient Armes; [and] marched a mile into the Woods: being [*where they were*] commanded to stand vpon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the *Indians*; which is an ordinary vse amongst them, and all other Sauages on this Ile. We came to a Bath standing in a Valley betwixt two Hils, where wee bathed our selues; and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes [*mineral springs*] in *England*, some places hot and some colder: and men may refresh themselues as they please. *Meuis.* Bath at *Meuis.*

Finding this place to be so conuenient for our men to auoid diseases which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped ourselues on this Ile sixe dayes [28 *Mar.*–2 *April* 1607], and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men, some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing: where we got great store of Conies, sundry kinds of fowles, and great plentie of fish. We kept Centinels and Courts *de gard* [*Pickets*] at euery Captaines quarter, fearing wee should be assaulted by the *Indians*, that were on the other side of the Iland. Wee saw [*met with*] none, nor were molested by any: but some few we saw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to vs by any meanes, but ranne swiftly through the Woods to the Mountaine tops, so we lost the sight of them: whereupon we made all the haste wee could to our quarter [*camp*], thinking there had beene a great ambush of *Indians* there abouts. [*pp.* xxxii, 910.] Commodities there.

We past into the thickest of the Woods, where we had almost lost our selues. We had not gone aboue halfe a mile amongst the thicke, but we came into a most pleasant Garden: being a hundred paces square on euery side, hauing many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance

[1607] of Cotton-wooll, and many *Guiacum* trees. Wee saw the goodliest tall trees growing so thicke about the Garden, as though they had been set by Art: which made vs maruell very much to see it.

Aprill. The third day [*of April*, 1607], wee set saile from *Meuis*.

The fourth day [*April*], we sailed along by *Castutia* [*St. Eustatius*] and by *Saba*.

This day [4 *April* 1607], we anchored at the Ile of *Virgines*, in an excellent Bay able to harbour a hundred [**1686**] Ships. If this Bay stood in *England*, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of Fresh-fish and abundance of Sea Tortoises. Tortoises, which serued all our Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle. Wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, [and] straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee haue seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Vpon the sixt day [*of April*], we set saile and passed by *Becam* [*Bicque*], and by Saint *Iohn de porto rico*.

The seuenth day [*of April*], we arriued at *Mona:* where wee watered: which we stood in great need of, seeing *Meuis* water vnwholesome. that our water [*obtained at* Nevis] did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it.

Whilst some of the Saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers, marched vp in the Ile sixe myles; thinking to find some other prouision to maintaine our victualling. As we marched, we killed two wild Bores; and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. We also killed Guanas [*lizards*], in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade vnder the belly.

These wayes that wee went, being [*were*] so troublesome and vilde, going vpon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march: but, by good fortune, wee lost *Ed. Brookes* faint with thirst. none but one *Edward Brookes* Gentleman; whose fat melted within him, by the great heate and drought of

the Countrey. We were not able to relieue him nor our selues; so he died in that great extreamitie. [1607]

The ninth day [*of April*], in the afternoone, we went off with our Boat, to the Ile of *Moneta*, some three leagues from *Mona*: where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting vp to the top of the Mountaine or Ile; [it] being a high firme Rocke, ste[e]p, with many terrible sharpe stones. After wee got to the top of the Ile, we found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kindes. They flew ouer our heads as thicke as drops of Ha[i]le. Besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse. Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing. *Moneta.* Store of fowles.

The tenth day [*of April*], we set saile, and disimboged out of the West *Indies*; and bare oure course Northerly.

The fourteenth day, we passed the Tropicke of *Cancer*.

The one and twentieth day, about fiue a clocke at night, there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders, in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were.

The next morning, being the two and twentieth day, wee sounded; and [also] the three and twentieth, and foure and twent[i]eth day: but we could find no ground.

The fiue and twentieth day, we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom. We were driuen to try [*lie at hull*] that night[25*th*]: and by the storme, were forced neere the shoare; not knowing where we were.

The six and twentieth day of Aprill [1607], about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of *Virginia*. They land in *Virginia*.

The same day, wee entred into the Bay of *Chesupioc* directly, without any let or hindrance.

There wee landed and discouered a little way: but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees; with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost rauished at the first sight thereof.

[1607] At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Sauages creeping vpon all foure, from the Hills, like Beares; with their Bowes in their mouthes: [who] charged vs very desperately in the faces, [and] hurt Captaine *Gabri[e]ll Archer* in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous[ly]. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot; they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left vs.

[*pp.* xliv, 5, 31, 91, 387, 896.]

The seuen and twentieth day [*of April* 1607], we began to build vp our Shallop. The Gentlemen and Souldiers marched eight miles vp into that land. We could not see a Sauage in all that march. We came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beene newly a ro[a]sting Oysters. When they perceiued our comming, they fled away to the Mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire. We eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth [*or rather 28th*] day [*of April*], we la[u]nched our Shallop. The Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discouered vp the Bay.

We found a Riuer on the South side, running into the Maine [*up into the mainland*]: we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim. Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground, where we went on Land; and found the place fiue mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree. We saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was fiue and fortie foot long by the Rule. Vpon this plot of ground, we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones. Wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles.

Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes, and found that the Sauages had beene there, burning downe the grasse; as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to giue signes to bring their forces together, and so to giue vs battell. We past through excellent ground full of Flowers of diuers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I haue

seene, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kindes. Going a little further, we came into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then ours in *England*. [**1687**] All this march, we could neither see Sauage nor Towne. [1607]

Straw-berries.

When it grew to be towards night, we stood backe to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put vs out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the Riuer. Wee rowed ouer to a point of Land, where wee found a channell; and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelue fathom: which put vs in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape *Comfort*.

Point *Comfort*.

The nine and twentieth day, we set vp a Crosse at *Chesupioc* Bay, and named that place Cape *Henry*.

Thirtieth day [*of April*, 1607], we came with our ships to Cape *Comfort*; where we saw fiue Sauages running on the shoare.

Presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned; so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship: but they were at first very timersome, vntil they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart. Vpon that, they laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to vs; making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Sauages, *Kecoughtan*.

Kecoughtan.

Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing ouer a Riuer running into the Maine, where these Sauages swam ouer with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes.

When we came ouer to the other side, there was a many of other Sauages, which directed vs to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke they had beene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid [them] vpon the ground: the chiefest of them sate all in a rank; the meanest sort brought vs such dainties as they had, and of their bread which they make of their Maiz[e] or Gennea wheat. They would not suffer vs to eat vnlesse we sate

[1607] down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After
Tobacco. we were well satisfied, they gaue vs of their Tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artifically of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper.

After they had feasted vs, they shewed vs, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion. One
Singing and Dancing. of the Sauages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another; all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolues or Deuils. One thing of them I obserued; when they were in their dance, they kept stroke with their feet iust, one with another; but with their hands, heads, faces and bodies, euery one of them had a seuerall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Captaine gaue them Beades and other trifling Iewells.

They hang through their eares, Fowles legs. They shaue the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long, tied vp with an artificiall knot, with a many of Foules feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their priuities are couered with Beasts skinnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth. Some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry liuely colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye, in a brauer fashion then they in the West *Indies*.

The fourth day of May [1607], we came to the King or Werowance of *Paspihe* [*i.e.*, *Paspahegh*]: where they entertained vs with much welcome. An old Sauage made a
A long oration. long Oration, making a foule noise, vttering his speech with a vehement action; but we knew little what they meant.

Whilst we were in company with the *Paspihes*, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came from the other side of the Riuer in his Cannoa. He seemed to take displeasure of our being with the *Pasiphes*. He would faine haue had vs come to his Towne, [but] the Captaine was vnwilling. Seeing that the day was so far spent, he returned backe to his ships for that night.

The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* sent a Messenger, to haue vs come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gaue him trifles which pleased him. Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: [and] this said Messenger guided vs where our determination was to goe. [1607]

When wee landed, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came downe to the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I haue seene of Sauages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire colloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head; with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chaine of Beads about his necke; his face painted blew besprinkled with siluer Ore as wee thought; his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle; and in either eare a Birds Claw through it, beset with fine Copper or Gold. A Flute made of a Reed. [*p.* 418.]

He entertained vs in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of ciuill gouernment; holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behauiour. He caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Maiestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco: the rest of his company standing about him.

After he had rested a while, he rose, and made signes to vs to come to his Towne. He went formost, and all the rest of his people and our selues followed him vp a steepe Hill where his Palace was settled. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, hauing [*that had*] most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines. Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fieldes that euer was seene in [**1688**] any Countrey. When wee came to *Rapahannos* Towne, hee entertained vs in good humanitie.

The eight day of May [1607], we discouered vp the Riuer. We landed in the Countrey of *Apamatica*. At our landing, there came many stout and able Sauages to resist vs, with their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner: with their swords at their backes beset with [*pp.* xlix, 7, 25, 400.]

[1607] sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleaue a man in sunder.

Amongst the rest, one of the chiefest, standing before them cross-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold vttering of his speech, demanded of vs, [of] our being there, willing vs to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace; which they perceiued in the end, and let vs land in quietnesse.

Archers Hope. The twelfth day [*of May*], we went backe to our ships; and discouered a point of Land, called *Archers Hope*, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend our selues against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines, in bignesse of a mans thigh, running vp to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. We also did see many Squirels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and diuers other Fowles and Birds of diuers and sundrie collours of crimson, Watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry, and of diuers other hewes naturally without any art vsing. We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges. If it had not beene disliked because the ship [*f.* xc.] could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in *Paspihas* Countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land [of] which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

Their Plantation at *Iames* Towne. The fourteenth day [*of May* 1607], we landed all our men; which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was conuenient.

The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Sauages sayling close to our quarter. Presently there was an alarum giuen; vpon that, the Sauages ran away, and we [were] not troubled any more by them that night.

Not long after, there came two Sauages that seemed to be Commanders, brauely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire vpon their heads; which came as Messengers from the *Werowance* of *Paspihæ*, telling vs that their *Werowance*

was comming, and would be merry with vs with a fat Deare. [1607]

The eighteenth day, the *Werowance* of *Paspihæ* came himselfe to our quarter, with one hundred Sauages armed, which garded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes; thinking at that time to execute their villany. *Paspihæ* made great signes to vs to lay our Armes away: but we would not trust him so far. He seeing he could not haue conuenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would giue vs as much land as we would desire to take. Land given.

As the Sauages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him ouer the arme. Presently another Sauage seeing that, came fiercely at our man, with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The *Werowance* of *Paspiha* saw vs take to our Armes, [and] went suddenly away with all his company, in great anger. These Sauages are naturally great theeues.

The nineteenth day, my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods, by chance wee espied a pathway like to an *Irish* pace: wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring vs. Wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, hauing the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing ouer with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in *England*. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits vnknowne. Wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees [out of] which issues our sweet Gummes like to Balsam. Wee kept on our way in this Paradise. At length, wee came to a Sauage Towne, where wee found but few people. They told vs the rest were gone a hunting with the *Werowance* of *Paspiha*. We stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries and other things. In the meane time, one of the Sauages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes, and ranne mainly through the Woods. Then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray vs. Wee made all haste away wee could. One of the Sauages

[1607] brought vs on the way to the Wood side, where there was a Garden of Tobacco and other fruits and herbes. He gathered Tobacco, and distributed to euery one of vs; [and] so wee departed.

The twentieth day, the *Werowance* of *Paspiha* sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter: but they came more in villanie than any loue they bare vs. They faine would haue layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery.

One of our Gentlemen hauing a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it vp against a tree, willing one of the Sauages to shoot: who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better: which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him vp a steele Target: he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pierces. He presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage: so hee went away in great anger.

Their arrowes. Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like [1689] [*pp.* 68, 364.] a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially.

Paspihia was as good as his word; for hee sent Vension, but the Sawse came within a few dayes after.

Yellow haired *Virginian.* [*p.* xlii.] At Port *Cotage* in our Voyage vp the Riuer, we saw a Sauage Boy about the age of ten yeeres, which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow, and a reasonable white skinne; which is a Miracle amongst all Sauages.

River of *Pohatan.* This Riuer which wee haue discouered is one of the famousest Riuers that euer was found by any Christian. It ebbes and flowes a hundred and threescore miles, where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Wheresoeuer we landed vpon this Riuer, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypresse, Wal-nuts, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees

vnknowne; and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate flowres of diuers colours and kindes. There are also many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries, and Fruites vnknowne. There are many branches of this Riuer, which runne flowing through the Woods with great plentie of fish of all kindes; as for Sturgeon, all the World cannot be compared to it. In this Countrey I haue seene many great and large Medowes * hauing excellent good pasture for many Cattle. There is also great store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Muskats, and wild beasts vnknowne. [1607]

* Low Marshes.

The foure and twentieth day, wee set vp a Crosse at the head of this Riuer, naming it *Kings Riuer*, where we proclaimed *Iames* King of *England* to haue the most right vnto it. When wee had finished and set vp our Crosse, we shipt our men and made for *Iames* Fort. [*p.* xlvi, 7.]

By the way, wee came to *Pohatans* Towre, where the Captaine [*i.e.*, *Newport*] went on shore, suffering none to goe with him. Hee presented the Commander of this place, with a Hatchet; which hee tooke ioyfully, and was well pleased. Wee came downe the Riuer. [*p.* xlvii.]

But yet the Sauages murmured at our planting in the Countrie, whereupon this *Werowance* made answere againe very wisely of a Sauage, Why should you bee offended with them, as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force. They take but a little waste ground, which doth you nor any of vs any good.

I saw Bread made by their women, which doe all their drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and their warres, which they are in continually, one Kingdome against another. The manner of baking of bread is thus. After they pound their wheat into flowre, with hote water they make it into paste, and worke it into round balls and Cakes; then they put it into a pot of seething water: when it is sod throughly, they lay it on a smooth stone, there they harden it as well as in an Ouen. Bread how made. [*p.* xlviii.]

There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids. The Maids you shall alwayes see the fore part of their head and sides shauen close; the hinder part very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to Distinct habit of Maids and Wives.

[1607] their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and [it] is tied of that fashion that the Maids are. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a sharpe Iron, which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish, or Beasts: then with paintings of sundry liuely colours, they rule it into the stampe which will neuer be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh where it is se[a]red.

Savage 160 yeeres old. *p.* li.] The Sauages beare their yeares well, for when wee were at *Pamonkies*, wee saw a Sauage [who] by their report was aboue eight score yeeres of agē. His eyes were sunke into his head, hauing neuer a tooth in his mouth. His haire [was] all gray with a reasonable bigge beard, which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Sauage haue any haire on their faces. I neuer saw, read, nor heard, [of] any haue the like before. This Sauage was as lustie and went as fast as any of vs; which was strange to behold.

Bearded.

The fifteenth of Iune [1607], we had built and finished our Fort, which was triangle wise: hauing three Bulwarkes, [one] at euery corner, like a halfe Moone, and foure or fiue pieces of Artillerie mounted in them; [thus] we had made our selues sufficiently strong for these Sauages. We had also sowne most of our Corne on two Mountaines. It sprang [*had sprung*] a mans height from the ground. This Countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedars, Cypresse, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Captaine *Newports* departure. Munday the two and twentieth of Iune [1607], in the morning, Captaine *Newport* in the Admirall departed from *Iames* Port for *England*.

Captaine *Newport* being gone from *England*, leauing vs (one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls; furthermore, in warres and in danger of the Sauages. We hoped after a supply, which Captaine *Newport* promised within twentie weekes. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further vs, the Country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to

the Realme of *England*, as the *Indies* to the King of *Spaine*. If this Riuer which wee haue found had beene discouered in the time of warre with *Spaine*, it would haue beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies. [1607]

The seuen and twentieth of Iuly, the King of *Rapahanna* demanded a Canoa, which was restored. [He] lifted vp his hand to the Sunne (which they [**1690**] worship as their God), besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our speciall friend. It is a generall rule of these people; when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keep their Oath better vpon this promise. These people haue a great reuerence to the Sunne aboue all other things: at the rising and the setting of the same, they sit downe lifting vp their hands and eyes to the Sunne, making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco; then they began to pray, making many Deuillish gestures, with a Hellish noise, foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The Sauages vse to sacrifice to the Sunne.

The sixt of August [1607], there died *Iohn Asbie*, of the bloudie Flixe.

The ninth day, died *George Flowre*, of the swelling.

The tenth day, died *William Bruster* Gentleman, of a wound giuen by the Sauages, and was buried the eleuenth day.

The fourteenth day, *Ierome Alikock*, Ancient [*i.e.*, *Ensign*], died of a wound. The same day, *Francis Midwinter* [died], [and] *Edward Moris* Corporall died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, their died *Edward Browne* and *Stephen Galthorpe*.

The sixteenth day, their died *Thomas Gower* Gentleman.

The seuenteenth day, their died *Thomas Mounslic*.

The eighteenth day, there died *Robert Pennington*, and *Iohn Martine* Gentlemen.

The nineteenth day, died *Drue Piggase* Gentleman.

The two and twentieth day of August [1607], there died Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, one of our Councell: he was honourably buried, hauing all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many vollies of small shot.

Death of Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold.*

[1607] After Captaine *Gosnol[d]s* death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine *Kendall*; which [*who*] afterwards was committed about hainous matters which was proued against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died *Edward Harington* and *George Walker*; and were buried the same day.

The sixe and twentieth day, died *Kenelme Throgmortine*.

The seuen and twentieth day, died *William Roods*.

The eight and twentieth day, died *Thomas Stoodie*, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September [1607], died *Thomas Iacob* Sergeant.

The fift day, there died *Beniamin Beast*.

Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres; and some departed suddenly: but for the most part, they died of meere famine.

Miserable famine.

There were neuer *Englishmen* left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discouered *Virginia*. Wee watched euery three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soeuer came; [and] warded all the next day: which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod[den] in water, to fiue men a day. Our drinke, cold water taken out of the Riuer; which was, at a floud, verie salt; at a low tide, full of slime and filth: which was the destruction of many of our men.

Thus we liued for the space of fiue months [*August* 1607–8 *Jan.* 1608] in this miserable distresse, not hauing fiue able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pitifull murmurings and out-cries of our sick men without reliefe, euery night and day, for the space of sixe weekes [? 8 *Aug.*–19 *Sept.* 1607]: some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night; in the morning, their

bodies [being] trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges, to be buried. In this sort, did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people. [1607]

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies, to releeue vs with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie; which was the setting vp of our feeble men: otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by diuers Kings in the Countrie, bringing vs store of prouision to our great comfort. Gods goodnesse

The eleuenth day [*of September*, 1607], there was certaine *Articles* laid against Master *Wingfield* which was then President: thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captain *Iohn Ratcliffe* was chosen President. [*p.* lxxx.]

The eighteenth day [*of September*], died one *Ellis Kinistone*, which was starued [*frozen*] to death with cold. The same day at night, died one *Richard Simmons*.

The nineteenth day [*of September*], there died one *Thomas Mouton*.

William White (hauing liued with the Natiues) reported to vs of their customes. In the morning, by breake of day, before they eate or drinke, both men, women, and children (that be aboue tenne yeares of age), runnes into the water; there washes themselues a good while till the Sunne riseth: then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God. Likewise they doe at the setting of the *Sunne. He was a made man.

* The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Captaine *Smiths* Relations.

A Discourse of virginia per : Ed : Ma : wingfield.

This recrimination, which is simply invaluable as regards the early history of the James river Settlement, occupies *pp.* 382–396 of Vol. 250 of the Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace Library. It is written by a scrivener; and was intended to be signed by its Author, see next page.

[*pp.* lxxxii, lxxxvii.] WINGFIELD is herein most bitter against Captain ARCHER, who came home with him, in April 1608, in Captain NEWPORT's ship, *pp.* 105, 408. After ARCHER, he chiefly attacks RATCLIFFE. SMITH and MARTIN come in least for his complaints.

Most important for our present purpose, is the passage at *pp.* lxxxv–lxxxvi, which fixes the extreme dates of SMITH's absence from James town, on his Chickahominy expedition, when he first met POCAHONTAS, to be from the 10th Dec. 1607 to the morning of the 8th Jan. 1608.

On the whole, it would seem that while this Apology for his Government of the Colony between the 13th May and the 10th September 1607, shews that Captain WINGFIELD did not prove himself equal to the occasion of that most trying time; yet it is clear that he was an English gentleman.

[*pp.* 91, lxxiii. lxxxi.]

Right worshipfull and more worthy

[1608] MY due respect to your selves, my allegiance (if I may so terme it) to the Virginean action, my good heede to my poore reputacion, thrust a penne into my handes; so iealous am I to bee missing to any of them; if it wandereth in extravagantes, yet shall they not bee idle to those Phisitions, whose loves have vndertaken the saftie and advancement of Virginia.

It is no small comfort that I speake before such gravitie, whose iudgement no forrunner can forestall with any opprobrious vntruth[s], whose wisedomes can easily disroabe malice out of her painted garments from the ever reverenced truth.

I did so faithfully betroth my best indeavors to this noble enterprize, as my carriage might endure no suspition: I never turned my face from daunger, or hidd my handes from labour, so watchfull a Sentinel stood my self to my self.

I know wel a troope of errors continually beseege

mens actions, some of them ceased on by malice, some by ignorance. I doo not hoodwinck my carriage in my self love, but freely and humblie submit it to your grave censures. [1608]

I do freely and truely Anatomize the governement, and governours, that your experience may applie medicines accordinglie; and vpon the truth of this iournall do pledge my faith, and life, and so do rest

Yours to commaund in all service.

[No name, This Dedication was evidently intended to be signed by the Author.]

Here followeth what happined in James Towne, in virginia, after Captayne Newports departure for Engliund/

Captayne *Newport* haueing allwayes his eyes and eares open to the proceedinges of the Collonye, 3 or 4 dayes before his departure, asked the president how he thought himself settled in the gouernment: whose answere was, that no disturbance could indaunger him or the Collonye, but it must be wrought eyther by Captayne *Gosnold*, or Master *Archer*; for the one was strong with freindes and followers, and could if he would; and the other was troubled with an ambitious spirit, and would if he could. [1607]

The Captayne gave them both knowledg[e] of this, the Presidentes opinion; and mooued them, with many intreatyes, to be myndefull of their dutyes to his Majestie and the Collonye/

June, 1607.—The 22th, Captayne *Newport* retorned for *England*; for whose good passadge, and safe retorne wee made many prayers to our allmighty god/

June the 25th, an Indian came to vs from the great *Pcughwaton* with the worde of peace; that he desired greatly our freindshipp; that the wyrounnces, *Paspaheigh* and *Tapahanagh* should be our freindes; that wee should sowe and reape in peace, or els he would make warrs vpon them

[1607] with vs. This message fell out true; for both those wyroaunces haue ever since remayned in peace and trade with vs. Wee rewarded the messinger, with many tryfles, which were great wonders to him./

This *Powatan* dwelleth 10 myles from vs, vpon the River *Pamaonche*, which lyeth North from vs. The *Powatan* in the former iornall mencioned (a dwellar by Captain *Newports* faulls) ys a wyroaunce, and vnder this great *Powaton*, which before wee knew not/

[*p.* xliii.] [*Smith* says at *p.* 531, that he was "the first Christian" the real *Pow[h]atan* ever saw; and that was so late as about 3 Jan. 1608. This is confirmed by *Wingfield* at *p.* lxxxvi.]

July.—The 3 of July, 7 or 8 Indians presented the President a dear from *Pamaonke*, a wyrouance, desiring our friendshipp. They enquired after our shipping; which the President said was gon to *Croatoon*. They feare much our shipps; and therefore he would not haue them thinck it farr from us. Their wyrounce had a hatchet sent hym. They wear well Contented with trifles. A litle after this came a Dear to the President from the Great *Powatan*. He and his Messingers wear pleased with the like trifles. The President likewise bought diuers tymes dear of the Indyans; beavers, and other flesh; which he alwayes caused to be equally deuided among the Collonye/

About this tyme, diuers of our men fell sick. Wee myssed aboue fforty before September did see us; amongst whom was the worthy and religious gentleman Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold*, vpon whose lief stood a great part of the good succes and fortune of our gouernment and Collony. In his sicknes tyme, the President did easily foretell his owne deposing from his Comaund; so much differed the President and the other Councellors in mannaging the government of the Collonye/

July.—The 7th of July, *Tapahanah*, a wyroaunce, dweller on *Salisbery* side, hayled vs with the word of peace. The President, with a Shallopp well manned, went to him. He found him sytting on the ground crossed legged, as is theire Custome, with one attending on him, which did often saie, "This is the wyroance *Tapahanah*;" which he did likewise confirme with stroaking his brest. He was well enough knowne; for the President had sene him diuerse tymes before. His Countynance was nothing cherefull; for wee had not seen him since he was in the feild against vs: but the President would take no knowledg[e] thereof,

and vsed him kindely; giving him a red wa[i]s[t]coat, which he did desire. [1607]

Tapahanah did enquire after our shipping. He receyued answer as before. He said his ould store was spent, that his new was not at full groath by a foote; that as soone as any was ripe, he would bring it; which promise he truly performed.

The . . . of . . . Master *Kendall* was put of from beeing of the Counsell, and committed to prison; for that it did manyfestly appeare he did practize to sowe discord betweene the President and Councell/

Sicknes had not now left us vj able men in our Towne. gods onely mercy did now watch and warde for us: but the President hidd this our weakenes carefully from the salvages; neuer suffring them, in all his tyme, to come into our Towne.

Septem.—The vjth of September, *Paspaheigh* sent vs a boy that was run from vs. This was the first assurance of his peace with vs; besides wee found them no Canyballs.

The boye obserued the men and women to spend the most part of the night in singing or howling, and that euery morning the women carryed all the litle children to the rivers sides; but what they did there, he did not knowe/

The rest of the wyroaunces doe likewise send our men runnagates, to vs home againe, vsing them well during their being with them; so as now, they being well rewarded at home at their retorne, they take litle ioye to trauell abroad without pasportes/

The Councell demanded some larger allowance for them selues, and for some sick their fauorites; which the President would not yeeld vnto without their warrantes/

This matter was before propounded by Captain *Martyn*, but so nakedly as that he neyther knew the quantity of the stoare to be but for xiij weekes and a half, under the Cap Merchaunts hand. He prayed them further to consider the long tyme before wee expected Captain *Newportes* retorne; the incertainty of his retorne, if God did not fauour his voyage; the long tyme before our haruest would be ripe; and the doubtfull peace that wee had with the Indyans, which they would keepe no longer then opertunity served to doe vs mischeif/

[1607] It was then therefore ordered, that euery meale of fish or fleshe should excuse the allowance for poridg, both against the sick and hole.

The Councell, therefore, sitting againe vpon this proposition, instructed in the former reasons and order, did not thinke fit to breake the former order by enlarging their allowance, as will appeare by the most voyces reddy to be shewed vnder their handes.

Now was the comon store of oyle, vinigar, sack, and aquavite all spent, saueing twoe Gallons of each: the sack reserued for the Comunion table, the rest for such extreamityes as might fall upon us, which the President had onely made know[n]e to Captain *Gosnold*; of which course he liked well. The vessells wear therefore boonged vpp. When Master *Gosnold* was dead, the President did acquaint the rest of the Counsell with the said remnant: but, Lord, how they then longed for to supp vp that litle remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their owne bottles, and all other that they could smell out/

A litle while after this, the Councell did againe fall vpon the President for some better allowance for themselues, and some few the sick, their privates. The President protested he would not be partial, but if one had any thing of him, euery man should haue his portion according to their places. Nevertheles that vpon their warrantes, he would deliuer what pleased them to demand. Yf the President had at that tyme enlarged the proportion according to their request, without doubt, in very short tyme, he had starued the whole Company. He would not ioyne with them therefore in such an ignorant murder without their own warrant/

The President well seeing to what end their ympacience would growe, desired them earnestly and often tymes to bestowe the Presidentshipp amonge themselues; that he would obey, a private man, as well as they could comand. But they refused to discharge him of the place; sayeing they mought not doe it, for that hee did his Maiestie good service in yt/

In this meane tyme, the Indians did daily relieue vs with corne and fleshe, that, in three weekes, the President had reared vpp xx men able to worke; for, as his stoare

increased, he mended the comon pott: hee had laid vp besides prouision for 3. weekes, wheate before-hand. [1607]

By this tyme, the Councell had fully plotted to depose *Wingfeild*, the then President; and had drawne certeyne *Artycles* in wrighting amongst themselues, and toke their oathes vpon the Evangelistes to obserue them: th' effect whereof was, first/

To depose the then President

To make Master *Ratcliff* the next President

Not to depose the one th' other

Not to take the deposed President into Councell againe

Not to take Master *Archer* into the Councell, or any other, without the Consent of euery one of them. To theis they had subscribed, as out of their owne mouthes, at seuerall tymes, it was easily gathered/

Thus had they forsaken his Maiesties government sett vs downe in the instruccions, and made it a Triumvirat/

It seemeth Master *Archer* was nothing acquainted with theis *artycles*. Though all the rest crept out of his noates and Comentaryes that were preferred against the President, yet it pleased god to Cast him into the same disgrace and pitt that he prepared for another, as will appeere hereafter.

Septem.—The 10 of September, Master *Ratcliff*, Master *Smyth*, and Master *Martynn*, came to the Presidentes Tennt with a warrant, subscribed vnder their handes, to depose the President; sayeing they thought him very unworthy to be eyther President or of the Councell, and therefore discharged him of bothe.

He answered them, that they had eased him of a great deale of care and trouble; that, long since, hee had diuers tymes profered them the place at an easier rate; and, further, that the President ought to be remoued (as appeereth in his Maiesty's instruccions for our government) by the greater number of xiij voyces, Councellors; that they were but three, and therefore wished them to proceede advisedly. But they told him, if they did him wrong, they must answere it. Then said the deposed President, "I ame at your pleasure, dispose of me as you will, without further garboile."

I will now wright what followeth in my owne name, and giue the new President his title. I shall be the briefer

[1607] being thus discharged. I was comytted to a Serieant, and sent to the Pynnasse; but I was answered with, "If they did me wronge, they must answere it/"

The 11th of September, I was sent for to come before the President, and Councell vpon their Court daie. They had now made Master *Archer*, Recorder of *Virginia*. The President made a speeche to the Collony, that he thought it fitt to acquaint them whie I was deposed. I ame now forced to stuff my Paper with frivilous trifles, that our graue and worthy Councell may the better strike those vaynes where the corrupt blood lyeth, and that they may see in what manner of government the hope of the Collony now travayleth/

Ffirst, Master President said that I had denyed him a penny whitle, a chickyn, a spoonfull of beere, and served him with foule corne; and with that pulled some graine out of a bagg, shewing it to the Company/

Then start vp Master *Smyth*, and said that I had told him playnly how he lied; and that I said, though wee were equall heere, yet, if he were in *England*, he would think scorne his man [*i.e.*, *serving man*] should be my companyon/

Master *Martyn* followed with, "He reporteth that I doe slack the service in the Collonye, and doe nothing but tend my pott, spitt, and oven; but he hath starued my sonne, and denyed him a spoonefull of beere. I haue freindes in *England* shal be revenged on him, if euer he come in *London*./"

[Ap. 107, 411.]

I asked master President if I should answere theis Complaints, and whether he had ought els to charge me withall. With that he pulled out a paper booke, loaded full with *Artycles* against me, and gave them Master *Archer* to reade.

I tould Master President and the Councell, that, by the instruccions for our government, our proceedings ought to be verball, and I was there ready to answere; but they said they would proceede in that order. I desired a Coppie of the *Articles*, and tyme giuen me to answere them likewise by wrighting; but that would not be graunted. I badd them then please themselues. Master *Archer* then read some of the *artycles*; when, on the suddaine, Master President said, "Staie, staie! Wee know not whether he

will abide our Iudgment, or whether he will appeale to the King; " sayeing to me, " How saie you: Will you appeale to the King, or no?" I apprehended presently that gods mercy had opened me a waie, through their ignorance, to escape their malice; for I never knewe how I might demande an appeale: besides, I had secret knowledge how th[e]y had foreiudged me to paie fiue fold for any thing that came to my handes, whereof I could not discharge my self by wrighting; and that I should lie in prison vntil I had paid it/ [1607]

The Cape Marchant had deliuered me our marchandize, without any noat of the perticularyties, vnder my hand; for himself had receyued them in grosse. I likewise, as occation moued me, spent them in Trade or by guift amongst the Indians. So likewise did Captain *Newport* take of them, when he went vp to discouer the kinges river, what he thought good, without any noate of his hand mentioning the certainty; and disposed of them as was fitt for him. Of these, likewise, I could make no accompt; onely I was well assured I had neuer bestowed the valewe of three penny whitles to my own vse, nor to the private vse of any other; for I never carryed any fauorite over with me, or intertayned any thear. I was all one, and one to all.

Vpon theis consideracions, I answered Master President and the Councell, that his Maiestys handes were full of mercy, and that I did appeale to His Maiesties mercy. They then comytted me prisoner againe to the master of ye pynnasse, with theis words, " Looke to him well: he is now the kinges prisoner."

Then Master *Archer* pulled out of his bosome another paper book full of *Artycles* against me, desiring that he might reade them in the name of the Collony. I said I stood there ready to answere any mans complaintt whome I had wronged; but no one man spoke one word against me.

Then was he willed to reade his booke, whereof I complayned; but I was still answered, " If they doe me wrong, they must answer it." I haue forgotten the most of the *Artycles*, they were so slight (yet he glorieth much in his pennworke). I know well the last: and a speeche that he then made savoured well of a mutyny; for he desired that by no meanes, I might lye prysoner in the

[1607] Towne, least boath he and others of the Collony should not giue such obedience to their comaund as they ought to doe: which goodly speech of his they easilye swallowed.

But it was vsuall and naturall to this honest gentleman, [*ɸ.* lxxiv.] Master *Archer*, to be allwayes hatching of some mutany; in my tyme, hee might haue appeered an author of 3 seuerall mutynies.

And hee (as Master *Pearsie* sent me worde) had bought some witnesses handes against me to diuers *artycles*, with Indian cakes (which was noe great matter to doe after my deposall, and considering their hungar) perswations and threats. At another tyme, he feared not to saie openly, and in the presence of one of the Councell, that, if they had not deposed me when they did, he hadd gotten twenty others to him self, which should haue deposed me. But this speech of his was likewise easily disiested/

Master *Croftes* feared not to saie, that, if others would ioyne with him, he would pull me out of my seate, and out of my skynn too. Others would saie (whose names I spare), that, vnless I would amend their allowance, they would be their owne caruers. For these mutinus speeches I rebuked them openly, and proceeded no further against them, considering therein of mens liues in the kinges service there. One of the Councell was very earnest with me to take a guard aboute me. I answered him, I would no guard but gods love and my own innocencie. In all theis disorders was Master *Archer* a ringleader.

[11 Sept. 1607, see *ɸ.* lxxx.] When Master President and Master *Archer* had made an end of their *Artycles* aboue mentioned, I was again sent prisoner to the Pynnasse; and Master *Kendall*, takeinge from thence, had his liberty, but might not carry armes/

All this while, the Salvages brought to the Towne such Corne and flesh as they could spare. *Paspaheighe*, by *Tapahanne's* mediation, was taken into friendshipp with vs. The Councillors, Master *Smyth* especially, traded vp and downe the river with the Indyans for corne; which releued the Collony well.

As I understand by report, I am much charged with staruing the Collony. I did allwayes giue euery man his allowance faithfully, both of corne, oyle, aquivite, &c., as

was by the Counsell proportioned : neyther was it bettered after my tyme, untill, towards th' end of March [1608], a Bisket was allowed to euery workeing man for his breakefast, by meanes of the prouision brought vs by Captain *Newport* ; as will appeare hereafter. It is further said, I did much banquit and ryot. I never had but one Squirell roasted ; whereof I gaue part to Master *Ratcliff* then sick : yet was that Squirell given me. I did never heate a flesh pott but when the comon pot was so used likewise. Yet how often Master Presidentes and the Councellors spittes haue night and day bene endaungered to break their backes,—so laden with swanns, geese, duckes, &c. how many times their flesh pottes haue swelled, many hungry eies did behold to their great longing. And what great Theeues and theeving thear hath been in the Comon stoare since my tyme, I doubt not but is already made knowne to his Maiesties Councell for Virginia. [1607]

The 17th daie of September, I was sent for to the Court to answere a Complaint exhibited against me by *Jehu Robinson* ; for that, when I was president, I did saie, hee with others had consented to run awaye with the Shallop to Newfoundland. At an other tyme, I must answere Master *Smyth* for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany. I tould Master Recorder, those wordes would beare no actions ; that one of the Causes was done without the lymits mencioned in the Patent graunted to vs ; and therefore prayed Master President that I mought not be thus lugged with theis disgraces and troubles : but hee did weare no other eis or eares than grew on Master *Archeres* head.

The Iury gaue the one of them [*i.e.*, *Robinson*] 100*li* and the other [*i.e.*, *Smith*, *see p.* 389] twoo hundred pound damages for slaunder. Then Master Recorder did very learnedly comfort me, that, if I had wrong, I might bring my writ of error in *London* ; whereat I smiled.

I, seeing their law so speedie and cheape, desired iustice for a copper kettle which Master *Crofte* did deteyne from me. Hee said I had giuen it him. I did bid him bring his proofe for that. Hee confessed hee had no proofe. Then Master President did aske me if I would be sworne I did not giue it him. I said I knew no cause whie to

[1607] sweare for myne owne. He asked Master *Croftes* if hee would make oath, I did give it him; which oathe he tooke, and wann my kettle from me, that was in that place and tyme, worth half his waight in gold. Yet I did understand afterwards that he would haue given *John Capper* the one half of the kettle to haue taken the oath for him; but hee would [have] no copper on that price.

I tould Master President I had not known the like lawe, and prayed they would be more sparing of law vntill wee had more witt or wealthe; that lawes were good spies in a populous, peaceable, and plentifull country, whear they did make the good men better, and stayed the badd from being worse; yet wee weare so poore as they did but rob us of tyme that might be better ymployed in service in the Collonye.

[*A.* 12.] The . . . daie of . . . the President did beat *James Read*, the Smyth. The Smythe stroake him againe. For this he was condempned to be hanged; but, before he was turned of[f] the lather, he desired to speak with the President in private, to whome he accused Master *Kendall* of a mutiny, and so escaped himself. What indictment Master Recorder framed against the Smyth, I knowe not; but I knowe it is familiar for the President, Counsellors, and other officers, to beate men at their pleasures. One lyeth sick till death, another walketh lame, the third cryeth out of all his boanes; which myseryes they doe take vpon their consciences to come to them by this their Almes of beating. Wear this whipping, lawing, beating, and hanging, in *Virginia*, knowne in *England*, I fear it would driue many well affected myndes from this honourable action of *Virginia*.

This Smyth comyng aboord the Pynnasse, with some others, aboute some busines, 2 or 3 dayes before his arraignement, brought me Comendacions from Master *Pearsye*, Master *Waller*, Master *Kendall*, and some others, saieing they would be glad to see me on shoare. I answered him, they were honest gentlemen, and had carryed themselues very obediently to their gouernors. I prayed god that they did not thinck of any ill thing vnworthie themselues. I added further, that vpon Sundaie, if the weathiar were faire, I would be at the sermon. Lastly, I said that I was so sickly, starued, lame, and did lye so could and wett in the Pynnasse, as I would be

dragged thithere before I would goe thither any more. [1607]
Sundaie proued not faire: I went not to the Sermon/

The . . . daie of . . ., Master *Kendall* was executed; being shott to death for a mutiny. In th' arrest of his iudgment, he alleaged to Master President yat his name was *Sicklemore*, not *Ratcliff*; and so had no authority to pronounce Iudgment. Then Master *Martyn* pronounced Iudgment.

Somewhat before this tyme, the President and Councell had sent for the keyes of my Coffers, supposing that I had some wrightings concerning the Collony. I requested that the Clearke of the Councell might see what they tooke out of my Coffers; but they would not suffer him or any other. Vnder cullor heereof, they took my books of Accompt, and all my noates that concerned the expences of the Collony, and instructions vnder the Cape Marchantes hande of the stoare of prouision, diuers other bookes and trifles of my owne proper goods, which I could neuer recouer. Thus was I made good prise on all sides.

The . . . daie of . . ., the President comaunded me to come on shore; which I refused, as not rightfully deposed, and desired that I mought speake to him and the Councell in the presence of 10 of the best sorte of the gentlemen. With much intreaty, some of them wear sent for. Then I tould them, I was determined to goe into *England* to acquaint our Councell there with our weaknes. I said further, their lawes and government was such as I had no ioye to liue under them any longer; that I did much myslike their triumverat, haueing forsaken his Maiesties instruccions for our government, and therefore praied there might be more made of the Councell. I said further, I desired not to goe into *England*, if eyther Master President or Master *Archer* would goe, but was willing to take my fortune with the Collony; and did also proffer to furnish them with 100*li* towards the fetching home [of] the Collonye, if the action was given ouer.

They did like of none of my proffers, but made diuers shott att mee in the Pynnasse. I, seeing their resolucions, went ashoare to them; whear, after I had staied a while in conference, they sent me to the Pynnasse againe.

Decem.—The 10th of December, Master *Smyth* went vp the Ryuer of the *Chechohomynies* to trade for corne. He was desirous to see the heade of that riuer; and, when it

[1607-8] was not passible with the Shallop, he hired a Cannow and an Indian to carry him vp further. The river the higher grew worse and worse. Then hee went on shoare with his guide, and left *Robinson* and *Emmery*, twoe of our men, in the cannow; which were presently slayne by the Indians, *Pamaonkes* men, and hee himself taken prysoner, and, by the meanes of his guide, his lief was saved; and *Pamaonche*, haueing him prisoner, Carryed him to his neybors wyroances to see if any of them knew him for one of those which had bene some twoe or three yeeres before vs, in a River amongst them Northward, and taken awaie some Indians from them by force. At last he brought him to the great *Powaton* (of whome before wee had no knowledg), who sent him home to our Towne the viijth of January [1608].

[*ff.* xliii, lxxvi, 531.]

During Master *Smythes* absence, the President did swear Master *Archer* one of the Councell, contrary to his oath taken in the *Artycles* agreed vpon betweene themselues (before spoken of), and contrary to the Kinges instruccions, and without Master *Martyns* consent; whereas there weare no more but the President and Master *Martyn* then of the Councell/

[*p.* lxxix.]

Master *Archer*, being settled in his authority, sought how to call Master *Smyths* lief in question, and had indited him vpon a Chapter in *Leuiticus* for the death of his twoe men. Hee had had his tryall the same daie of his retorne, and, I believe, his hanging the same, or the next daie, so speedie is our lawe thear: but it pleased god to send Captain *Newport* vnto us the same eevening, to our vnspeakable comfortes; whose arryuall saued Master *Smyths* leif and mine, because hee took me out of the pynnasse, an[d] gaue me leave to lye in the Towne. Also by his comyng was prevented a Parliament, which ye newe Counsailour, Master Recorder, intended thear to summon. Thus error begot error/

Captayne *Newport* haueing landed, lodged and refreshed his men, ymploied some of them about a faire stoare house, others about a stove, and his Maryners aboute a Church; all which workes they finished cherefully and in short tyme/

January.—The 7 [? 17] of January [1608], our towne was almost quite burnt, with all our apparell and prouision; but Captain *Newport* healed our wants, to our great comforts, out of the great plenty sent vs by the prouident and loving care of our worthie, and most worthie Councell.

This Vigilant Captayne, slacking no oportunity that might advaunce the prosperity of the Collony, haueing setled the Company vppon the former workes, took Master *Smyth* and Master *Scrivener* (an other Councellor of *Virginia*, vpon whose discretion liveth a great hope of the action), went to discouer the River *Pamaonche*, on the further side whearof dwelleth the Great *Powaton*, and to trade with him for Corne. This River lyth North from vs, and runneth East and West. I haue nothing but by relation of that matter, and therefore dare not make any discourse thereof, lest I mought wrong the great desart which Captain *Newportes* loue to the action hath deserued; especially himself being present, and best able to giue satisfaccion thereof. I will hasten therefore to his retorne. [1608]

March.—The 9th of Marche, he retorned to *James Towne* with his Pynnasse well loaden with corne, wheat, beanes, and pease, to our great comfort and his worthi commendacions/

By this tyme, the Counsell and Captayne haueing intentiuely looked into the Carryadge both of the Councellors and other officers, remoued some officers out of the stoare; and Captain *Archer*, a Councellor, whose insolency did looke vpon that litle himself with great sighted spectacles, derrogating from others merrites by spueing out his venemous libells, and infamous chronicles vpon them, as doth appeere in his owne hand wrighting; ffor which, and other worse trickes, he had not escaped ye halter, but that Captain *Newport* interposed his advice to the Contrarye/ [*p.* lxxiv.]

Aprill.—Captayne *Newport*, haueing now dispatched all his busines and set the Clocke in a true course (if so the Councell will keep it), prepared himself for *England* vpon the xth of Aprill, and arryued at *Blackwall* on sunday, the xxjth of Maye, 1608.

FINIS.

I humbly craue some patience to answere many scandalus imputacions which malice, more than malice, hath scattered vpon my name, and those frivolous greevances obiected against me by

[1608] the President and Councell; and though *nil conscire sibi* be the onely maske that can well couer my blushes, yett doe I not doubt but this my Appologie shall easily wipe them awaie.

It is noysed that I combyned with the *Spanniards* to the distruccion of the Collony: That I ame an Atheist, because I carryed not a *Bible* with me, and because I did forbid the preacher to preache: that I affected a Kingdome; That I did hide of the comon prouision in the ground./

I confesse I haue alwayes admyred any noble vertue and prowesse, as well in the *Spanniards* (as in other Nations); but naturally I haue alwayes distrusted and disliked their neighborhoode.

I sorted many bookes in my house, to be sent vp to me at my goeing to *Virginia*; amongst them a Bible. They were sent me vp in a Trunck to *London*, with diuers fruite, conserues, and preserues, which I did sett in Master *Crofte* his house in *Ratcliff*. In my beeing at *Virginia*, I did vnderstand my trunck was thear broken vp, much lost, my sweetmeates eaten at his Table, some of my bookes which I missid to be seene in his handes; and whether amongst them my *Bible* was so ymbeasiled or mislayed by my seruantes, and not sent me, I knowe not as yet.

Two or three sundayes morninges, the Indians gaue vs allarums at our towne. By that tymes they weare answered, the place about us well discouered, and our devyne service ended, the daie was farr spent. The preacher [*R. Hunt*] did aske me if it weare my pleasure to haue a sermon: hee said hee was prepared for it. I made answere, that our men were weary and hungry, and that he did see the tyme of the daie farr past (for at other tymes hee neuer made such question, but the service finished, he began his sermon); and that if it pleased him, wee would spare him till some other tyme. I never failed to take such noates by wrighting out of his doctrine as my capacity could comprehend, vnless some raynie day hindred my indeauour.

My mynde never swelled with such ympossible mountebank humors as could make me affect any other Kingdome then the kingdom of heaven/

As truly as god liueth, I gaue an ould man, then the

keeper of the private stoure, 2 glasses with sallet oyle which I brought with me out of *England* for my private stoare, and willed him to bury it in the ground, for that I feared the great heate would spoile it. Whatsoeuer was more, I did never consent vnto or knewe of it; and as truly was it protested vnto me, that all the remaynder before mencioned of the oyle, wyne, &c., which the President receyued of me when I was deposed, theye themselues poored into their owne bellyes. [1608]

To the Presidentes and Councelles obiections I saie, that I doe knowe Curtesey and Civility became a governor. No penny whitle was asked me, but a kniffe, whereof I had none to spare. The Indyans had long before stoallen my knife. Of chickins I never did eat but one, and that in my sicknes. Master *Ratcliff* had before that time tasted of 4 or 5. I had by my owne huswiferie bred aboue 37, and the most part of them of my owne poultrye; of all which, at my comyng awaie, I did not see three liueing. I never denyed him (or any other) beare, when I had it. The corne was of the same which wee all liued vpon.

Master *Smyth*, in the tyme of our hungar, had spred a rumor in the Collony, that I did feast myself and my seruantes out of the comon stoare, with entent (as I gathered) to haue stirred the discontented company against me. I tould him privately, in Master *Gosnolds* tent, that indeede I had caused half a pinte of pease to be sodden with a peese of pork, of my owne prouision, for a poore old man, which in a sicknes (whereof he died) he much desired; and said, that if out of his malice he had given it out otherwise, that hee did tell a lye. It was proued to his face, that he begged in *Ireland* like a rogue, without a lycence. To such I would not my name should be a Companyon.

Master *Martins* payns, during my comaund, never stirred out of our towne tenn scoare; and how slack hee was in his watching and other dutyes, it is too well knowne. I never defrauded his sonne of any thing of his own allowance, but gaue him aboue it. I believe their disdainefull vsage and threats, which they many tymes gaue me, would have pulled some distempered speeches out of farr greater Pacyence than myne. Yet shall not [*pp.* 107, 411.]

[1608] any revenging humor in me befoule my penn with their base names and liues here and there. I did visit Master *Pearsie*, Master *Hunt*, Master *Brewster*, Master *Pickasse*, Master *Allicock*, ould *Short* the bricklayer, and diuerse others, at seuerall tymes. I never miskalled at a gentleman at any time/

Concerning my deposing from my place, I can well proue that Master *Ratcliff* said, if I had vsed him well in his sicknes (wherein I find not myself guilty of the contrary), I had never bene deposed.

Master *Smyth* said, if it had not bene for Master *Archer*, I hadd never bene deposed. Since his being here in the Towne, he hath said that he tould the President and Councell that they were frivolous obiections they had collected against me, and that they had not doone well to depose me. Yet, in my conscience, I doe believe him [*Smith*] the first and onely practizer in theis practisses.

[*f*. lxvi.] Master *Archers* quarrell to me was, because hee had not the choise of the place for our plantation; because I misliked his leying out of our towne, in the pinnasse; because I would not sware him of the Councell for *Virginia*, which neyther I could doe or he deserve.

[*f*. xxxii.] Master *Smyths* quarrell, because his name was mencioned in the entended and confessed mutiny by *Galthropp*.

Thomas Wootton the Surieon, because I would not subscribe to a Warrant (which he had gotten drawne) to the Treasurer of *Virginia*, to deliuer him mony to furnish him with drugges and other necessaryes; and because I disallowed his living in the pinnasse, haueing many of our men lyeing sick and wounded in our Towne, to whose dressings by that meanes he slacked his attendance.

Of the same men, also, Captain *Gosnold* gaue me warning, misliking much their dispositions, and assured me they would lay hold of me if they could; and peradventure many, because I held them to watching, warding, and workeing; and the Collony generally, because I would not giue my consent to starue them. I cannot rack one word or thought from myself, touching my Carryadg in *Virginia*, other than is herein set down.

If I may now, at the last, presume vpon your favours, I am an honourable suitor that your owne loue of truth will

vouchsafe to releave me from all false aspertions happining since I embarked me into this affaire of *Virginia*. For my first worke (which was to make a right choise of a spirituall Pastor), I appeale to the remembraunce of my Lord of *Caunterbury* his grace, who gaue me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whome I took with me [*R. Hunt*]: truly, in my opinion, a man not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished with ye least suspition of a factious scismatick, whereof I had a speciall care. [1608] [A. 338.]

For other obiections, if your worthie selues be pleased to set me free, I haue learned to despise ye popular verdict of ye vulgar. I ever chered up myself with a confidence in ye wisdome of graue, iudicious Senatours; and was never dismayed, in all my service, by any synister event: though I bethought me of ye hard beginninges, which, in former ages, betided those worthy spirites that planted the greatest monarchies in *Asia* and *Europe*; wherein I obserued rather ye troubles of *Moses* and *Aron*, with other of like history, then that venom in the mutinous brood of *Cadmus*, or that harmony in ye swete consent of *Amphion*. And when, with ye former, I had considered that even the betheren, at their plantacion of the Romaine Empire, were not free from mortall hatred and intestine garboile, likewise that both ye Spanish and English Records are guilty of like factions, it made me more vigilant in the avoyding thereof: and I protest, my greatest contencion was to prevent contencion, and my chiefest endeavour to preserue the liues of others, though with ye great hazard of my own; for I neuer desired to enamell my name with bloude.

I reioice that my trauells and daungers haue done somewhat for the behoof of *Jerusalem* in *Virginia*. If it be obiected as my ouersight to put my self amongst such men, I can saie for myself, thear wear not any other for our consort; and I could not forsake ye enterprise of opening so glorious a Kingdom vnto ye King, wherein I shall ever be most ready to bestow ye poore remainder of my dayes, as in any other his heighnes' dissignes, according to my bounden duty, with ye vtmost of my poore Tallent.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Letter to DUDLEY CARLETON. 7 *July* 1608.

[*State Papers, Domestic. James* I. (1608) Vol. 35, No. 13.]

[*Extract.*]

[1608] SIR,—I cannot but commend your memorie that, *etc.*

Here is a ship [*the* Phœnix *under Captain* Nelson] newly come from *virginia* that hath ben long missing, she went out the last yeare in consort with Captain *Newport*, and after much wandering found the port three or fowre days after his departure for *England*, I heare not of any nouelties or other commodities she hath brought more then sweet woode.

Sir *Horace Vere, etc.*

From London this 7th of July 1608.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Addressed*] *To my assured goode frend*
Master DUDLEY CARLETON
geue these at Eaton.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Letter to DUDLEY CARLETON.
23 *January* 1609.

[*State Papers, Domestic. James* I. (1609) Vol. 43, No. 39.]

[*Extract.*]

SIR,—You had heard from me on friday, *etc.* [1609]
The least of our East Indian ships called the pinnesse is arrived at *Dartmouth* with a 100 tunne of cloues, without seeing or hearing any thing of her consorts since they parted from the coast of *England.*

Here is likewise a ship newly come from *Virginia* [*under Captain* Newport, *see p.* 128] with some petty commodities and hope of more, as divers sorts of woode for wainscot and other vses, sope ashes, some pitch and tarre, certain unknowne kindes of herbs for dieng, not without suspicion (as they terme yt) of *Cuchenilla.*

I must recall, *etc.*

From London this 23th of January 1608[-9].

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Addressed*] *To my assured goode frend*
Master DUDLEY CARLETON.
geue these at Eton.

Captain GABRIEL ARCHER.

Letter from James Town. 31 *August* 1609.

[PURCHAS. *Pilgrims.* iv. 1733. Ed. 1625.]

A Letter of Master GABRIEL ARCHAR, *touching the Voyage of the Fleet of Ships, which arriued at* Virginia, *without Sir* THOMAS GATES *and Sir* GEORGE SVMMERS, 1609.

[1609] FRom *Woolwich* the fifteenth of May, 1609, seuen saile weyed anchor; and came to *Plimmouth* the twentieth day, where Sir *George Somers*, with two small Vessels, consorted with vs. Here we tooke into the *Blessing* (being the ship wherein I went) sixe Mares and two Horses; and the Fleet layed in some necessaries belonging to the action: in which businesse we spent time till the second of Iune. And then wee set sayle to Sea, but crost by South-west windes, we put in to *Faulemouth*, and there staying till the eight of Iune, we then gate out.

[*These side-notes are probably by Rev.* S. Purchas.]

The appointed Course.

Our Course was commanded to leaue the *Canaries* one hundred leagues to the Eastward at least, and to steere away directly for *Virginia*, without touching at the West *Indies*, except the Fleet should chance to be separated, then they were to repaire to the *Bermuda*, there to stay seuen dayes in expectation of the Admiral [*flag ship*]; and if they found him not, then to take their course to *Virginia*.

[1609]

Now thus it happened; about sixe dayes after [*about* 14 *June*] we lost the sight of *England*, one of Sir *George Somers* Pinnasses left our company, and (as I take it) bare vp for *England*; the rest of the ships, *viz.* The *Sea Aduenture* Admirall, wherein was Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somer*, and Captaine *Newport*: The *Diamond* Vice-admirall, wherein was Captaine *Ratcliffe*, and Captaine *King*. The *Falcon* Reare-admirall, in which was Captaine *Martin*, and Master *Nellson*: The *Blessing*, wherein I and Captaine *Adams* went: The *Vnitie*, wherein Captaine *Wood*, and Master *Pett* were. The *Lion*, wherein Captaine *Webb* remained: And the *Swallow* of Sir *George Somers*, in which Captaine *Moone*, and Master *Somer* went. In the *Catch* went one *Matthew Fitch* Master: and in the Boat of Sir *George Somers*, called the *Virginia*, which was built in the North Colony, went one Captaine *Davies*, and one Master *Davies*. These were the Captaines and Masters of our Fleet.

The Ships, and chiefe men in the Fleet.

We ran a Southerly course from the Tropicke of *Cancer*, where hauing the Sun within sixe or seuen degrees right ouer our head in Iuly, we bore away West; so that by the feruent heat and loomes breezes, many of our men fell sicke of the *Calenture*, and out of two ships was throwne ouer-board thirtie two persons. The Vice-admiral was said to haue the plague in her; but in the *Blessing* we had not any sicke, albeit we had twenty women and children.

Sicknesse and mortalitie at Sea.

Vpon Saint *Iames* day [25 *July*], being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the West *Indies*, in crossing the Gulf of *Bahoma*, there hapned a most terrible and vehement storme, which was a taile of the West *Indian Horacono*; this tempest seperated all our Fleet one from another; and it was so violent that men could scarce stand vpon the Deckes, neither could any man heare another speake. Being thus diuided, euery man steered his owne course; and as it fell out, about fiue or sixe days [2 *or* 3 *August*] after the storme ceased (which endure[d] fortie foure houres in extremitie [25-27 *July*]), the *Lion* first, and after the *Falcon* and the *Vnitie*, got sight of our Shippe, and so we lay away directly for *Virginia*, finding neither current nor winde opposite, as some

Terrible tempest.

Note. False rumors chargeable.

[1609] haue reported, to the great charge of our Counsell and Aduenturers.

The *Vnity* was sore distressed when she came vp with vs, for of seuenty landmen, she had not ten sound; and all her Sea men were downe but onely the Master and his Boy with one poore sailer: but we relieued them. And

Arriuall in *Virginia.* we foure consorting, fell into the Kings Riuer [*i.e., James river*] haply the eleuenth of August. In the *Vnity* were borne two children at Sea, but both died: being both Boyes.

When wee came to *Iames* Towne, we found a Ship which had bin there in the Riuer a moneth before we came [*i.e., about* 10 *July*]. This was sent out of *England* by our Counsels leaue and authority, to fish for Sturgeon; and to goe the ready way, without tracing through the Torrid Zoan, and shee performed it: her Commander was Captaine *Argoll* (a good Marriner, and a very ciuill Gentleman) and her Master one *Robert Tindall* [*pp.* xxxviii, xli].

State of the Colony. The people of our Colonie were found all in health (for the most part). Howbeit when Captaine *Argoll* came in, they were in such distresse, for many were dispersed in the Sauages townes, liuing vpon their almes for an ounce of Copper a day; and fourescore liued twenty miles from the Fort and fed vpon nothing but Oysters eight weekes [*pp.* 155,172.] space, hauing no other allowance at all: neither were the people of the Country able to relieue them if they would.

Idlenesse and other vices to blame also. Whereupon Captaine *Newport* and others haue beene much to blame to informe the Counsell of such plenty of victuall in this Country, by which meanes they haue beene slacke in this supply to giue conuenient content. Vpon this, you that be aduenturers, must pardon vs, if you finde not returne of Commodity so ample as you may expect, because the law of nature bids vs seeke sustenance first, and then to labour to content you afterwards. But vpon this point I shall be more large in my next Letter.

After our foure Ships had bin in harbour a fewe dayes, came in [15 *Aug*] the Viceadmirall, hauing cut her maine Mast ouer boord, and had many of her men very sicke and weake; but she could tell no newes of our Gouernour: and some three or foure dayes after her [18 *Aug.*], came in the *Swallow*, with her maine Mast

ouerboord also; and had a shrewd leake, neither did she see our Admirall. [1609]

Some things, partly false rumours, partly factious suggestions, are here left out.

Now did we all lament the absence of our Gouernour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings, &c. Insomuch as the President [*Captain* Smith], to strengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gaue not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen that came in our Ships: whereupon they generally (hauing also my consent) chose Master *West*, my Lord *de la War*[*re*]*s* brother, to be their Gouernour, or president *de bene esse*, in the absence of Sir *Thomas Gates*, or if he miscarried by Sea, then to continue till we heard newes from our Counsell in *England*. This choice of him they made not to disturbe the old President during his time [*Captain* Smith's *year of office would have expired in a few days after the writing of this letter, viz.*, 10 *Sept.* 1609: *but he had already during this month of August once given up the Presidency to Captain* Martin, *who resigned it back to him again; see pp.* 162, 481]: but as his authority expired, then to take vpon him the sole goue[r]nment, with such assistants of the Captaines, as discreetest persons as the Colonie afforded.

They choose a new Governor.

Hinc illæ lachrymæ. Hence from the male-contents which had beene in *Virginia* before (enemies to the President), raising now ill reports at their comming, of him, arose these stirs and the following miseries in which this Author [*Captain Gabriel Archer*] with almost the whole Colony perished.

Perhaps you shall haue it blazoned a mutenie by such as retaine old malice; but Master *West*, Master *Percie*, and all the respected Gentlemen of worth in *Virginia*, can and will testifie otherwise vpon their oathes. For the Kings Patent we ratified, but refused to be gouerned by the President that now is, after his time was expired; and onely subjected our selues to Master *West*, whom we labour to haue next President.

I cannot certifie you of much more as yet, vntill we grow to some certaine stay in this our state; but by the other Ships you shall know more. So with my harty commendations I cease.

From *Iames* Towne this last of August 1609.

Captain JOHN RATCLIFFE *alias* SICKELMORE.

Letter to the Earl of SALISBURY. 4 *October* 1609.

This letter is written in a scrivener's hand, and is merely signed by the Writer.

[*State Papers, Colonial.* (1574–1621.) Vol. I. No. 19.]

[1609] RIght Honorable, accordinge to your gratious fauour being bound I am bold to write the truth of some late accidentes, be falne his Maiesties *Virginia* collonye.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* Captaine *Newport* and 180 persons or ther about, are not yet arrived and we much feare they are lost, and alsoe a small pinish. The other shipps came all in but not together; We were thus seperated by a storme; two shipps had great loss of men by the calenture; and most of them all much weatherbeaten. At our arrivall we found an English shipp, riding at *James towne* and Captaine *Argoll* hir commaunder.

We heard that all the Counsell were dead but Captaine *Smith* the President, who reigned sole governer without assistantes and would at first admitt of no councell but [*pp.* 167, 486] himselfe. This man is sent home to answere some misdeameanors, whereof I perswade me he can scarcely clear him selfe from great imputation of blame.

Master *George Pearcye* my Lord of *Northumberlands* brother is elected our President, and Master *West* my Lord *la wars* brother, of the councell, with me and Captaine *Martine*; and some few of the best and worthyest that

inhabite at *James towne* are assistantes in ther advise vnto vs. [1609]

Thus haue we planted 100 men at the falls, and some others vpon a champion, the President is at *James towne*, and I am raysing a fortification vpon point *Comfort*, alsoe we haue been bold to make stay of a small shipp for discouerye and to procure vs victalls, wherof we haue exceedinge much need for the country people set no more then sufficeth each familye a yeare, and the wood is yet so thice, as the labour to prepare so much ground as would be to any purpose is more then we can afford, our number being soe necessarylie dispersed: soe that if I might be held worthye to advise the directors of this busines: I hold it fitt that ther should be a sufficient supply of victualls for one yeare, and then to be sparinge, it would less hinder the collonye.

Thus fearinge to be too offensive in a tedious boldnes, I cease wishinge all hapines to your Honnor, yea wear it in the expense of my life and bloud.

ffrom *James towne* this 4th of October, 1609.

Your Honnors in all obedience and most humble dutye.

[*Signed*] JOHN RADCLYEFFE./S Comenly Called.

[*Addressed*] *To the Right Honorable the Earle of* Salisburye *Lord high Treasurer of England deliuer these.*

[*lower down*] from Virginia.

[*Endorsed*] 1609
4. Oc . . . .
Captaine *John Radcliff*
to my Lord from *Virginia.*

Henry, Earl of Southampton.

Letter to the Earl of Salisbury.
15 *December* 1609.

[*State Papers, Domestic.* James I. (1609) Vol. 50, No. 65.]

[*Extract.*]

My lord:

[1609] Vpon Wedensday morninge [13 *Dec.*] I went to *Newmarkett* and before the Kinge went to dinner I deliuered vnto him what I receaued from your Lordship concerninge, *etc.*

And thus wishinge a longe continewance of your lordships happy fortune I rest

Your lordships most assuredly
to doo you service

H. Southampton.

The 15 of December [*which, in* 1609, *was a Friday*].

[*pp.* cvi. 59, 355.] Talkinge with the King [*i.e., on Wednesday,* 13 *Dec.*] by chance I tould him of the *Virginia* squirills which they say will fly, wherof there are now diuers brought into England [*evidently in the ship or ships which brought Captain* John Smith *to England*], and hee presently and very earnestly asked mee if none of them was provided for him and whether your Lordship had none for him, sayinge that hee was sure you would gett him one of them. I would not have trobled you with this but that you know so well how hee is affected to these toyes, and with a little enquiry of any of your folkes you may furnish your self to present him att his comminge to *London* which will not bee before wensday next: the monday before to *Theobal[d]s* and the saterday before that to *Royston.*

Henry Spelman.

Relation of Virginea.

This piece in broken English is a most important contribution to the history of the first colony on the James river, inasmuch as it is the only Eye-witness account, *p.* civ, of the massacre of Captain Ratcliffe and his company by Powhatan; about Nov. 1609, *p.* ciii, or the beginning of the *Starving Time* of 1609–10, *p.* 498.

Spelman was rescued by Captain Argall in Sept. 1610, *p.* 503: but this narrative was evidently not written for some time after; for the writer says at *p.* cx:

> Concerninge ther lawes my years and vnderstandinge, made me the less to looke after.

We have therefore approximately dated the narrative 1613, as it was apparently written in England, *p.* civ.

Henry Spelman was the third son of Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary. He afterwards returned to Virginia, and rose to be a Captain in the colony, and is referred to at *pp.* 172, 498, 503, 528, 606.

This manuscript (now in the possession of James F. Hunnewell, Esq., of Charlston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.) has only been recently printed, under the editorship of Henry Stevens, Esq., F.S.A., in an edition of 100 copies, London, 1872: to which impression, the reader is referred for an account of the singular adventures of the manuscript, until it was sold at Mr. Lilly's sale on 7 July 1871.

Beinge in displeasuer of my frendes, and desirous to see other cuntryes, After [*sum weekes*] three moneths sayle we cum *with* prosperus winds in sight of Virginia wher A storme sodenly arisinge seauered our [*ship*] fleete, (*wh*ich was of x sayle) euery shipp from other, puttinge us all in great daunger for vij or viij dayes togither. But ye storme then ceasing our shipp called ye *vnitye* cam ye [**16**] next morning saffly to an anker at Cape Henry ye daye of October 1609, Wher we found thre other of our fleete, and about a senight after thre more cam thether also. The residew [1609] [*pp.* xcv. xcvi.]

[1609] [*still remayned*] Amongst *wh*ich was Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers Knights [*who*] wear not [*being*] hard of many monthes after our ariuall.

From Cape Henry we sayled up ye Riuer Powáhtan & *wi*th in 4 or 5 dayes ariued at James toune, wher we weare ioyfully welcomed by our cuntrymen beinge at that time about 80 persons under the gouer[n]ment of Capt Smith, The Præsident. Hauinge heare unladed our goods and bestowed sum senight or fortnight in vieinge of the cuntry, I was caried By Capt Smith our Presidant to ye Fales, to ye litell Powhatan wher vnknowne to me he [*pp.*163,481.] sould me to him for a towne caled Powhatan and leauinge me *wi*th him y^e^ [**17**] litle Powhatann, He made knowne to Capt weste how he had bought a toune for them to dwell in [*Wheruppon Capt weste growinge angrye* (*Bycause he had bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place*) *Capt Smith &c.*] desireing that captaine West would come & settle himself there, (but captaine Weste hauing) bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place (misliked it: and vnkindnesse thereuppon ariseing betweene them) Capt Smith at that time [*saying*] repliede litell [*yet*] but afterward [*wrought*] conspired *wi*th the Powhatan to kill Capt weste, *wh*ich Plott tooke but smale effect, for in y^e^ [*pp.*165,484.] [*interim*] meane time Capt Smith was Aprehended, and sent abord for England, my self hauenge binn now about vij or viij dayes *wi*th the litell Powhatan who though he made uery much of me giuinge me such thinges as he had to winn me to live *wi*th him. [*When*] Yet I desired [**18**] to see our english and therfore made signes unto him to giue me leaue to goe to our ship to feach such thinges as I leafte behind me, *wh*ich he agreed unto and settinge himselfe doune, he clapt his hand on the ground in token he would stay ther till I returned. But I staying sumwha*t* to long, at my cumminge [*backe*] to ye place wher I leaft h*im* I found him departed whervppon I wente backe to our shipp beinge still in ye Fales and sayled *wi*th them to James toune, wher not beinge long ther, Before one Thomas Sauage *wi*th 4 or 5 Indians cam from the great [*pp.* 27, 31, 37, 102, 517.] Powhatan *wi*th venison to Capt: Percye, who now was president. After the deliuery therof and that he must returne he was loith to goe *wi*th out sum of his cuntrymen

went *with* him, wher uppon I was apoynted to goe, *which* [1609]
I the more willinglie did, by Reason *that* vitals were scarse
with us, cariinge *with* me [**19**] sum copper and a hatchet [*with*
me] *which* I had gotten. [*And*] Cumminge to the Great
Powetan I presented to him such thinges as I had *which*
he tooke, vsinge me uery kindly, [*settinge this Sauage and*
me at his oune Table messe]. And After I had bin *with* him
about 3 weekes [? *Nov.* 1609] he sent me backe to our English
bidding me tell them, that if they would bring ther ship,
and sum copper, he would fraught hir backe *with* corne,
which I hauing reported to our English and returning ther
answer to ye Kinge, He before ther cumminge layd plotts
to take them, *which* in sum sort he affected, for xxvj or
vij they killed *which* cam towards land in ther long boate,
and shott many arrows into ye shipp, *which* our men
perseyuing and fearinge the worst, wayed anker and
returned. Now whil this busines was in [*doinge*] action
ye Powhata*n* sends me and one Samwell a Duchma*n* To
a toune about xvj miles [**20**] of, caled Yawtanoone
willinge us ther to stay [*till*] for him, At his cumminge
thether we unders*tood* how althinges had passed by Thomas
Sauage, as before is related, the Kinge in shew made still
much of us yet his mind was much declined from us *which*
made vs feare the worst, and hauing now bin *with* him about
24 or 25 weekes [? *Mar.* 1610], it happned that the Kinge
[of Pasptan] of Patomeck cam to visitt the great Powetan,
wher beinge a while *with* him, he shewed such kindnes to
Sauage Samuell and my self as we determined to goe away
with him, when the daye of his departure was cum, we
did as we agreed and hauenge gone a mile or tow on the
way, Sauage fayned sum excuss of stay & unknowne to us
went backe to the Powetan and acquaynted him *with* our
[*fleinge*] departing *with* ye Patowomeck. The Powetan
presen[t]ly sends after us co*m*mandinge our returne: *which*
we [**21**] [*not beleuinge*] refuseing went still on our way:
and thos[e] that weare sent, went still on *with* us, till one
of them findinge op[p]ortunity on a sudden strooke Samuell [*p.* 487.]
with an axe and killed him, *which* I seinge ran a way
from a monge the cumpany, they after me, the Kinge and
his men after them, who ouertake them heald them, till
I shifted for my self and gott to the Patomeckes cuntry,

[1609-10] With this Kinge Patomecke I lived a year and more [? *Mar.–Sept.* 1610] at a towne of his called Pasptanzie, untill such
[*p.* 503.] time as an worthy gentelman named Capt: Argall ariued at
Xatauahane. a toune cald Nacottawtanke, but by our english cald Camocacocke. wher he understood that ther was an english boy named Harry. He desiringe to here further of me cam up the river which the Kinge of Patomeck hearringe sent me to him and I goinge backe agayne brought the kinge to [*him*] ye shipe, wher [**22**] capt: Argall gaue the Kinge [*sum*] copper for me, [and he] which he receyued Thus was I
[*p.* ci.] sett [*free*] at libertye and brought into England.

[*Another version of this passage is given in the last leaf of the Manuscript, which may be the original draught.*]

[fraught hir backe corne which I hauing reported to our English, and returneing their answeare to ye Powhatan. Captaine Ratclyff came with a shipp with xxiiij or xxv men to Orohpikes, and leauing his shipp there came by barge with sixteen men *to* ye Powhatan to Powmunkey where he very curtuously in shew received them by sending them bread and veinson in reward [**23**] whereof Captaine Ratclyff sent him copper and beades and such like Then Powhatan appointed Cap: Ratclyff a house for him and his men to lye in during the time that thei should [*traff*] traffique, not far from his owne but aboue half a mile from the barge, and himself in the euening comeing to the [*ther*] house slenderly accompanied) welcomed him thither, And [*after Cap. Rat*] returned leauing the dutch man, Savage, and my self behinde him. The next day the Powhatan with a company of Saluages came to Capt: Ratclyff, and caried our English to their storehouse where their corne was to traffique with them, giueing them pieces of copper and beades and other things. According to ye proportions of ye basketts of corne which they brought but the Indians dealing deceitfully by pulling or beareing vpp the bottom of their baskets with their hands soe that y^e^ [**24**] lesse corne might [*searue to*] fill them. The English men taking exceptions against it and a discontentment riseing vppon it ye king [*conveied himself and*] departed taking me and ye dutchman with him [and] his wiues hence, And presently a great number Indians *that* lay

lurking in ye woods & corne about began *with* an oulis and [1609-10] whoopubb and whilest our English men were in hast carieing their corne to their shipps the Indians *that* were hidden in ye corne shott the men as they passed by them and soe killed them all saueing one William Russell and one other whoe being acquainted *with* ye cuntry escaped to James towne by land.] [**25**]

Of ther servis to their gods

TO giue sum satisfaction to my frends and contentment unto others, *which* wish well to this viage, and are desirus to heare ye fashions of that cuntrye: I haue set doune as well as I can, what I obserued in ye time I was amonge them. And therfore first concerninge ther gods, yow must understand that for ye most part they worship ye diuell, *which* ye coniurers who are ther preests, can make apeare unto them at ther pleasuer, yet neuer ye less in euery cuntry they haue a seuerall Image whom they call ther god. As *with* the great Pawetan he hath an [**26**] Image called Cakeres *which* most comonly standeth at Yaught-awnoone [*in one of ye Kinges houses*] or at Oropikes in a house for that purpose and *with* him are sett all the Kings goods and presents *that* are sent him, as ye Cornne. But ye beades or Crowne or Bedd *which* ye Kinge of England sent him are in ye gods house at Oropikes, and in their houses are all ye Kinge ancesters and kindred commonly buried [*commonly*], In ye Patomecks cuntry they haue an other god whom they call Quioquascacke, and unto ther Images they offer Beades and Copper if at any time they want Rayne or haue to much, and though they obserue no day to worshipe ther god: but uppon necessitye, yet onc[e] in the yeare, ther preests *which* are ther coniurers with ye [*people*] men, weomen, and children doe goe into the woods, wher ther preests makes [**27**] a great cirkell of fier in ye *which* after many obseruanses in ther coniurations they make offer of 2 or 3 children to be giuen to ther god if he will apeare unto them and shew his mind whome he [*will haue*] desier. Vppon *which* offringe they heare a

Caukewis Manato Taukinge souke Quia uasack.

[1609-10] noyse out of ye Cirkell Nominatinge such as he will haue, whome presently they take bindinge them hand and foote and cast them into ye circle of the fier, for be it the Kinges sonne he must be giuen if onc[e] named by ther god, After ye bodies w*hi*ch are offered are consumed in the fier and ther cerimonees performed the men depart merily, the weomen weaping. [**28**]

Of the cuntry of Virginia

THe cuntry is full of wood [*and*] in sum partes, and water they haue plentifull, they haue marish ground and smale fields, for corne, and other grounds wher on ther Deare, goates, and stages feadeth, ther be in this cuntry Lions, Beares, woulues, foxes, muske catts, Hares [a]fleinge squirells, and other squirels beinge all graye like conyes, great store of foule only Peacockes and common hens wanting: fish in aboundance wher on they liue most part of the Summer time They haue a kind of wheat cald locataunce and Pease and Beanes, [**29**] Great store of walnuts growing in euery place. They haue no orchard frutes, only tow kind of plumbes the one a sweet and lussius plumbe long and thicke in forme and liknes of A Nutt Palme. the other resemblinge a medler But sumwhat sweeter yet not Ætable till they be rotten as ours are. [**30**]

[a] caled assapameek. [*pp.* c, 59, 355.]

Of ther Tounes & buildinges

PLaces of Habitation they haue but feaw for ye greatest toune haue not aboue 20 or 30 houses in it, Ther Biuldinge are made like an ouen w*ith* a litell hole to cum in at But more spatius w*ith* in hauinge a hole in the midest of ye house for smoke to goe out at, The Kinges houses are both broader and longer then ye rest hauinge many darke windinges and turnings before any cum wher the Kinge is, But in that time when they goe a Huntinge ye weomen goes to a place apoynted before, to build houses for ther

husbands to lie in att night carienge matts *with* [**31**] them [1609-10] to couer ther houses *with* all, and as the men goes furthur a huntinge the weomen [*goes before*] follows to make houses, always carrienge ther mattes *with* them ther maner of ther Huntinge is thiss [*wher*] they meett sum 2 or 300 togither and hauinge ther bowes and arrows and euery one *with* a fier [*sti*] sticke in ther hand they besett a great thikett round about, *which* dunn euery one sett fier on the ranke grass [*and*] *which* ye Deare seinge fleeth from ye fier, and the menn cumminge in by a litell and litle inclose*th* ther game in a narrow roome, so as *with* ther Bowes and arrowes they kill them at ther pleasuer takinge ther skinns *which* is the greatest thinge they desier, and sume flesh for ther prouision. [**32**]

Ther maner of mariing

THe custum of ye cuntry is to haue many wiues and to buye them, so *th*at he *which* haue most copper and Beads may haue most wiues, for if he taketh likinge of any woman he makes loue to hir, and seeketh to hir father or kindsfolke to sett what price he must paye for hir, *which* beinge on[c]e agreed on the kindred meett and make good cheere, and when the sume agreed on be payd she shall be deliuered to him for his wife, The cerimony is thus The parents bringes ther daughter betwene them [**33**] (if hir parents be deade then sume of hir kinsfolke, or whom it pleaseth ye king to apoynt (for ye man goes not unto any place to be maried But ye woman is brought to him wher he dwelleth). At hir cumminge to him, hir father or cheefe frends ioynes the hands togither and then ye father or cheef frend of ye man Bringeth a longe stringe of Beades and measuringe his armes leangth therof doth breake it ouer ye hands of thos *th*at are to be married while ther handes be ioyned together, and giues it unto ye womans father or him *that* brings hir, And so *with* much mirth and feastinge they goe togither, When ye Kinge of ye cuntry will haue any wiues he acquaintes his cheef men *with* his purpose, who sends [*for*] into all partes of ye cuntry for ye fayrest and cumliest

[1609-10] mayds out of w*hi*ch ye Kinge taketh his choyse giuen to ther parents what he pleaseth. If any of y^e^ [**34**] Kings
[*p.* cxvi.] wiues haue onc[e] a child by him, he [*neuer lieth with hir more*] keepes hir no longer but puts hir from him giuinge hir suffitient Copper and beads to mayntayne hir and the child while it is younge and then [it] is taken from hir and mayntayned by ye King[*s charge*], it now beinge lawfull for hir beinge thus put away to marry with any other, The Kinge Poetan hauinge many wiues when he goeth a Huntinge or to visitt another Kinge vnder him (for he goeth not out of his owne cu*n*try) He leaueth them w*ith* tow ould men who haue the charge on them till his returne.

This Pasptanse was brother to Patomsk. It was my happ to be leaft at one of ye Kings Pasptanses Howses when he went to uisitt another Kinge and two of his wiues wear ther also, after the Kings departure, one of them would goe visitt hir father, [*whos*] hir name was Paupauwiske, and seinge me, willed me [**35**] to goe w*ith* hir and to take hir child and carye him thether in [*his*] my armes, beinge a [*long*] days iouyrnye from ye place wher we dwelt, [*but*] w*hi*ch I refusinge she strook me 3 or 4 blows, but I beinge loith to bear to much gott to hir and puld hir doune giuing hir sum blows agayne w*hi*ch ye other of ye Kings wiues perseyuinge, they both fell on me beatinge me so as I thought they had lamd me, Afterwarde when ye Kinge cam home: in ther presents I acquainted him how they had used me, The King w*ith* out further delay tooke vp a *couwascohocan*, w*hi*ch is a kind of paringe Iron, and strooke at one of them w*ith* such uiolenc[e], as he feld her to the ground in manor deade. I seinge *that*, fled to a Neyghburs house, for feare of ye Kings displeasuer, But his wife cumming againe to hir self: sumwhat apeased his anger so as understandinge wher I was [**36**] by his brother, he sent me his younge child to still, for none could quiet him so well as my selfe, and about midnight he sent for him againe, The next day morninge the King was erlye vpp, and came to the house wher I was: loith I was to see him, yet being cum to him instead of his anger, I found him kind to me, asking me how I did, and whether I was affrayd of him last night, bycause I rann away from him, and hidd my selfe, I being by his speeches sumwhat boulder, Asked him for his Queene, He answered

all was well, and that I should goe home *with* him tellinge [1609-10]
me he loued me, and none [*should*] should hurt me. I though loith went *with* him, wher at my cumminge ye Queene looked but discontentedly on me, But hoping on the Kinges promise, I cared ye less for others frownes, knowinge well *that* ye Kinge made ye more of me in [**37**] hope I should healpe him to sum copper, if at any time our english cam into thos parts, *which* I often had promised him to doe, and which was by Capt: Argall Bountifully performed. [**38**]

How the[y] name ther children

AFter the mother is deliuered of hir child *with* in sum feaw dayes after the kinsfolke and neyburs beinge intreated ther unto, cums unto ye house: wher beinge assembled the father, takes the child in his armes: and declares that his name shall be, as he then calls him, so his name is, *which* dunn ye rest of ye day is spent in feastinge and dauncinge. [**39**]

Ther maner of uisitinge the sicke with ye fation of ther buriall if they dye,

WHen any be sicke among them, ther preests cums unto the partye whom he layeth on the ground uppon a matt And hauing a boule of water, sett betwene him and the sicke partye; and a Rattle by it, The preest kneelinge by the sick mans side dipps his hand into the boule, *which* takinge vp full of watter, he supps into his mouth, spowting it out againe, vppon his oune armes, and brest, then takes he the Rattle, and *with* one hand takes that, and [**40**] *with* the other he beates his brest, makinge a great noyes, *which* hauinge dunn he easilye Riseth (as loith to wake the sicke bodye, first *with* one legge, then *with* the other, And beinge now gott vp, he leaysuerly goeth about ye sicke man shak-

[1609-10] inge his Rattle uery [*easily*] softly ouer all his bodye: and *with* his hand he stroketh ye greaued parts of the sicke, then doth he besprinkell him *with* water mum[b]linge certayne words ouer him, and so for that time leaue him,

But if he be wounded after thes cerimonys dunn unto him he *with* a litle flint stone gasheth the wound makinge it to runn and bleede *which* he settinge his mouth unto it suckes out, and then aplies a certayne roote betten to powter unto ye Sore.

If he dies his buriall is thus ther is a scaffould built about 3 or 4 yards hye from the ground and the deade bodye wraped in a matt is brought to the place, wher when [**41**] he is layd ther on, the kinsfolke falles a weopinge and make great sorrow, and instead of a dole for him, (the poorer people beinge gott togither) sum of his kinsfolke flinges Beades amonge them makinge them to scramble for them, so *that* many times diuers doe breake ther armes and legges beinge pressed by the cumpany, this finished they goe to ye parties house wher they haue meat giuen them *which* beinge Æten all ye rest of the day they spend in singinge and dauncinge vsing then as much mirth as before sorrow more ouer if any of ye kindreds bodies *which* haue bin layd on ye scaffould should be consumed as nothing is leaft but bonns they take thos bonns from ye scaffould and puttinge them into a new matt, hangs them in ther howses, wher they continew whille ther house falleth and then they are buried in the ruinges of ye house[.] what goods [**42**] the partye leaueth is deuided amonge his wiues and children. But his house he giueth to the wife he liketh best for life: after her death, unto what child he most loueth. [**43**]

The Justis and gouerment

CONcerninge ther lawes my years and understandinge, made me the less to looke after bycause I thought *that* Infidels wear lawless yet when I saw sum put to death I asked the cause of ther offence, for in the time that I was *with* ye Patomecke I saw 5 executed 4 for murther of a child (id

est) ye mother, and tow other *th*at did the fact wit*h* hir [1609-10] and a 4 for consealing it as he passed by, beinge bribed to hould his pease. and one for robbinge a traueler [**44**] of coper and beades for to steale ther neyburs corne or copper is death, or to lye one w*ith* anothers wife is death if he be taken in the manner. [**45**]

The manor of execution

THos that be conuicted of capitall offences are brought into a playne place before ye Kinges house when then he laye, w*hi*ch was at Pomunkeye the chefest house he hath wher one or tow apoynted by the Kinge did bind them hand and foote, w*hi*ch being dunn a great fier was made, Then cam the officer to thos that should dye, and w*ith* a shell cutt of[f] ther long locke, w*hi*ch they weare on the leaft side of ther heade, and hangeth that on a bowe before the Kings house Then thos for murther wear Beaten w*ith* staues till ther bonns [**46**] weare broken and beinge aliue weare flounge [*pp.* 81, 377.] into the fier, the other for robbinge was knockt on ye heade and beinge deade his bodye was burnt. [**47**]

The manor of settinge ther corne with ye gatheringe and Dressing.

THey take most commonly a place about ther howses to sett ther corne, w*hi*ch if ther be much wood, in that place the[y] cutt doune the greate trees sum half a yard aboue the ground, and ye smaller they burne at the roote pullinge a good part of barke from them to make them die, and in this place they digg many holes w*hi*ch before the English brought them scauels and spades they vsed to make w*ith* a crooked peece of woode beinge scraped on both sides in fation of a gardiners paring Iron. they [**48**] put in to thes holes ordenarily 4 or 5 curnels of ther wheat and 2 beanes like

[1609-10] french beanes, which when the wheat doe growe vp hauinge a straw as bigg as a canne reede the beanes runn vp theron like our hopps on poles, The eare of ye wheat is of great bignes in lenght and cumpace and yet for all the greatnes of it euery stalke hath most commonly sum fower or fiue eares on it, Ther corne is sett and gathered about the time we vse, but ther maner of ther gatheringe is as we doe our [*aplse*] apells first in a hand basketts [*putti*] emtiinge them as they are filled into other bigger basketts wherof sum are made of the barkes of trees, sume of heampe which naturally groweth ther, and some of the straw wheron ye wheat groweth, Now after ye gatheringe, they laye it uppon matts a good thicknes in the soun to drye & [**49**] euery night they make a great pile of it, coueringe it ouer with matts to defend it from the dewe, [which] and when it is suffitien[t]ly weathered they pile it up in ther howses, dayly as occation serueth wringinge the eares in peises betwene ther hands, and so rubbinge out ther corne do put it to a great Baskett which taketh upp the best parte of sum of ther howses, and all this is cheefly the weomens worke for the men doe only hunt to gett skinns in winter and doe tewe or dress them in summer.

But though now out of order yet let me not altogither forgett the settinge of ye Kings corne for which a day is apoynted wherin great part of ye cuntry people meete who with such diligence worketh as for the most part all ye Kinges corne is sett on a daye After which setting the Kinge takes the croune which ye Kinge of England sent him beinge [**50**] brought him by tow men, and setts it on his heade which dunn the people goeth about the corne in maner backwardes for they going before, and the king followinge ther faces are always toward the Kinge exspectinge when he should flinge sum beades amonge them which his custum is at that time to doe makinge thos which had wrought to scramble for them But to sume he fauors he bids thos that carry his Beades to call such and such unto him unto whome he giueth beads into ther hande and this is the greatest curtesey he doth his people, when his corne is ripe the cuntry people cums to him againe and gathers drys and rubbes out all his corne for him, which is layd in howses apoynted for that purpose. [**51**]

The settinge at meat

THey sett on matts round about ye howse ye men by them selues and ye weomen by ther selues ye weomen bringe to euery one a dish of meat for the better sort neuer eates togither in one dish, when he hath eaten what he will, or that w*hi*ch was giuen him. for he looks for no [*meat*] second corse he setts doune his dish by him and mum[b]leth ceartayne words to himself in maner of [*a saying grace*] giuinge thankes, if any leaft ye weomen gather it up & ether keeps it till ye next meall, or gives it to ye porer sort, if any be ther. [**52**] [1609-10]

The differences amonge them

THe King is not know by any differenc[e] from other of y^e^ [*better*] chefe sort in ye cuntry but only when he cums to any of ther howses they present him w*ith* copper Beads or Vitall, and shew much reuerence to him

The preest[s] are shauen on ye right side of ther head close to the scull only a litle locke leaft at ye eare and sum of thes haue beards But ye common people haue no beards at all for they pull away ther hares as fast as it growes. And they also cutt ye heares on ye right side of ther heade that it might not hinder them by flappinge about ther bow [**53**] stringe, when they draw it to shoott, But on ye other side they lett it grow & haue a long locke hanginge doune ther shoulder. [**54**]

The Armor and wepon with discipline in war

AS for Armoure or dissipline in ware the[y] haue not any. The weopons they vse for offence are Bowes and Arrowes w*ith* a weopon like a hammer and ther Tomahaucks for defence w*hi*ch are shields made of the barke of a tree and hanged on ther leaft shoulder to couer that side as they stand forth to shoote

They neuer fight in open fields but always ether

[1609-10] amonge reede or behind trees takinge ther oportunitie to shoot at ther enimies and [**55**] till they can nocke another arrow they make the trees ther defence

In ye time that I was ther I sawe a Battell fought be- [*pp.* 71, 111, 117, 415, 421.] twene the Patomeck and the Masomeck, ther place wher they fought was a marish ground full of Reede. Beinge in the cuntry of the Patomecke the peopel of Masomeck weare brought thether in Canoes w*hi*ch is a kind of Boate they haue made in the forme of an Hoggs trowgh But sumwhat more hollowed in, On Both sids they scatter them selues sum litle distant one from the other, then take they ther bowes and arrows and hauinge made ridie to shoot they softly steale toward ther enimies, Sumtime squattinge doune and priinge if they can spie any to shoot at whom if at any time he so Hurteth that he can not flee they make hast to him to knock him on the heade, And they that kill most of ther enimies are heald [**56**] the cheafest men amonge them; Drums and Trumpetts they haue none, but when they will gather themselues togither they haue a kind of Howlinge or Howbabub so differinge in sounde one from the othe*r* as both part may uery aesely be distinguished. Ther was no greater slawter of nether side But ye massomecks hauing shott away most of ther arrows and wantinge Vitall [*was*] weare glad to retier; [**57**]

The Pastimes

WHen they meet at feasts or otherwise they vse sprorts much like to ours heare in England as ther daunsinge, w*hi*ch is like our darbysher Hornepipe a man first and t*h*e*n* a woman, and so through them all, hangi*n*g all in a round, ther is one w*hi*ch stand in the midest w*i*t*h* a pipe and a rattell w*i*t*h* w*hi*ch when he beginns to make a noyes all the rest Gigetts about wriinge the*r* neckes and stampinge on ye ground

They vse beside football play, w*hi*ch wemen an*d* young boyes doe much play at. The men neuer They make ther Gooles as ours [**58**] only they neuer fight nor pull one another doune.

The men play w*i*t*h* a litel balle lettinge it fall out of ther hand and striketh i*t* w*i*t*h* the tope of his foot, and he that can strike the ball furthest winns that they play for.

V.

TO deny the truth of the POCAHONTAS incident is to create more difficulties than are involved in its acceptance.

Ten men (*p.* 14) left James town, on the 10th of December 1607, *p.* lxxxv, in the barge, for the discovery of the head waters of the Chickahominy ; six only of these returned with the barge, three of the others were slain to the certain knowledge of all the Colony, Why then was JOHN SMITH not slain too ?

He had left seven in the barge at Apocant,

With expresse charge not any [one] to go ashore til my returne. *p.* 14.

But hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew and much failed not to haue cut of[f] the boat and all the rest. *p.* 395.

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Cassen* whether Captaine *Smith* was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamavnkee*, who in diuisions searching the turnings of the riuer, found *Robinson* and *Emry* by the fire side : those they shot full of arrowes and slew. *pp.* 395–6.

It will be seen at *pp.* lii, liii, lxxi, lxxii, how many of the colonists had already been slain by the Indians ; and the frightful death to which they afterwards subjected GEORGE CASSEN, described at *pp.* 82, 377, is but an example of their innate ferocity.

Supposing then that the account of the POCAHONTAS incident to be altogether untrue, from first to last ; how is the return of SMITH with POWHATAN's *favour* to be accounted for, when each of the other three men that came into the power of the Indians at the same time, perished ? Up to the very moment he arrived at the Fort, our Author momentarily expected death, *p.* 401. Evidently *some* interposition had occurred in his favour, and his own relation of that interposition was strikingly confirmed by the appearance and presents of the hitherto unknown young Indian girl.

Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation ; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608–9], she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion ; which if in those times, [it] had once beene dissolued, *Virginia* might haue line [*lain*] as it was at our first arriuall to this day. *pp.* 531–2 ; *see also pp.* 401, 403.

Every man in the Colony therefore must have believed SMITH's account of her rescue, when he thus saw POCAHONTAS and her supplies of food. The subsequent uniform and unwearied friendship shewn by the Indian girl to the colony at large, and to SMITH in particular, is the strongest possible confirmation of his narrative ; and is otherwise quite inexplicable. Indeed his story was never questioned in his lifetime.

The incident itself is not an extraordinary one in the sequence of recorded hairbreadth escapes from Indian tribes. POWHATAN, a polygamist, nearly sixty years of age in 1608, *pp.* 80, 376; with no special love for any one woman, and none of whose sons can be heir to his throne, having also by no wife more than one child, *p.* cviii, has constantly fixed his heart on a pet child (like an old man's grandchild with us); so that when POCAHONTAS was taken in April 1613, he chose another of twelve years old, which he sold for "two bushels of Rawrenoke," *p.* 518, respecting whom he said in 1614, "he delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he could not often behold, he could not possibly live, which living with us he could not do," *p.* 519. There was nothing miraculous in POWHATAN's thus yielding to the solicitations of such a pet child.

On the whole, therefore, we see no occasion to doubt the two accounts given by our Author of this peril.

1616.

At the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *Iames* towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*; such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this Lady *Pocahontas*. *p.* 531.

1624.

Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselues. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest. *p.* 400.

In fact, the only possible way of resisting the story is to regard Captain SMITH as a confirmed liar; which is quite contrary to everything we know of him.

Savages have often shewn such sudden revulsion of feeling; and POWHATAN before that year 1608 was out, returned to his frenzied attempts to kill SMITH; who seemed to him and his tribe, to bear a charmed life among them.

At the time of the rescue, SMITH was about 28 years of age, and POCAHONTAS about 13. It is quite clear that there was no love affair between them. He astonished her with his wonderful knowledge, and won her friendship with kindness, and gifts of things that to her seemed very precious. He looked upon her goodwill as a political factor for the salvation of the Colony; and with the high notions of kingship prevailing in his day, he considered himself beneath her in social position; for when, at Brentford in Middlesex, in 1616, she *would* call him *father* (not *sweetheart*, or even *friend*), he writes—

Which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter. *p.* 533.

W. PHETTIPLACE who certainly, and R. POTS who probably, arrived at James town on the evening of the day (8 January 1608) on which SMITH arrived from Werowocomoco, *pp.* lxxxvi, 101, 404; and who therefore were personally acquainted with the entire connection of POCAHONTAS with the Colony, thus rebut this out of the many *foul slanders* that followed their beloved Captain home.

Some propheticall spirit calculated [that] hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue made himselfe a king, by marrying *Pocahontas*, *Powhatans* daughter. (It is true she was the very Nomparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine *Smith*; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected; and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it [*p.* 455]. But her marriage could no way haue intitled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he might. If he would, he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed; for there was none that could haue hindred his determination.) *pp.* 168–9.

As to the argument that this Deliverance is not true, because it is not mentioned in the *True Relation* of 1608; it need only be said, that that *Relation* was not intended for publication by SMITH. It is clear from the foregoing pieces at *pp.* xxxviii-xci that *very many* written Relations must have gone home with NEWPORT in June 1607, and again in his second return in April 1608; as this particular one by SMITH, did in Captain NELSON's *Phœnix*, in June 1608. Of them all, SMITH's was the only one that came to the press; and that not by his own act. I. H., who edited it, confesses that "somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought fit to be private, I would not adventure to make it public," *p.* 4. But these probably refer to the details of his 13 weeks' false imprisonment, and to his narrow escape from being hanged at Nevis, *p.* 910: and not to his personal adventures with the savages. We are quite content to suppose he never mentioned the POCAHONTAS incident at all in the manuscript from which this abridged *Relation* was printed; as also that he may not have mentioned OPECHANCANOUGH's previous deliverance of him, when he was tied to the tree to be shot, *p.* 396.

Mr. WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, of Richmond, Va., has, in his *Address to the Virginia Historical Society*, on 24 Feb. 1882, furnished answers to many points of attack on our Author's veracity: but we will not avail ourselves of them. We only say, on general grounds, *non sequitur* (the circumstances considered) to any argument that would assert that *all* that occurred *must*, of necessity, have been recorded in SMITH's manuscript relation; or else it did not occur. In confirmation of this, we may point to the variations (but not contradictions) in the two Relations extending over *not more than the week*, 21–27 May 1607, of the same boat expedition up the James river: the one by Captain ARCHER at *pp.* xl–lii; the other by the Hon. G. PERCY, at *pp.* lxviii–lxix. And it is only popular ignorance of his career that has fastened upon SMITH's danger at Werowocomoco as the chief peril of his life; and which has therefore exaggerated its importance far beyond his own opinion of it. The marvel is that he wrote so much and so well, while the *Phœnix* was loading for home, in May, 1608, under the pressure of so many other things on hand, *pp.* 34–39: and the personal self-forgetfulness with which it is written is only characteristic of the man.

To conclude, then, it would seem that the advent of SMITH was a momentous event in POCAHONTAS's life, but a very small one in his own; so small indeed that he did not see occasion to dwell upon it. They saw one another occasionally over a period of at most 21 months; between January 1608, to the date of his return home 4 October 1609: after which, she never visited James town till ARGAL brought her thither, as a State prisoner, in April 1613.

POCAHONTAS will ever be a most interesting character. She was, under GOD, the means of keeping the Colony alive. She admired, perhaps revered, SMITH; but as PHETTIPLACE and POTS wrote in 1612, "nor was it ever suspected he . . . more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he might," *p.* 169.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE (who has done so much and so well towards the reproduction of our Author's Works) is responsible for the attack on SMITH's veracity as regards the POCAHONTAS incident, by the notes to his reprint of *The True Relation*, in 1866. Mr. H. B. ADAMS, in his review of the same, in the *North American Review*, No. 204, January 1867, is a study of SMITH's life and work, upside down.

Our American friends seem sometimes to fall into the error of considering any newly-found manuscript as of greater authority than the old printed books: thus WINGFIELD is opposed to SMITH; and yet that there is no contradiction in his recrimination, to our Author's text, the reader may see for himself, as we have reprinted the *Discourse of Virginia* at *pp.* lxxiv-xci. In like manner, STRACHEY, who arrived in the Colony in June 1610, is opposed to SMITH, who left on the 4 October 1609, as to the conduct of POCAHONTAS anterior to October 1609. So, Mr. DEANE's reprinting of the *True Relation* was like the bringing to light of a lost manuscript. He did quite right in pointing out its variation from the *General History*: and any doubt he may have raised will be set at rest by the present edition. Precision and scientific accuracy is not to be found in *any* of the nine books forming the present Text; but of the unspotted integrity of the writer, and of the care and moderation with which he wrote, there is therein, we think, abundant testimony. As he says himself, at *p.* 622,

I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome?

VI.

FOR the story of those first thirty months of the James river Settlement, we must refer the reader to the Text itself. It is brim full of fascinating interest : but this Volume consists rather of materials for a Biography of a Life than the History of a Colony, so we pass on.

Two points only we shall add.

Major JED. HOTCHKISS, Consulting Mining Engineer, Staunton, Va., U.S.A., who is the greatest living authority on the geography of that State, thus writes, under date of October 5, 1883 : "I am sorry to say that about the only information we have concerning the location of Indian tribes at the time of the settlement of Virginia is to be found on SMITH's Map—a marvel of results in representation of outline compared with the time occupied in procuring information. The same region is shewn on the small map I send you, from the actual surveys of a century [1774–1874], yet SMITH had all the important features of our wonderfully developed coast well shewn."

There is an interesting connection between our Author and HENRY HUDSON the navigator, of whom he speaks so highly in 1614, at *pp.* 191, 704.

After he discovered Chesapeake Bay, SMITH evidently sent to HUDSON, with the *third* return of Captain NEWPORT, about November 1608, a duplicate of the "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers" (*p.* 444), which he then sent to the Council in London, under cover of the letter printed at *p.* 442. NEWPORT reached London in January 1609, *p.* xciii ; soon after which HUDSON went to Holland, from whence he set sail on his Third voyage on 25 March 1609 (G. M. ASHER, *HENRY HUDSON the Navigator*, *p.* ccii, Hakluyt Soc. 1860).

EMANUEL VAN METEREN, in his *Historie der Neder-Lanscher*, states, "This idea had been suggested to HUDSON by some letters and maps which his friend Captain SMITH had sent him from Virginia ; and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading to the Western Ocean by the north of the southern English colony" (*fol.* 629, *Ed.* 1614 ; and at *fol.* 674 of the French edition 1618).

VII.

OUr Author seems to have returned home from Virginia, by December 1609 ; thereby escaping the peril of *The Starving Time*, as that dreadful winter in the Colony was called. So far, therefore, as he was concerned, his laceration by gunpowder was a merciful Providence to him ; as he would have probably perished that winter in the Colony ; if not from mutinies, from starvation.

Then for two years he is quiet. He is waiting and watching. He makes no public vindication of his Governorship and the true service he "and his party" had rendered to the Colony, until the English Settlement there is on an assured footing.

Then the *Map of Virginia* appears in 1612, containing first his own Map and full Description of the country : and next the Vindication of himself and his party, condensed by the Rev. Dr. SIMMONDS from the interrogatories of survivors and the writings of the dead, and written with a strong self-restraint, considering that most, if not all, the other side were known, by this time, to have perished in the colony. Dr. SIMMONDS wrote at the end of this summary :

Captaine *Smith* I returne you the fruit of my labours, as *Master Croshaw* requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, and hearing the relations of such which haue walked and

observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceaued of the expedition, giue me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict. *p.* 174.

It is very singular indeed that this book, the *Map of Virginia* should have come from the Oxford press; which did not usually produce books of travel.

As Virginian matters progressed, the Council in London broke up into factions.

One of the most important private collections of papers relating to Virginia, Bermuda, &c., is in the possession of the Duke of MANCHESTER. Mr. L. OWEN PIKE's catalogue of them will be found in the *Appendix* (Part II.) to the *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, London, 1881.

Mr. PIKE states—"The Virginia Company about the year 1619 was becoming divided into two hostile factions, the chief leaders in which were to be, on the one side, the Earl of WARWICK, Sir NATHANIEL RICH, and Alderman JOHNSON; and on the other side, the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON, Lord CAVENDISH, and Sir EDWARD SACKVILLE. One party supported Sir THOMAS SMITH, who had been Governor or Treasurer of the Company for the previous twelve years [1606–1618], the other Sir EDWIN SANDYS, who was elected his successor. The papers formerly in the State Paper Office represent, in the main, the case of Sir E. SANDYS; the papers in the Duke of MANCHESTER's collection represent, but far more in detail, the case of Sir J. SMITH." *p.* 4.

Captain SMITH briefly refers to these factions at *p.* 784. He kept out of them altogether, and speaks of the leaders of both sides with an equal respect.

With the publication of this Vindication, SMITH practically turned away from Virginian matters; which had now passed into the hands of Peers of the Realm, like Lord DELAWARE, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen, far above the rank of a mere Army Captain. He and his work were slenderly regarded. While therefore he continued deeply interested in every part of the English colonizing movement; he now turned his personal efforts towards Norumbega, "when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast Land." *pp.* 242–3, 266, 771.

On 2 May 1621, our Author petitioned, apparently without success, the Virginia Company for a reward, "as he hath not onely aduentured money for the good of the Plantacion, and twise built *Iames Towne*, and fower other particular Plantacions, as he alledgeth; but for that he discouered the country, and releaued the Colony willingly three yeares with that which he gott from the Sauages with great perill and hazard of his life." NEILL, *History* &c. *p.* 215, *Ed.* 1869.

C. New England, 1613–1619 A.D.

VIII.

And of all the four parts of the World that I have yet seen, not inhabited: could I have but means to transport a Colony, I would rather live here [*between Pennobscot and Cape Cod in New England*], than anywhere. J. SMITH, 1616, *p.* 193.

CAptain SMITH, in 1614, spent 80 days on the Coast of New England, from Pennobscot to Cape Cod, viz., from 30 April to 18 July both inclusive, *p.* 256; so that he was, in all, about 32 months on the American Continent, from first to last.

He made an astonishingly good use of his time. For though he

failed to found a colony himself; he shewed the way to others, as the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620, *pp.* 749, 892, 941, 943, and the Massachusetts Planters of 1629–30, *pp.* 926, 947, 950.

He however established the fishing at Monahigan, *pp.* 206, 720, or within a square of two or three leagues of it, *pp.* 244, 268, 773: which brought into the realm, with the furs obtained by traffic with the Indians, £100,000 [=£300,000 now] within ten years, *p.* 784.

Sea-fishing, with him, was but the stepping stone to Colonization. How eloquently he writes of it! how reasonable and practical are his suggestions!

And lastly in 1630, he wrote—

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying [that] I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene; and some, the same yeare, returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleeving me, and excuse their owne misprisons: some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it.

Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences; for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods Name bee there praised by my Countrymen, I have my desire. *p.* 944.

In 1618, our Author wrote in a little manuscript book by the hand of a scrivener, the germ of *New England Trials* of 1620, with the following,

Letter to Lord Bacon.

[*State Papers, Colonial.* (1574–1621) Vol. I., No. 42.]

To the Right Honorable Sir *ffrances Bacon*, Knight, Baron of *Verolam* and Lord High Chauncellor of *England*.

Right Honorable,

Having noe better meanes to acquaint your Lordship with my meaning than this paper, the zeale love and dutie to God, my Countrie and your honor, I humbly craue may be my apologie.

This 19 yeares [1599–1618] I haue encountred noe fewe dangers to learne what here I write in these fewe leaves, and though the lines they containe are more rudely phrased then is meete for the viewe of so great a iudgement, their fruites I am certayne may bring both wealth and honor for a Crowne and a Kingdom to his Maiesties

posterity./ The profitts already returned with so small charge and facilitie according to proportion emboldens me to say it./

With a stock of 5000*li* I durst venture to effect it, though more than 100000*li* hath bene spent in *Virginia* and the *Barmudas* to small purpose, about the procuring whereof many good men knowes I haue spent noe small tyme labor nor mony: but all in vaine. Notwithstanding within these fower years [1614–18] I have occasioned twice 5000*li* to be imployed that way. But great desyres to ingross it, hath bred so many particular humors, as they have their willes, I the losse, and the generall good the wrong./

Should I present it to the *Biskayners*, *French*, or *Hollanders*, they have made me large offers. But nature doth binde me thus to begg at home, whome strangers have pleased to make a Commander abroad. The busines being of such consequence, I hold it but my duty to acquaint it to your Honor, knowing you are not only a cheife Patron of your Countrie and state, but also the greatest favourer of all good designes and their Authors.

Noe more, but humbly beseeching your goodnes to pardon my rudenes, and ponder my plaine meaning in the ballance of goodwill, I leave the substance to the discretion of your most admired judgement, ever resting Your honors ever most truely devoted,

[This signature is autographic.] Jo Smith.

Then follows the substance, up to year 1618, of *New Englands Trials* 1620, with the following paragraphs omitted in that tract.

The worst is of these 16. shippes. 2 or three of them have bene taken by Pyrates, which hath putt such feare in poore fishermen, whose powers are but weake. And the desyre of gaine in Marchants so violent: every one so regarding his private, that it is worse then slaverye to follow any publique good, and impossible to bring them into a bodye, rule, or order, vnles it be by some extraordinary power. But if his Maiestie would please to be perswaded to spare vs but a Pinnace, to lodge my men in and defend us and the Coast from such invasions, the space of eight or tenn monethes only till we were seated [*i.e.*, *the colony settled in New England*], I would not doubt but ere long to drawe the most part of *Newfound Land* men to assist us, if I could be so provided but in due season: for now ere the Savages grow subtle and the Coast be too much frequented with strangers, more may be done with 20*li* than hereafter with a 100*li*. . . .

How I haue lived, spent my tyme and bene employed, I am

not ashamed who will examine. Therefore I humbly beseech your Honour, seriously to consider of it; and lett not the povertie of the Author cause the action to be lesse respected, who desyres noe better fortune than he could find there./

In the interim I humbly desyre your Honour would be pleased to grace me with the title of your Lordships servant. Not that I desyre to shut vpp the rest of my dayes in the chamber of ease and idlenes, but that thereby I may be the better countenanced for the prosecution of this my most desyred voyage: for had I the Patronage of so mature a iudgment as your Honors, it would not only induce those to beleive what I know to be true in this matter, who will now hardly vouchsafe the perusall of my Relations, but also be a meanes to further it to the vttermost of their powers with their purses.

And I shal be ever ready to spend both life and goods for the honor of my Country, and your Lordships service. With which resolucion I doe in all humility rest, At your Honors service

It is to be regretted that this application was not successful.

It is quite clear, that our Author offered to lead out the Pilgrim Fathers to America, and that they declined his services "to save charges," *p.* 941, "saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe," *p.* 892. We cannot think that this was the whole reason. In 1620, politics and religion in England usually went together, and there were three great Parties in the State, known as the Protestant, the Puritan, and the Papist. SMITH was a Protestant, and his argument at *p.* 959 for a strong ecclesiastical government, based on his experiences in Eastern Europe, is certainly a very reasonable one: but the Pilgrim Fathers were the "head and front" of the Puritan revolt against the Bishops. No doubt, our Author would have been supremely faithful to them; but he could not long have stood their independence of all religious authority.

Now since them called Brownists [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] went (some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired). *p.* 946.

So that our Author exercised a great, though an indirect, influence on the colonizing enterprise of England from 1620–1630. Indeed it would seem that the influence of his pen was greater than the result of his personal actions. He grieved over his mishaps and ill-fortune in 1615 and 1617, but posterity may be glad that he never did get to New England again. That work was carried on by other hands: and we rejoice thereby to possess the *New Englands Trials*, 1620 and 1622; the *General History*, 1624; the *Accidence*, 1626; the *Travels*, 1629; and the *Advertisements*, 1630: all of which would never have come to the press, had not Man and Providence, the poltroons in 1615 and the three months' westerly wind in 1617, frustrated all his attempts to go and settle in Capawuck, *pp.* 205, 218, 732.

D. Advocate and Historian of English Colonization in America, and of Sea Fisheries there as a means thereto. 1619–1631 A.D.

IX.

My greatest error in this, is but a desire to do good: which disease hath ever haunted me since my childhood; and all the miseries and ingratitudes I have endured, cannot yet divert me from that resolution.
J. Smith, 1626, *p.* 788.

History is the memory of Time, the life of the Dead, and the happiness of the Living.
J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 948.

You may easily know them by their absoluteness in opinions; holding Experience but the mother of fools, which indeed is the very ground of Reason; and he that contemns her in those actions, may find occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdom he hath, to correct his own folly. J. Smith, 1630, *p.* 956.

For my self, let Emulation and Envy cease! I ever intended my actions should be upright: now [*in the "General History"*] my care hath been that my Relations should give every man they concern, his due. J. Smith, 1624, *p.* 279.

How completely our Author identified himself with this Colonizing movement, from the intended voyage to the river Weapoco, in 1605, *p.* 896, to the last day of his life, is illustrated by the following passages.

In 1622 he thus wrote—

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which has bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children; for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small means as I did at the first. Not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe; . . . . except the relations of Master *Dirmer*. *p.* 265.

Again, in 1629, he wrote—

Those Countries Captaine *Smith* oft times used to call his children that never had mother; and well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for so little content; and for those that

would truly understand, how many strange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. *p.* 893.

And thus it was, that to carry on the Colonizing Effort he undertook his *General History*.

The following Minute of the London Virginia Company at *p.* 210 of Mr. E. D. Neill's *History*, Ed. 1869 (see *p.* xxxiii) is the earliest information we have of our Author's largest Work.

April 12, 1621. Mr. *Smith* moued, that for so much as ye lottaries were now suspended, which hitherto had continued the reall and substantiall food, by which *Virginia* hath been nourished, that insteade thereof shee might be now preserued by divulginge faire and good report as shee and her worthy vndertakers did well deserve: declaring that it could not but much advance the Plantacion in the popular opinion of the Common Subjects to haue a faire and perspicuous history, compiled of that Country, from her first discouery to this day: and to haue the memory and fame of many of their worthies, though they be dead, to liue and be transmitted to all posteritie; as namely: Sir *Thomas Dale*, Sir *George Somers*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, the Lord *De-la-warr*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and diuers others whereunto were it not for suspition of flattery, he would wish also the name of many her other worthies yet liuinge, and some of them now present in Court, might haue also their honorable and good deseruinge commended to eternall thankfullness; for that our inabilities had as yet no trewer coyne, wherewith to recompense their paines and merritt. Affirming also, that the best now planted parts of *America* under the Spanish government, nor their Annals or histories of those times, in their like age of ours, nowe 12 years [1609–1621] old *Virginia* afforded better matter of relacion than *Virginia* hath donn: and doth. With what effect such a generall history, (deduced to the life to this yeare), would worke throughout the Kingdome), with the generall and common subject, may be gathered by the little pamphletts or declaracions lately printed [*i.e., by the London Virginia Company*]. And besides fewe succeedinge yeares would soon consume the lives of many whose livinge memories yet retayned much, and devour those letters and intelligences which yet remaine in loose and neglected papers. For which boldness, in mouinge hereof, he prayed his Lordships pardon, ledd herunto upon the request of some fellows of the Generallity.

A copy of the four-page Prospectus intended for the Nobility and Gentry of the *General History* is No. 209 of the Collection of Broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It was evidently issued in 1623, which according to the old way of reckoning would extend to the 24 March 1624. It begins thus:

¶ The generall History of *Virginia*, the *Somer* Iles, and New *England*, with the names of the Aduenturers, and their aduentures. Also a Catalogue of their names who were the first Treasurers heere, and planters and Gouernours there; and how they haue yeerely succeeded, from their first beginning 1584. to this present 1623. with the proceedings of these seuerall Colonies, and the accidents that befell them in all their iourneys and discoueries, with the Mappes and descriptions of those countries, commodities, people, gouernment, customes, and Religion yet knowne, for the generall good of all them who belong to those Plantations and all their posterities.

Discouered, obserued, or collected by Captaine IO. SMITH *sometime Gouernour of Virginia, and Admirall of New England.*

Then follow in two columns of small type, the intended Contents of the book, pretty nearly as we have in the Text at *pp.* 289–300.

At the top of the fourth page, the Prospectus thus concludes:

THese *obseruations are all I haue for the expences of a thousand pound, and the losse of eighteene yeeres of time, besides all the trauels, dangers, miseries and incumbrances for my countries good, I haue endured* gratis: *and had I not discouered and liued in the most of these parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall trueth from such an infinite nomber of variable Relations, that would make a volume of at least a thousand sheetes: and this is composed in lesse then eighty sheets, besides the three Maps, which will stand me neere in an hundred pounds, which summe I cannot disbursse: nor shall the Stationers haue the copy* [manuscript] *for nothing. Therfore I humbly entreat your Honour, either to aduenture, or giue me what you please towards the impression, and I will be both accountable and thankful; not doubting but that the Story will giue you satisfaction, and stirre vp a double new life in the Aduenturers, when they shall see plainely the causes of all those defailements, and how they may be amended. And so I humbly rest.*

[No printed name. It was evidently intended to be personally signed by SMITH himself.]

X.

VEry touching is the Poem at *p.* 922 on his own career, likening himself to a *Sea Mark*. Still, a devout Christian all his life, as he gets older his language becomes one of thankfulness to Almighty GOD; and his style is often very Biblical.

With two Summaries of his career by himself, we conclude. In 1629, he wrote,

Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine *Smith*; how first he planted *Virginia*, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wilde woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and downe their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a sacrifice for their Idoll; before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations; then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter *Pocahontas* saved his life, returned him to *James* towne, releeved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possesse those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations upon the rivers falling into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*; stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called Stingray: how [he drave] *Powhatan* out of his Country, tooke the Kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paspahegh* prisoners, forced thirty nine of those Kings to pay him contribution, [and] subjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for *England* to be cured:

Also how hee brought our new *England* to the subjection of the Kingdome of great *Britaine*; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many *French* men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the French against the *Spaniards*, their bad usage of him, how in *France* in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at Sea by himselfe, when thirteene *French* ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of *Ree*, the generall and most of his men drowned, when God to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped: you may read at large in his generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Iles*, and *New England*. *pp.* 911–912.

And again in 1630, his heart overflows in this, our final quotation:

Now if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace

them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers: [you] cannot but conceive God's infinite mercy both to them and me.

Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions that the wiser sort often gave mee [up] for lost, alwayes in mutinies [*i.e.*, *of others*] wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder; A long time [a] prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift all such a stormy winter night, when their ships were split, more than a hundred thousand pound [=£400,000 *now*] lost [which] they had taken at sea, and most of them drowned upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths [have] lived in the fields: yet to have lived near 37. yeares [1593–1630] in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine, by which many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them [that] went first with me to *Virginia*: and [yet to] see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God thankes, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me, to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner. *pp.* 944–945.

At length, while his thoughts are engaged on yet another Work, his *History of the Sea*, he dies, somewhat suddenly, at the comparatively early age of 51 on the 21 June 1631, and was buried at St. Sepulchre's Church, London. His Will and Epitaph will be found at *pp.* 969–72.

XI.

THE reader of the foregoing will now be able rightly to understand what manner of man Captain JOHN SMITH was; will have read most of what was written against him, in his own day; will be able to distinguish the malice from the truth; and will thus come to share our own high regard for his character, and admiration of his work.

Whenever generous spirits served under him, they learned to love and admire the man: as witness herein, Ensign CARLTON and Sergeant ROBINSON in Transylvania in 1603, *pp* 230–231; the brothers PHETTIPLACE, and RICHARD WIFFING, *p.* 185; ISAAC CODRINGTON, *p.* 181; RALEIGH CRASHAW, *p.* 184; who, with others of the thirty or forty gentlemen under him, saved Virginia.

So, at length, posterity will learn to do the like; and see in him a noble example of what a Christian Gentleman and Officer may be, may do, and may endure.

Postscript.

The Epic period of the James river Settlement.

26 April 1607—10 July 1609.

Now this our young Commonwealth in Virginia, as you have read, once consisted but of 38 persons; and in two years increased but to 200. . . . If we truly consider our proceedings with the Spaniards and the rest, we have no reason to despair; for, with so small charge, they never had either greater discoveries, with such certain trials of more several commodities, than, in this short time, hath been returned from Virginia, and by much less means. R. Pots, W. Tankard, the Hon. G. Percy, *p.* 488.

However some bad conditions will extol the actions of any nation but their own; yet if we may give credit to the Spaniards', Portugals' and French's writings, they endured as many miseries; and yet not in twenty years effected so much, nay, scarce in forty. J. Smith, *p.* 769.

What were the precise numbers in the Colony before the arrival of Argal's ship about 10 July, and of the Third Supply or reinforcement in the following month of August 1609?

Smith, in 1624, wrote to the Royal Commissioners,

We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred seuenty seuen men, boies, and women, *p.* 612.

According to the figures below, the number should be 295; but as they are round numbers, and Smith was here writing deliberately and at leisure, the 277 is probably correct. We have marked the six ships (1), (2), (3), &c.

The *Instructions* of 1606, *p.* xxxv, contemplated the number of Colonists to be sent out at "six score men."

Purchas, *Pilgrimes* iv. 1705, Ed. 1625, thus enumerates the first Expedition.

(1) *Susan Constant*, 100 tons, Admiral [*i.e.*, *flag ship*], Captain Newport, with	71
(2) *God speed*, 40 tons, Vice Admiral, Captain B. Gosnold, with	52
(3) A Pinnace, 20 tons, Rear Admiral, Captain J. Ratcliffe, with	21
	144

All these we take to be the Colonists (exclusive of Sailors) that left England in December 1606.

Percy states, *p.* lx, that on 4 April 1607, at the Isle of Virgins, they numbered "eight score persons." This we take to include Sailors, as well as Colonists; some of the latter having died.

If the Colonists then originally numbered on 4 April 1607,	144		
there had died, or returned, by 22 June 1607	39		
For, on that day, Newport left in the Settlement	—105		*p.* 93; 104, *p.* lxx; 100, *p.* 389.
There died of these before the arrival of the First Supply	67		*pp.* lxxvi, 9, 391.
So that, on the morning of 8 Jan. 1608, the Colony consisted of	38		*pp.* lxxxvi, 402, 488, 531, 611, 912.
(4) 8 Jan. 1608, the first part of First Supply arrived in Captain Newport's ship			*pp.* lxxxvi, 23, 100, 403.
(5) 20 April 1608, the second part arrived in Captain Nelson's *Phœnix*			*pp.* 33, 105, 409.
Total First Supply	120	—158	*pp.* 107, 411.
There died between the First and Second Supply		28	
		130	*pp.* 122, 434.
(6) [Oct.] 1608. The Second Supply arrived, in Captain Newport's ship		70	*pp.* 129, 445.
[Nov.] 1608. Captain Newport left		—200	*pp.* 129, 455.
By Smith's great care, of these, besides those drowned with Master Scrivener (*pp.* 143, 460) there died not above 6 or 7.		?	*pp.* 157, 473.
		?	

August, 1609. The Third Supply set out with 500 persons, *pp.* 161, 478 (of which 150, *pp.* 161, 479; or rather 180, *p.* xcviii, were shipwrecked at Bermuda): so that the portion that did arrive (and found 80 persons at James town, *p.* cii), was over 300. Therefore, when Smith left, there were in the colony 490 odd persons, *pp.* 167, 486; who all perished but about 60, *p.* 498, in the following winter, known as *The Starving Time.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THE reader of this Bibliography will but share our admiration of the scholarship, and reprinting efforts over more than the last quarter of a century, in this early Colonial literature (as in so many other periods of American literature), of that most distinguished American scholar, CHARLES DEANE, Esquire, LL.D., of Cambridge, Massa., U.S.A. ; who hitherto has done more than any man living, to perpetuate the name and fame of Captain JOHN SMITH.

Mr. DEANE was the proper person to have brought out this Collected Edition of Captain SMITH's *Works* ; and we would have urged him thereto : but that we thought an English edition with an English editor, would ensure a more ready recognition of our Author in his native land, and would therefore better secure the special object we have in view, viz., the restoration of his Writings, for ever, to the general modern literature of Great Britain and her colonies.

A true Relation &c. 1608.

1 [August] 1608. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 1. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 35 ; G. 7121.

2 1866. Boston, Massa., 4to. *A true Relation of Virginia* by Captain JOHN SMITH. With an Introduction and Notes by CHARLES DEANE. 315 copies printed. B.M. pressmark, 9602. bbb.

3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

A Map of Virginia &c. 1612.

1 1612. Oxford, 4to. See title at *p.* 41. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 18 ; G. 7120

2 1625. London, fol. Rev. S. PURCHAS, *Pilgrimes.* An abridgement of the *Map of Virginia* occurs in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 679. h. 12.

3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

A Description of New England &c. 1616.

1 [3–18 June] 1616. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 175. B.M. pressmarks, C. 13. a. 11 (2) ; C. 33. c. 12 ; G. 7122.

2 1617. Frankfort, 4to. LEVINUS HULSIUS. *A Description* forms the XIV. Voyage.

3 1707. Leyden, 8vo. P. VAN DER AA. *Naaukeurige Versameling.* Vol. 102, contains an abridgement of *A Description &c.* B.M. pressmark, 979. f. 2 (5.)

4 1837. Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 8vo. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 3rd Series. Vol. VI. contains *A Description &c.* B.M. pressmark, Ac. 8400.

5 1838. Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 8vo. PETER FORCE, *Collection of Historical Tracts. A Description &c.* is the first tract in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 1324. g.

6 1865. Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 4to. *A Description of New England ; Observations and Discoveries in the North of America in the year of our Lord* 1614. *With the Success of six Ships that went the next year,* 1615. By Captain JOHN SMITH (*Admiral of that Country*). With a Facsimile of the Original Map. [*See p.* cxxxiv.] 250 copies printed. Published by WILLIAM VEAZIE.
The Preface to this reprint was written by CHARLES DEANE, Esq., in the name of the Publisher. B.M. pressmark, 10411. dd.

7 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

New England's Trials. 1620.

1 [Dec.] 1620. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 233. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 15.

2 [July] 1873. Cambridge, Mass., 4to. *New England's Trials* written by Captain JOHN SMITH. A reprint of the rare first edition of 1620. With a Prefatory Note by CHARLES DEANE. The Preface is dated 1 July 1873. 50 copies printed. B.M. pressmark, 10408 bb.

3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

New England's Trials. 1622.

1 [October] 1622. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 249, and passage fixing the month in which it was written at *p.* 264. B.M. pressmarks, C. 33. c. 5; 1061. a. 121 (3); G. 7197.

2 1838. Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 8vo. Peter Force, *Collection of Historical Tracts. New England's Trials.* 1622 is the second Tract in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 1324. g.

3 [April] 1867. Providence, R.I., U.S.A. *New England's Trials* 1622. A facsimile reprint issued by the late Mr John Carter Brown, with the following prefatory note.

"The interest connected with all the writings of Captain John Smith, has induced the owner of the present tract, one of the rarest and least known of his publications, to print a few copies for distribution among the collectors of books relating to America.

"The reprint is a facsimile, page for page, including the wood-cut ornaments, of the original, which is the second edition. No copy of the first edition has fallen under the notice of the possessor of the present copy." J. C. B.

Providence, R.I., *April* 1867. 60 copies printed. B.M. pressmark, 10410. f.

4 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

The General History of Virginia, Summer Isles, and New England 1624.

1 [July] 1624. London, fol. (a) See title on engraved frontispiece, which, in this present impression, forms a folding plate opposite *p.* 272. B.M. pressmark, G. 7037.

∴ The engravings of the Duchess of Richmond and Matoaka (*p.* cxxxvi) did *not* form parts of this original edition.

2 1626. London, fol. (b) *Title edition* only. The same text issued with a fresh title page. B.M. pressmark, 601. l. 8.

3 1627. London, fol. (c) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 601. l. 9.

4 1632. London, fol. (d) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 984. f.17.

5 1632. London, fol. (e) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 147. d. 2.

6 1812. London, 4to. J. Pinkerton. *A general Collection of . . . Voyages &c.* Vol. 13 contains the *General History.* B.M. pressmark, 2057. d.

7 1819. Richmond, Va., U.S.A., 8vo. The *General History* is inserted in the midst of a reprint of the *True Travels.* B.M. pressmark. 1447. g. 17.

8 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

An Accidence for the Sea, 1626[, *or the First Version*].

1 1626. London, 8vo. See title at *p.* 785. B.M. pressmarks 533. d. 3 (1); 533. f. 21 (1).

2 1636. London, 8vo. *An Accidence for the Sea &c.* Without any name of author, and with a new Preface by B. F. B.M. pressmark, 534. a. 32.

3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

The Seaman's Grammar, 1627[, *or the Second Version*].

1 1627. London, 8vo. A Sea Grammar, With the plaine Exposition of Smiths *Accidence for Young Sea-men*, enlarged. Diuided into fifteene Chapters, *&c.* Bodleian pressmark, Ashm. 1064.

Contains Complimentary Poems by Edw. Ingham, George Bucke, Nicolas Burley, John Hagthorpe, Edw. Jorden, W. S., S. S.

2 [6 Nov. 1652.] 1653. London, 4to. *The Seaman's Grammar.* B.M. pressmark, E. 679 (9).

3 1691. London, 4to (a) *The Seaman's Grammar.* B.M. pressmark, 51. c. 8.

4 1692. London, 4to (b) *Title edition only.* B.M. pressmark, 533. d. 3 (2).

The true Travels &c. 1630.

1 1625. London, fol. Rev. S. Purchas's *Pilgrimes.* The substance of our Author's wanderings first appeared, abridged, in Vol. II. of the *Pilgrimes.* B.M. pressmark, 679. h. 12.

2 [Aug. 1629] 1630. London, fol. See title at *p.* 805. B.M. pressmarks, 566. g. 1 (1); B. 273 (1); G. 7195.

3 1678. Amsterdam, 4to. J. SANDERSON *Seer gedenckwaerdige vorjagien, &c.* An abridgement of the *True Travels &c.*

4 1706. Leyden, 8vo. P. VAN DER AA. *Naaukeurige Versameling.* Vol. 73. B.M. pressmark, 979. c. 21 (2).

5 1707. Leyden, 8vo. P. VAN DER AA. *Naaukeurige Versameling.* Vol. 89. B.M. pressmark, 979. c. 23 (1).

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7 1732. London, fol. A. & J. CHURCHILL. *Collection of Voyages, &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 566. k. 7.

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9 1752. London, fol. A. & J. CHURCHILL. *Collection of Voyages, &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 215. e. 2.

10 1819. Richmond, Va., U.S.A., 8vo. The *True Travels* are reprinted with the *General History.* B.M. pressmark, 1447. g. 17.

11 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

Advertisements to Unexperienced Planters &c. 1631.

1 [Oct. 1630] 1631. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 917. B.M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 14.

2 1832. Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 8vo. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 3rd Series. Vol. III. contains the *Advertisements &c.* B.M. pressmark. Ac. 8400.

3 1865. Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 4to. *Advertisements.* B.M. pressmark, 10413. h.

4 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression.

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1 1782. Berlin, 8vo. CARL FRIEDRICH SCHEIBLER. *Reiseu, Eutdeckungen und Uuternehmungen des Schifs* [!] *Capitain Iohan Schmidt.* B.M. pressmark, 1052. d. 1.

2 1834. Boston, Massa., U.S.A. J. SPARKS. *The Library of American biography. The Life of Captain JOHN SMITH,* by GEORGE S. HILLARD, is in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 2040. a.

3 [1843.] New York, U.S.A. *The Life of Captain JOHN SMITH,* by W. GILMORE SIMMS. B.M. pressmark, 10880. c.

4 1881. New York, U.S.A. *Lives of American Worthies. Captain JOHN SMITH, . . . A study of his Life and Writings, by* CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

5 1884. London, 8vo. *The Life of Captain JOHN SMITH,* by JOHN ASHTON.

A short chronological List of English books, co-ordinate, or supplementary to the present Text.

(All these Works were published in London, unless otherwise stated, from the time our Author went to Virginia; and will be found helpful to the further study of the History of our First English Colonies.)

Up to Captain Smith's death. 1631.

1590–1650. LEVINUS HULSIUS, &c. *Collection of Voyages.* In German, &c. Frankfort, &c.... 4to.

[1602–1646. Governor WILLIAM BRADFORD. *Of Plimoth Plantation.* Mass. Hist. Soc. *Boston,* 1856] ... ... 8vo.

1609. FERDINANDO DE SOTO. *Virginia richly valued.* Trans. by Rev. R. HAKLUYT ... ... 4to.

R[OBERT] G[RAY]. *A good Spede to Virginia* ... ... 4to.

Rev. WILLIAM SYMONDES. Sermon preached on 25 Apr. 1609 ... ... 4to.

MARC LESCARBOT. *Novia Francia &c.* Trans. by P. E[RONDELLE] ... ... 4to.

[R. I.] *Nova Britannia Offeringe &c.* ... ... 4to.

1610. [R. RICH. *Newes from Virginia.* In Verse. 1865.] ... ... 4to.

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Council of Virginia. *A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation &c* .... 4to.

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[1610-5. WILLIAM STRACHEY. *History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia.* Hakluyt Soc. 1849.] 8vo.
1611. THOMAS WEST, Lord DE-LA-WARRE. *Relation, &c.* ... ... 4to.
1612. [R. I.] *The new Life of Virginea.* [Part II. of *Nova Britannia.*] ... ... 4to.
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1613. Rev. SAMUEL PURCHAS *his Pilgrimage.* (2nd Ed. in 1614; 3rd Ed. in 1617; 4th Ed. in 1626.) fol.
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Rev. A. WHITTAKER. *Good news from Virginia.* With a *Preface* by W. CRASHAW ... 4to.
ROBERT HARCOURT. *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* ... ... 4to.
1615. RALPH HAMOR. *A true Discourse of the present Estate of Virginia* ... ... 4to.
1618. *Newes of Sir Walter Raleigh: with the true Description of Guiana* ... ... 4to.
1619. Council for Virginia. *A Note of the Shipping &c. sent to Virginia* ... ... s. sh.
Council for Virginia. *Another Note of the Shipping &c. with the names of Adventurers* 4to.
1620. Council for Virginia. *A Declaration of the State of the Colony, 22 June* 1620 ... ... 4to.
Council for Virginia. *A Declaration . . . touching the present estate, 20 Sept.* 1620 ... 4to.
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RICHARD WHITBOURNE. *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland* ... ... 4to.
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1622. R[OBERT] C[USHMAN]. A Sermon preached at New Plimouth, 9 Dec. 1621... ... ... 4to.
Bermuda. *Orders and Constitutions &c. 6 Feb.* 1621[-2] ... ... 4to.
Rev. PATRICK COPLAND. A Sermon preached on the 18 April 1622 ... ... 4to.
[Rev. JOHN BRINSLEY.] *A Consolation for our Grammar Schools* ... ... 4to.
[JOHN BONNIEL.] *His Maiesties gracious Letter.* About Silk Works and Vines ... 4to.
[G. MOURT?] *A Relation or Iournall of the beginning of . . . New Plimouth* ... ... 4to.
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? *A brief Relation of the Discovery of New England,* 1607-1622 ... ... 4to.
RICHARD WHITBOURNE. *A loving Invitation for . . . the Plantation in Newfoundland* 4to.
1624. Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER, afterwards Earl of STERLING. *An Encouragement to the Colonies,* 4to. *Title Editions* in 1625 and 1630. 4to.
E[DWARD] W[INSLOW]. *Good Newes from New England* ... ... 4to.
[On the 28th July 1624, the following was entered at Stationers' Hall, London (*Transcript,* iv. 112; *Ed.* 1877), but query if ever published:
Captain JOHN JEFFERIES. *News from Virginia, or Virginia stript naked.* ?]
1625. Rev. SAMUEL PURCHAS *his Pilgrimes* ... ... fol.
Rev. WILLIAM MORRELL. *New England &c.* In Latin and English Verse ... ... 4to.
Sir ROBERT GORDON. *Encouragements . . . Cape Briton, now New Galloway. Edinburgh* 4to.
JOHN HAGTHORPE. *Englands Exchequer . . . concerning Plantations* ... ... 4to.
1626. ORPHEUS junior [Sir WILLIAM VAUGHAN]. *The Golden Fleece . . . from Newfoundland* 4to.
1628. CHRISTOPHER LEVETT. *A Voyage into New England,* 1623-4 ... ... 4to.
Governor R[OBERT] H[AYMAN]. *Quodlibets from Newfoundland* ... ... 4to.
1630. [Rev. FRANCIS HIGGINSON.] *New Englands Plantation.* (Three editions in this year)... 4to.
[Rev. JOHN WHITE.] *The Planter's Plea; or, the Grounds of Plantation examined* ... 4to.
[Rev. JOHN COTTON.] *Gods promise to his Plantation* ... ... 4to.

Later Works.

1632. ? *A publication of Guiana's Plantation, &c.* ... ... 4to.
1634. WILLIAM WOOD. *New England's Prospect* ... ... 4to.
1635. LUKE FOX. *North-west Fox; or, FOX from the North-west passage* ... ... 4to.
1635. JOD. HONDIUS. *Historia Mundi, &c.* Trans. by WYE SALTONSTALL ... ... fol.
1637. THOMAS MORTON. *New English Canaan* ... ... 4to.
1638. JOHN UNDERHILL. *Newes from America, or a discoverie . . . of New England...* ... 4to.
1648. THOMAS GAGE. *The English American . . . or a New Survey of the West Indies* ... fol.
1654. [EDWARD JOHNSON.] *A History of New England,* 1628-1652 ... ... 4to.
1659. FERDINANDO GORGES. *America painted to the Life.* 4 Parts ... ... 4to.
1669. NATHANIEL MORTON. *New England's Memorial* ... ... 4to.
1677. WILLIAM HUBBARD. *The present State of New England* ... ... 4to.
1705. R[OBERT] B[EVERLEY]. *History and Present State of Virginia.* (2nd Ed. in 1722) ... 8vo.
1736-55. Rev. T. PRINCE. *A Chronological History of New England. Boston, Massa.* ... 8vo.
1747. WILLIAM STITH. *History of the First Discovery &c. of Virginia. Williamsburg, Va.* 8vo.
1804-16. JOHN BURK. *History of Virginia from its first settlement.* 3 Vols. *Petersburg, Va.* 8vo.
1819-23. W. W. HENING. *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia from . . .* 1619. 13 Vols. *Richmond, Va.* ... ... 8vo.
1860. CHARLES CAMPBELL. *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia. Philadelphia, Pa.* ... ... 8vo.
1861. Bishop WILLIAM MEADE. *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia.* 2 Vols. *Philadelphia, Pa.* ... ... 8vo.
1869. EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL. *History of the Virginia Company of London. Albany, N.Y.* 4to.
1871. EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL. *The English Colonization of America...* ... ... 8vo.

JAMES LENOX, CHARLES DEANE, and JUSTIN WINSOR. The Ten *States* of SMITH'S *New England* Map.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, at p. 52 of the first volume of the noble Memorial History of Boston, Massa. 4 *Vols.* 1880–1, *has given the following, which is the fullest account of the various issues of the* New England *Map.*

SMITH'S map, as the real foundation of our New England cartography, deserves particular attention. To the draft which he made he affixed the Indian names, or such as whim had prompted him to give while he surveyed the shores. There is rarely found in copies of the *Description of New England* a leaf [*see p.* 232], printed on one side only, which reads as follows: "Because the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreate the Reader peruse this schedule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new." Below this are two columns, one giving the old names, the other the new ones; the latter such as Prince CHARLES, then a lad of fifteen, had affixed to the different points, bays, rivers, and other physical features, when SMITH showed him the map. As engraved, the map has the Prince's nomenclature; the book has SMITH'S or the earlier; and this rare leaf is to make the two mutually intelligible.

So far as is known to me, this map exists in ten States of the plate, and I purpose now to note their distinctive features. In this study I make use of some memoranda of Mr. JAMES LENOX and Mr. CHAS. DEANE, printed in *Norton's Literary Gazette*, new series, i. (1854) 134, 219; but I add one condition (VIII.) to their enumeration.

I. The original condition of the map bears in the lower left-hand corner, *Simon Pasæus sculpsit; Robert Clerke excudit;* and in the lower right-hand corner, *London, Printed by Geor: Low.* The title NEW ENGLAND is in large letters at the top, to the right of it the English arms, and beneath it, *The most remarqueable parts thus named | by the high and mighty Prince* CHARLES, | *Prince of great Britaine.* The latitude is marked on the right-hand side only: there are no marks of longitude. Boston Harbor is indicated by a bay with eight islands, and a point of land extending from the southwest within it. The *River Charles* extends inland from the northwest corner of the bay, a short distance. A whale, a ship, and a fleet are represented upon the sea. There is no date beneath the scale. There are many names on later states not yet introduced, and some of the present names are changed in the later impressions, as will be noted below.

Of the names which the Prince assigned, but three became permanently attached to the localities, and these are,—*Plimouth* to the spot which CHAMPLAIN had called *Port St. Louis*, which the natives called *Accomack*, and which the Pilgrims continued to call by this newer name, seven or eight years later; *Cape Anna*, for which SMITH had sacrificed the remembrance of his Eastern romance [*p.* 204]; and *The River Charles*, which had been previously known as *Massachusets River;* while the name *Massachusets Mount*, earlier applied to our Blue Hill, became, under CHARLES'S pen, *Cheuyot hills.* GOSNOLD'S *Cape Cod* proved better rooted than CHARLES'S monument to his dynasty, *Cape James*, and so the Prince's *Stuard's Bay* has given place to Cape Cod Bay. Our own name,—Boston,—as is the case with many other well-known names of this day, appears in connection with a locality remote from its present application. It supplanted SMITH'S *Accominticus*, and stood for the modern York in Maine. Two of the Captain's names were suffered to stand,—*New England* as the general designation of the country, and *Smith's Isles*, within ten years afterwards to be known among the English as the *Isles of Shoals. London* was put upon the shore about where Hingham or perhaps Cohasset is; *Oxford* stood for the modern Marshfield; *Poynt Suttliff* is adjacent, and does duty for CHAMPLAIN'S *C. de S. Louis* and the present Brant Rock; and *Poynt George* is the designation of the Gurnet.

Of the copies of the book known to be in America, but one has the map in this state, and that is the Prince copy, in which the map is unfortunately imperfect, but not in an essential part. From this copy C. A. SWETT, of Boston, engraved the fac-simile which appeared in VEAZIE'S reprint [*p.* cxxx.] of the *Description of New England*, in 1865.

In 1617, HULSIUS, the German collector, translated SMITH'S *Description* for his *Voyages*, and re-engraved the map; but the names in the lower corners were omitted, and SMITH'S title, the verses concerning him, and some of the explanations were given in German. HULSIUS'S map, beside accompanying his Part XIV., first edition, 1617, and second edition, 1628, is often found in Part XIII. (Hamor's Virginia), and is also given in Part XX. (New England and Virginia), 1629.

II. The date, 1614, is for the first time inserted under the scale, and the names *P. Travers* and *Gerrards Ils* are put in near *Pembrocks Bay* (Penobscot). A copy of this second state is in the Harvard College copy of the *Description* of 1616. We give a heliotype of a portion of it. A lithographic fac-simile of the whole, but without the ships, &c., is given in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iii., and in a reduced form by photo-lithography in PALFREY'S *New England*, i. 95. Mr. LENOX supposed that this state of the plate may have been first used in the 1620 edition of SMITH'S *New England's Trials*, no copy of which was known to be in this country when Mr. DEANE, in 1873, reprinted it in the *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society*, Feb. 1873.

III. SMITH's escutcheon, but without the motto, was introduced in the lower left-hand corner. This state is found in Mr. DEANE's copy of the *Generall Historie*, 1624, and in the Lenox copy of the *Description* of 1616. Mr. LENOX supposed this state may have been first used in the 1622 edition of *New England's Trials*.

IV. The motto *Vincere est vivere* is put in a scroll to the left of SMITH's escutcheon. The degrees of latitude and longitude are noted on all sides. Copies of this state are found in the Charles Deane and Carter Brown copies of the *Description* of 1616, and it was also in the Crowninshield copy, taken from Boston to England some years since. Mr. LENOX supposed this state to have originally belonged to the first edition of the *Generall Historie*, 1624, in which SMITH gathered his previous independent issues. There was no change in the several successive editions of this book (1624, 1626, 1627, 1632, the last in two issues) except in the front matter; and, speaking of this book, FIELD, in his *Indian Bibliography*, p. 366, says of the original issue, "It is so commonly the case as almost to form the rule, that even the best copies have been made up by the substitution of later editions of some of the maps." Some of the copies were on large paper.

V. The name *Paynes Ils* is put down on the Maine coast. Cross-lines are made on the front of the breastplate in the portrait of SMITH, in the upper left-hand corner, and the whole portrait is retouched. *Robert Clerke's* name is partly obliterated. This state is supposed to belong to the 1626 edition of the *Generall Historie*. The edition of this date in Cornell University Library (Sparks Collection) has but a part of the map, which, however, so far conforms. It is in Mr. BARLOW's 1624 edition.

VI. The name of *Iames Reeue* in the lower right-hand corner is substituted for that of *George Low*. The name of the engraver is given with an additional *s*,—*Passæus*. This state is supposed by Mr. LENOX to belong to the 1627 edition of the *Generall Historie*, of which there are copies in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, and in the Prince Library (with notes by Prince). This state is in the 1632 edition in Harvard College Library.

VII. The last line of the inscription at the top is changed to read: *nowe King of great Britaine*. In the portrait the armor is figured. *West's Bay* is placed on the outer side of *Cape Iames*. *Pt. Standish* corresponds to the modern Manomet Point. The word NEW is inserted above *Plimouth*. *P. Wynthrop* is put north of *Cape Anna*. *P. Reeues* is put near *Ipswich*. *Salem* is laid down just north of *Cape Anna*. *Fullerton Ile* is changed to *Frauncis Ile*; *Cary Ils* to *Claiborne Ils* (off Boston Harbor); and *P. Murry* to *P. Saltonstale* (south of Boston Harbor). The bay (Boston Harbor) is enlarged westward, a point of land within it erased, and the islands increased from eight to eighteen.

Mr. LENOX held that this state first appeared in Smith's *Advertisements to Planters*, 1631, and it is found in the Carter Brown copy of this tract. The Harvard College copy, however, has the state X., and the Charles Deane copy has IX. Mr. LENOX has questioned if this state did not sometimes make part of HIGGINSON's *New England's Plantation*, of which there were three editions printed in 1630, the first of twenty, and the second enlarged to twenty-six pages. The two copies of the book in Harvard College Library, the three editions in the Lenox Library, and the copy which was in the Brinley sale, all, however, want the map. SPARKE, who printed the second edition of HIGGINSON, probably owned the plate, as he printed the *Generall Historie* of 1624, 1626, and 1627, and the *Historia Mundi* of 1635, which all had the map. Yet, if it properly belongs to HIGGINSON, it is strange that a map misplacing *Salem*, where HIGGINSON lived, should be used; and the names *Wynthrop* and *Saltonstale* could have been given only in anticipation of the arrival of those gentlemen.

VIII. *Martins Ile* is given in Penobscot Bay. Perhaps some of the changes named under IX. were made in this state (except the Plymouth Company's arms); for the only example of it which I have found is a fragment (two thirds) of the map belonging to Harvard College Library, the westerly third being gone. It belonged, perhaps, to the first issue of the 1632 edition of the *Generall Historie*.

IX. The arms of the Council for New England are given in the centre of the plate. The following changes may first have appeared in the preceding number. The name *Charlton* is inserted just south of the mouth of *The River Charles*. *Salem* misplaced is obliterated, and the name is inserted in its proper place. Two unfinished arms of the sea, on the north of *Talbotts Bay*, are extended inland, covering the position of a church in previous states. This may have belonged to the second 1632 issue of the *Generall Historie*, and it appears in such copies in Harvard College Library and in Mr. BARLOW's copy. It is in Mr. DEANE's *Advertisement to Planters* of 1631.

X. *The River Charles* is extended to the left-hand edge of the plate, and symbols of towns with figures of men, animals, and representations of Indian huts are scattered near it. On its north bank the following names are inserted, beginning at the west: *Watertowne*, *Newtowne*, *Medford*, *Charlestown*, and beyond the *Fawmouth* of the original plate *Saugus* is put in. The south bank shows *Roxberry*, *Boston* (represented as five leagues up the river, by the scale), and *Winnisime*. *Cheuyot hills* is erased and the name *Dorchester* is inserted along the eastern slope of the picture of the hill which still remains. *London* and *Oxford* still stand. A school of fish is delineated under the single ship. Under the compass these words appear: *He that desyres to know more of the Estate of new England lett him read a new Book of the prospecte of new England & ther he shall have Sattisfaction.* Although the old date, 1614, is still kept on the plate, this inscription shows that this state followed the publication of WOOD's *New England's Prospects*, 1634, and it seems to have been made for the following work: *Historia Mundi*, or *Mercator's Atlas . . . Enlarged with new Mapps and Tables by the studious industrie of Jodocus Hondy. Englished by W*[ye] *S*[altonstall]. *London, Printed for Michaell Sparke and Samuel Cartwright*, 1635, folio.

This state is found in the Harvard College copy of the *Advertisement to Planters*, 1631.

The modern fac-simile, by SWETT, of the first state was also altered for VEAZIE to suit this condition, but the engraver did not observe that a third *s* had been inserted in the name of *Passæus*. This altered engraving is found in J. S. JENNESS's *Isles of Shoals*, New York, 1873.

Mrs. HERBERT JONES.

Description of the original painting of POCAHONTAS.

Mrs. HERBERT JONES of Sculthorpe, Fakenham, Norfolk, the author of Sandringham, Past and Present, 1883, *has kindly furnished the following account of the Gorlestone picture.*

While POCAHONTAS was in London, her portrait was painted. It has become known to us by the quarto engraving made from it by SIMON DE PASSE, which may occasionally be met with, and which first appeared with other portraits, in a volume by the brothers DE PASSE, 1616–23. SIMON DE PASSE was an artist whose family came from the Low Countries, and numbered several engravers among its members. He was born at Utrecht in 1591, and practised in England about ten years, commencing in the year 1613, the date of his earliest English work. He was not a painter, but engraved the portraits, chiefly from NICHOLAS HILLIARD, of many distinguished persons; among them JAMES I., HENRY, Prince of WALES, the Earl of SOMERSET, and the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

But the original painting of POCAHONTAS—a picture which has long been sought for, and which is now ascertained to be in Norfolk—claims description and notice, and a mention of the one very slight clue which can be given to its history.

The last Mr. PETER ELWIN, who lived at the family seat, Booton Hall, near Aylsham, in Norfolk, and who was born in 1730, and died in 1798, was a descendant of the daughter and heiress of ANTHONY ROLFE, of Tuttington. She had married an ELWIN, and had brought the Tuttington estate into the ELWIN family. It was in consequence of this connexion between the ROLFES and ELWINS that a portrait of POCAHONTAS was presented to the said Mr. PETER ELWIN, of Booton, by a lady, Madame ZUCHELLI. This is mentioned in his note-book, the entry (undated) being in his own handwriting: *POCAHONTAS, given to me by Madame ZUCHELLI.* As Mr. ELWIN habitually added the name of the painter, in his memoranda of the many pictures in his possession, and omitted to do so in this instance, it is probable that the lady was ignorant of it.* No memorandum was left by Mr. ELWIN of the previous owners of the portrait, but he possessed the knowledge (as is remembered by his grandson, from the testimony of Mrs. PETER ELWIN, who survived her husband thirty-two years †) that the picture was what it professed to be; namely, a painting of the time of JAMES I., and an authentic representation from life of POCAHONTAS.

The picture itself, which is finely painted, bears every token of genuineness, both as to the assumed period of execution, and as to its direct delineation of the living features of the sitter. It is the undoubted original of DE PASSE's engraving, but is without signature. The artist can only be conjectured; he was probably one of that group of painters in oils, employed in the days of ELIZABETH and the two first STUARTS, whose works are of recognized excellence, and who rank next and nearest to the three or four of exalted genius—as ZUCCHERO, JANSEN, and VANDYCK. Such an one was NICOLA LOCKER, who painted an oval portrait of Dr. KING, Bishop of London; the Bishop who was the friend of POCAHONTAS, and in whose palace she was a visitor.

The dimensions of the picture are two feet six inches and a half by two feet one inch. A painted oval encloses the portrait. The painting of the face, and of the details of the dress is clear and finished, and shows great delicacy and beauty of execution. The whole effect of the colouring is rich, mellow, and deep-toned, with the indescribable quality shed over it which time alone can give. The portrait is slightly smaller than life, the face stamped unmistakably with the Indian type, and denoting intelligence and thoughtfulness, with much dignity both in its expression, and in the carriage of the head. She looks at once royal in birth and in nature. The features are handsome and well formed, the lips bright red, the skin dark, smooth, and vellum-like, with a suspicion of a copper tint. The eyes are remarkable; prolonged at the corners, more meditative than brilliant, like still pools rather than flashing water. Their colour is a rich, decided, undeniable brown, with very blue tints on the white eyeballs. The eyebrows are straight and black, the short hair by the ear throws out a glistening pearl earring. The deep lace ruff, rising behind, defines sharply the shape of the face, which shows the high cheekbones, and the outline narrowing abruptly below them, so characteristic of her race. The hat she wears on her head, and which in the print has a grotesque appearance, sinks unnoticed into the scarcely less dark background, while the richly-chased broad golden band round it gives the effect of a coronet, and is in happy combination with the colouring of the face. She wears a mantle of red brocaded velvet, much ornamented with gold; the under dress dark, buttoned with gold buttons. A small, taper hand holds a fan of three white ostrich feathers.

Around the portrait are the words, *Matoaka Rebecka filia potentiss Princ: Powhatani Imp. Virginiæ.*

On a space beneath:—*Matoaks als* [*i.e.*, alias] *Rebecka, daughter to the mighty prince Powhatani Emperour of Attanoughkomouck als* [*i.e.*, alias] *Virginia, converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the worsh*[*ipfu*]*ll Mr. Thos. Rolff.*

Close under the figure, within the oval, is written, *Ætatis suæ* 21. *A°* 1616.

* It has been surmised that Mr. ELWIN's unusual omission of the painter's name meant that *ZUCHELLI* stood for the artist as well as the giver, but no painter of that name has ever been known to visit England.

† She died April, 1830, aged eighty-five years.

A

TRVE RE-

lation of such occur-

rences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence.

[The ascription on the Title-pages that were probably first printed:

Written by a Gentleman of the said Collony, to a worshipfull friend of his in England.]

[Ascription on what were probably the second Title-pages (as in the two British Museum copies, C. 33. c. 35 and Grenville 7,121), specifying some Author, though the wrong one.

Written by Th. Watson. *Gent. one of the said Collony, to a worshipfull* friend of his in England.]

[Ascription on the corrected final Title-pages, issued with the *Preface* on *pp.* 3-4.]

Written by Captain Smith, *Coronell of the said Collony, to a worshipfull* friend of his in England.

LONDON

Printed for *Iohn Tappe*, and are to bee solde at the Grey-hound in Paules-Church-yard, by *W. W.*

1608

[This *True Relation* is the earliest printed account of the James river Settlement.

It is quite clear from the text at *p.* 40, that this *Relation* was finished *after* the loading of the *Phœnix*, and her leaving James Town for England: and we know from *pp.* 109, 413, that she was off Cape Henry on the 2nd June 1607. Therefore the latest date that can be assigned for its composition is that day.

The *Phœnix* made a quick voyage home, and reached London before the following 7 July, see *p.* xcii.

This Relation was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall.

13 Augusti [1608]

William Welby. John Tappe/ Entred for their copie vnder the handes of. master. WILSON and Th[e]warden Master **Lownes** / A booke called *A true relation of suche occurrences and accidentes of note as haue happened in Virginia synce the first plantinge of that Colonye which is nowe resident in the south parte of Virginia till master NELSONS commynge away from them, &c.* vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iii. 388, London, 1876.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see *p.* cxxx.

This *Relation* is nothing but an ordinary "pamphlet of news," and is carelessly printed.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE, at *p.* xiv of his reprint of 1866, states:

"This little black-letter quarto has for a long time been considered 'rare' among book-collectors, although at the present time I know of six copies in this country [*U. S. A.*]. Five of these I have had the privilege of examining. In the library of Colonel ASPINWALL, late Consul of the United States in London, which was recently purchased by Mr. BARLOW, of New York, is a copy with a *Smith* title page, and explanatory preface. Mr. JAMES LENOX, of New York, also has a copy like that. Mr. JOHN CARTER BROWN, of Providence, R.I., has a copy, with the *Watson* title page, in a manuscript *fac-simile*, and without the explanatory preface. A copy with the *Watson* title, and also with the preface, is in the library of the New York Historical Society. A copy wanting the title page, and also the preface, is in the library of Harvard College.

"Mr. LENOX has within a few months [1876] received from London a second copy of this tract, differing in its title page from either of the others described. It has neither the name of *Smith* nor of *Watson* on the title page, but simply the words, *By a Gentleman.* It also contains the explanatory preface.

"The text of all these copies is the same, there never having been but one edition. The leaves are not paged."]

To the Courteous Reader.

COurteous, Kind, and indifferent Readers, whose willingnesse to reade and heare this following discourse, doth explaine to the world your hearty affection, to the prosecuting and furtherance of so worthy an action: so it is, that like to an vnskilfull actor, who hauing by misconstruction of his right Cue, ouer-slipt himselfe, in beginning of a contrary part, and fearing the hatefull hisse of the captious multitude, with a modest blush retires himselfe in priuate; as doubting the reprehension of his whole audience in publicke, and yet againe vpon further deliberation, thinking it better to know their censures at the first, and vpon submission to reape pardon, then by seeking to smother it, to incurre the danger of a secret scandall: Imboldening himselfe vpon the curteous kindnesse of the best, and not greatly respecting the worst, comes fourth againe, makes an Apollogie for himselfe, shewes the cause of his error, craues pardon for his rashnes, and in fine, receiues a generall applauditie of the whole assemblie: so I gentle Readers, happening vpon this relation by chance (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the action, and none wishing better towards it then my selfe, so farre foorth as my poore abilitie can or may stretch too, I thought good to publish it: but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries, Townes, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto vs; but most of all, and which is the chiefe error, (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the bookes were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vnlesse it were the ouer rashnesse, or mistaking of the workemen [*i.e., the printers*], but [1608]

[1608] since hauing learned that the saide discourse was written by Captaine *Smith*, who is one of the Counsell there in *Virginia*: I thought good to make the like Apollogie, by shewing the true Author so farre as my selfe could learne, not doubting, but that the wise noting it as an error of ignorance, will passe it ouer with patience; and if worthy an applauditie, to reserue it to the Author, whose paines in my iudgement deserueth commendations; somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to to be priuate) I would not aduenture to make it publicke[.] what more may be expected concerning the scituation of the Country, the nature of the clime, number of our people there resident, the manner of their gouernment, and liuing, the commodities to be produced, and the end and effect it may come too, I can say nothing more then is here written: only what I haue learned and gathered from the generall consent of all (that I haue conuersed withall) aswell marriners as others, which haue had imployment that way; is that the Country is excellent and pleasant, the clime temperate and health full, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worst being already past, these former hauing indured the heate of the day, whereby those that shall succeede, may at ease labour for their profit, in the most sweete, coole, and temperate shade: the action most honorable, and the end to the high glory of God, to the erecting of true religion among Infidells, to the ouerthrow of superstition and idolatrie, to the winning of many thousands of wandring sheepe, vnto Christs fold, who now, and till now, haue strayed in the vnknowne paths of Paganisme, Idolatrie, and superstition: yea, I say the Action being well followed, as by the graue Senators, and worthy aduenturors, it hath beene worthily begunne: will tend to the euerlasting renowne of our Nation, and to the exceeding good and benefit of our Weale publicke in generall: whose Counsells, labours, godly and industrious endeuours, I beseech the mightie *Iehouah* to blesse, prosper, and further, with his heauenly ayde, and holy assistance.

Farewell.

I. H.

A
True relation of such occurrences

and accidents of note, as hath hapned at *Virginia*, since the first planting of that Collony, *which is now resident in the South part* thereof, till the last returne.

Inde Sir, commendations remembred, &c. [1607]
You shall vnderstand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests, wee arriued safely vppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within foure or fiue daies after we set saile for *Dominica*, the 26. of Aprill: the [*Arb.* 91, 387.] first land we made, wee fell with Cape *Henry*, the verie mouth of the Bay of *Chissiapiacke*, which at that present we little expected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward:

Anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in comming aboard [*on land*], they were assalted with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine *Archer* and *Mathew Morton* were shot: wherupon Captaine *Newport* [*Arb.* 91, 896.] seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but hauing spent their arrowes retyred without harme. And in that place was the Box opened, [*Arb.* 91.] wherin the Counsell for *Virginia* was nominated: and

[1607] arriuing at the place [*James Town*] where wee are now seated,
[*p.* 91.] the Counsell was sworn, and the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister *Edm. Maria Wingfield*, where was made choice for our scituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine *Wingfield* and Captaine *Gosnold*: notwithstanding, all our provision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

[*pp.* 91, 387.] The two and twenty day of Aprill [*or rather May* 1607], Captain *Newport* and my selfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discouer the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, and in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindely intreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with strawberries, Mulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine *Newport* kindely requited their least fauours with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades, or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindely to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile foure or fiue sauages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs, trading with vs for such prouision as wee had, and ariuing at *Arsatecke*, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindely entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs vp the Riuer to *Powhatan*, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindely. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an ile [*a mile*] we were intercepted with great craggy stones in the midst of the riuer, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the streame, as there is not past fiue or sixe Foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The south side is plaine low ground, and the north side high moun-

taines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistring spangles. [1607]

That night we returned to *Powhatan*: the next day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at *Powhatans*, Captaine *Newport* congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to *Arsetecke*, and stayed there the next day to obserue the height [*latitude*] therof, and so with many signes of loue we departed.

The next day the Queene of *Agamatack* kindely intreated vs, her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place (the name whereof I doe not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their diuing for Mussels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by *Weanock* some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of *Weanocke*, the people the next morning seemed kindely to content vs, yet we might perceiue many signes of a more Iealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of *Arseteck* had giuen vs, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischiefe at the Fort, yet Captaine *Newport* intended to haue visited *Paspahegh* and *Tappahanocke*, but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return we repaired to the fort with all speed [27 *May*], where the first we heard was that 400. Indians the day before [26 *May*] had assalted the fort, and supprised it, had not God (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the shippes (at whom they shot with their Ordinances and Muskets) caused them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes beeing then in driefats and few ready but certain Gentlemen of their own, in which conflict, most of the Counsel was hurt, a boy slaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt. [*pp.* 92, 388.]

[1607] With all speede we pallisadoed our Fort: (each other
[*pp.* 92, 388.] day) for sixe or seauen daies we had alarums by ambuscadoes, and four or fiue cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians losse wee know not, but as they report three were slain and diuers hurt.

[*p.* 93.] Captaine *Newport* hauing set things in order, set saile for England the 22 of June [1607], leauing prouision for 13. or 14 weeks.

The day before the Ships departure, the King of *Pamaunke* [*i.e.*, *Opechancanough*] sent the Indian that had met vs before in our discouerie, to assure vs peace; our fort being then palisadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that thro[u]gh some discontented humors, it did not so long continue. For the President and Captaine *Gosnold*, with the rest of the Counsell, being for the moste part discontented with one another, in so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines effected in such good sort as wisdome would, nor our owne good and safetie required, whereby, and through the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell beeing diuerslie affected through his audacious commaund; and for Captaine *Martin*, albeit verie honest, and wishing the best good, yet so sicke and weake; and my selfe so disgrac'd through others mallice: through which disorder God (being angrie with vs) plagued vs with such famin and sicknes, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead: our want of sufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching, foure or fiue each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cause: onely of Sturgion wee had great store, whereon our men would so greedily surfet, as it cost manye their liues: the Sack, Aquauitie, and other preseruatiues for our health, being kept onely in the Presidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few associates.

[*pp.* 95, 391.] Shortly after Captaine *Gosnold* fell sicke, and within three weekes died. Captaine *Ratcliffe* being then also verie sicke and weake, and my selfe hauing also tasted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistance being well recouered. *Kendall* about this time, for diuers reasons deposed from being of the Councell: and shortly after it pleased God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to

bring vs Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh vs, when we rather expected when they would destroy vs: [1607]

About the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead, at which time Captaine *Wingfield* hauing ordred the affaires in such sort that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidencie, and Captaine *Ratcliffe* according to his course was elected.

Our prouision being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought vs great store both of Corne and bread ready made: and also there came such aboundance of Fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, wherevppon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad.

As yet we had no houses to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse then nought: our best commoditie was Yron which we made into little chissels.

The president['s], and Captaine *Martins* sicknes, constrayned me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no paines in making houses for the company; who notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their mallice, grudging, and muttering. [*pp.* 96, 392.]

As at this time were most of our chiefest men either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starue and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do any thing for their owne reliefe without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of the riuer, to *Kegquouhtan* an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the riuer for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with carelesse kindnes, offred vs little pieces of bread and small handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In like man[n]er I entertained their kindnes, and in like scorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindnes, I liberally contented with free gifte [of] such trifles as wel contented them. [*pp.* 96, 393.]

Finding this colde comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute

[1607] disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities then we of their Corne: vnder colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discouer the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they desired me vp to their houses: which well vnderstanding, with foure shot I visited them. With fish, oysters, bread, and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs; for well I might with twentie men haue fraighted a Shippe with Corne: The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated vpon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Bay of the great Riuer, the other parte with a Baye of the other Riuer falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of sixtie yardes.

With sixteene bushells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountred with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboord me, being the inhabitants of [*pp.* 96, 393.] *waroskoyack*, a kingdome on the south side of the riuer, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: With these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne: and with near thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name wherof gaue great comfort to our despa[i]ring company:

Time thus passing away, and hauing not aboue 14. daies victuals left, some motions were made about our [*pp.* 97, 394.] presidents [*Captaine Ratcliffe's*] and Captaine *Archers* going for England, to procure a supply: in which meane time we had reasonably fitted vs with houses. And our President and Captaine *Martin* being able to walk abroad, with much adoe it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should goe towards *Powhatan*, to trade for corne:

Lotts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine; and while she was a rigging, I made a voiage to *Topohanack*, where arriuing, there was but certain women and children who fled from their houses, yet at last I drew them to draw neere; truck they durst not, corne they had plenty, and to spoile I had no commission:

In my returne to [*at*] *Paspahegh*, I traded with that churlish and trecherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 bushels of corne, they offred to take our pieces and swords, yet by stelth, but [we] seeming to dislike it, they were ready to assault vs: yet standing vpon our guard, in coasting the shore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corn and trade. But least we should be constrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly [to] fal to reuenge, seeing them dog vs from place to place, it being night, and our necessitie not fit for warres, we tooke occasion to returne with 10 bushells of corne: [1607]

Captaine *Martin* after made 2 iournies to that nation of *Paspahegh*, but eache time returned with 8. or 10. bushells. [See p. 107.]

All things being now ready for my iourney to *Powhatan*, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my selfe for the barge, as well for discouerie as trading; [and in] the Pinnace, 5. Marriners, and 2. landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places.

The 9 of Nouember I set forward for the discouery of the country of *Chik*[*a*]*hamania*, leauing the pinnace the next tide to followe, and stay for my comming at *Point weanock*, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuer falleth into the great riuer at *Paspahegh*, 8 miles aboue our fort:

That afternoone I stayed the eb[b] in the bay of *Paspahegh* with the Indians: towards the euening certaine Indians ha[i]led me, one of them being of *Chikahamania*, offred to conduct me to his country, the *Paspahegheans* grudged therat: along we went by moonelight; at midnight he brought vs before his Towne, desiring one of our men to go vp with him, whom he kindely intertained, and returned back to the barge:

The next morning I went vp to the towne, and shewed them what copper and hatchets they sho[u]ld haue for corne, each family seeking to giue me most content: so long they caused me to stay that 100 at least was expecting my comming by the riuer, with corne. What I liked, I bought; and least they should perceiue my too great want, I went higher vp the riuer:

This place is called *Manosquosick*, a quarter of a mile

[1607] from the riuer, conteining thirtie or fortie houses, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the river, is a plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuer. Right against the same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ilands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fish and foule of all sorts:

A mile from thence is a Towne called *Oraniocke*. I further discouered the Townes of *Mansa*, *Apanaock*, *Werawahone*, and *Mamanahunt*, [was] at eche place kindely vsed: especially at the last, being the hart of the Country; where were assembled 200. people with such aboundance of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship.

I returned to *Paspahhegh*, and considering the want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with the ebb, by midnight I ariued at our fort, where I found our Pinn[a]is run aground:

The next morning I vnladed seauen hogsheds into our store.

The next morning I returned againe: the second day I ariued at *Mamanahunt*, wher[e] the people hauing heard of my comming, were ready with 3 or 400. baskets litle and great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindnes I returned:

At my departure they requested me to hear our pieces, being in the midst of the riuer; which in regard of the eccho seemed a peale of ordnance. Many birds and fowles they see vs dayly kil that much feared them. So desirous of trade wer[e] they, that they would follow me with their canowes; and for any thing, giue it me, rather then returne it back. So I vnladed again 7 or 8. hogsheads at our fort.

Hauing thus by Gods assistance gotten good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirits not content with Gods prouidence, still grew mutinous; in so much, that our president hauing occasion to chide the smith [*James Read, the Blacksmith*] for his misdeamenour, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offred to strike him with some of his tooles. For which rebellious act, the smith was by a Iury condemned to be hanged, but being vppon

the ladder, continuing very obstinate as hoping vpon a rescue, [1607]
when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, and declared a dangerous conspiracy: for which, Captaine *Kendall*, as principal, was by a Iury condemned, [*A.* 97.] and shot to death.

This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discouery of the Riuer [of] *Checka Hamania*. This third time I discouered the Townes of *Matapamient, Morinogh, Ascacap, moysenock, Righkahauck, Nechanichock, Mattalunt, Attamuspincke*, and diuers others: their plenty of corne I found decreased, yet lading the barge, I returned to our fort.

Our store being now indifferently wel prouided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captain *Martin* and my selfe stood chiefly against it: and in fine after many debatings *pro et contra*, it was resolued to stay a further resolution:

This matter also quieted, I set forward to finish this discouery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of the necessitie we had to take in prouision whilst it was to be had. 40. miles I passed vp the riuer, which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, and 3. fatham and a half deep, exceedy o[o]sey, many great low marshes, and many high lands, especially about the midst at a place called *Moysonicke*, a *Peninsule* of 4. miles ci[r]cuit, betwixt two riuers ioyned to the main by a neck of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke: On both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh. More plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and mallards, and diuers sorts of fowles, none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there, I had not seene; of a light blacke sandy mould, the cliffes commonly red, white, and yellowe coloured sand, and vnder, red and white clay; fish [in] great plenty, and people [in] aboundance: the most of their inhabitants, in view of the neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired:

[1607] At the end of forty miles, this riuer inuironeth many low Ilands at each high water drowned, for a mile, where it vniteth it selfe at a place called *Apokant*, the highest Towne inhabited.

10. miles higher, I discouered with the barge: in the mid way, a greate tree hindered my passage, which I cut in two. Heere the riuer became narrower, 8. 9 or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift, and the bottom hard channell: the ground, most part a low plaine, sandy soyle. This occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge [*i.e., by going up with it further*]. Yet to haue beene able to resolue this doubt, and to discharge the imputation[s] of malicious tung[e]s, that halfe suspected I durst not, for so long delaying: some of the company as desirous as my self, we resolued to hier a Canow, and returne with the barge to *Apocant*, there to leaue the barge secure, and put our selues upon the aduenture: the country onely a vast and wilde wildernes, and but onely that Towne:

Within three or foure mile, we hired a Canow, and 2. Indians to row vs the next day a fowling. Hauing made such prouision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there [*at Apocant*] to ride, with expresse charge not any [one] to go ashore til my returne.

Though some wise men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they well consider the friendship of the Indians in conducting me, the desolateness of the country, the probabilitie of some lacke [*i.e., lake*], and the malicious iudges of my actions at home [*i.e., James Town*], as also to haue some matters of worth to incourage our aduenturers in england, [these] might well haue caused any honest minde to haue done the like, as well for his own discharge as for the publike good:

[*A.* 98.] Hauing 2 Indians for my guide and 2 of our own company, I set forward, leauing 7 in the barge:

Hauing discouered 20 miles further in this desart, the riuer stil kept his depth and bredth, but [was] much more combred with trees:

Here we went ashore (being some 12 miles higher then

the barge had bene) to refresh our selues, during the boyling of our vi[c]tuals: One of the Indians I tooke with me, to see the nature of the soile, and to crosse the boughts [*windings*] of the riuer: the other Indian I left with Maister *Robbinson* and *Thomas Emry*, with their matches light[ed], and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat, at the first sight of any Indian. [1607] [*pp.* 16, 395, 396, 401.]

But within a quarter of an houre I heard a loud cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece. Supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had betrai[e]d vs, presently I seazed him and bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was done.

But as we went discoursing, I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion I espied 2. Indians drawing their bowes, which I preuented in discharging a french pistoll:

By that I had charged againe, 3 or 4 more did the like: for the first fell downe and fled: At my discharge, they did the like. My hinde [*Indian*] I made my barricado, who offered not to striue. 20. or 30. arrowes were shot at me but short. 3 or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the king of *Pamaunck* called *Opeckankenough* with 200 men, inuironed me, eache drawing their bowe: which done they laid them [*themselves*] vpon the ground, yet without shot [*shooting*]:

My hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace; he discouered me to be the Captaine: my request was to retire to the boate: they demaunded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, onely me they would reserue:

The Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I stept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth:

Thus surprised, I resolued to trie their mercies: my armes I caste from me, till which none durst approch me.

Being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King. I presented him with a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes the vse therof: whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres and plannets. [*p.* 396.]

[1607] With kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and *Iohn Robbinson* slaine, with 20 or 30. arrowes in him. *Emry* I saw not.

[*pp.* 15, 395, 396, 401.]

I perceiued by the aboundance of fires all ouer the woods [*the sense requires here*, that they were a party hunting deer, *see pp.* 37 *and* 70.] At each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they vsed me with what kindnes they could:

Approaching their Towne [*Rasawrack*], which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occasion requires: all the women and children, being aduertised of this accident, came foorth to meet them, the King [*Opechancanough*] well guarded with 20 bowmen 5 flanck and rear, and each flanck before him a sword and a peece, and after him the like, then a bowman, then I on each hand a boweman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led foorth amongst the trees in a bishion, eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiuer at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a sargeant, the one running alwaies towards the front, the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order.

This being a good time continued, they caste themselues in a ring with a daunce, and so eache man departed to his lodging.

The Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper: what I left was reserued for me, and sent with me to my lodging:

Each morning 3. women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could deuour I had: my gowne, points and garters, my compas and my tablet they gaue me again. Though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could deuise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection:

Much they threatned to assault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of *Paspahegh* [*then present, see p.* 152]: who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance [*i.e.*, *Smith's capture*]. The King [*Opechancanough*] tooke great delight in vnderstanding the manner of our ships, and sayling the seas, the earth and skies, and of our God: what he knew of the dominions he spared not to

[*p.* 396.]

acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called *Ocanahonan*, cloathed like me: the course of our riuer, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles, was a great turning of salt water: [1607]

I desired he would send a messenger to *Paspahegh* [*the district in which James Town was situated*], with a letter I would write, by which they shold vnderstand how kindly they vsed me, and that I was well, least they should reuenge my death. This he granted and sent three men, in such weather as in reason were vnpossible by any naked to be indured. Their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deuerted, in describing the ordinance and the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Captain *Newport* would take of them at his returne. Their intent, I incerted the fort, [as also of] the people of *Ocanahonum* and the back sea: this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: [*p.* 397.]

The next day after my letter, came a saluage to my lodging [*still at Rasawrack*], with his sword, to haue slaine me: but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to haue effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King vnderstanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he tould me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: This was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to preuent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome, vpon the top of the next northerly riuer, called *Youghtanan*. [*p.* 397.]

Hauing feasted me, he further led me to another branch of the riuer, called *Mattapament*; to two other hunting townes they led me: and to each of these Countries, a house of the great Emperour of *Pewhakan*, whom as yet I supposed to bee at the *Fal[l]s*; to him I tolde him I must goe, and so returne to *Paspahegh*. [*p.* 398.]

After this foure or fiue dayes marsh [*march*], we returned to *Rasawrack*, the first towne they brought me too [*see p.* 142]: where binding the Mats in bundels, they marched two dayes iourney, and crossed the Riuer of *Youghtanan*, where it was as broad as *Thames:* so conducting me to a place called *Menapacute* in *Pamaunke*, where the King inhabited.

The next day another King of that nation called *Kekataugh*, hauing receiued some kindnes of me at the Fort,

[1608] kindly inuited me to feast at his house, the people from all places flocked to see me, each shewing to content me.

By this, the great King hath foure or fiue houses, each containing fourescore or an hundred foote in length, pleasantly seated vpon an high sandy hill, from whence you may see westerly a goodly low Country, the riuer before the which his crooked course causeth many great Marshes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houses, and many large plaines are here togither inhabited. More abundance of fish and fowle, and a pleasanter seat cannot be imagined. The King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to discharge my Pistoll, which they there presented me, with a mark at six score [yards] to strike therwith: but to spoil the practise, I broke the cocke, whereat they were much discontented, though a chaunce supposed.

From hence, this kind King conducted mee to a place called *Topahanocke*, a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward: The cause of this was, that the yeare before, a shippe had beene in the Riuer of *Pamaunke*, who hauing beene kindly entertained by *Powhatan* their Emperour, they returned thence, and discouered the Riuer of *Topahanocke*: where being receiued with like kindnesse, yet he slue the King, and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee. But the people reported him [to be] a great [*tall*] man that was [the] Captaine, and vsing mee kindly, the next day we departed.

This Riuer of *Topahanock* seemeth in breadth not much lesse then that we dwell vpon. At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called *Cuttata women*: vpwards is *Marraugh tacum*, *Tapohanock*, *Appamatuck*, and *Nantaugs tacum*: at *Topmanahocks*, the head issuing from many Mountaines.

The next night I lodged at a hunting town of *Powhatans*, and the next day arriued at *Waranacomoco* vpon the riuer of *Pamauncke*, where the great king is resident. By the way we passed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two, called *Payankatank*. The most of this Country [is] th[r]ough Desert, yet exceeding fertil; good timber, most[ly] hils and dales, in each valley a cristall spring.

[*p.* 399.] Arriuing at *Weramocomoco* [*?on or about 5 January* 1608], their Emperour proudly lying vppon a Bedstead a foote

high, vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and couered with a great Couering of *Rahaughcums*. At [his] heade sat a woman, at his feete another; on each side sitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground, were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each[with] a great Chaine of white Beades ouer their shoulders, their heades painted in redde: and [*Powhatan*] with such a graue and Maiesticall countenance, as draue me into admiration to see such state in a naked Saluage. [1608] [*p.* 400.]

Hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure days. Hee much delighted in *Opechan Comoughs* relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me vpon the same.

Hee asked mee the cause of our comming.

I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouerpow[e]red, neare put to retreat, and by extreame weather put to this shore: where landing at *Chesipiack*, the people shot [at] vs, but at *Kequoughtan* they kindly vsed vs: we by signes demaunded fresh water, they described vs vp the Riuer was all fresh water: at *Paspahegh* also they kindly vsed vs: our Pinn[a]sse being leak[i]e, we were inforced to stay to mend her, till Captaine *Newport* my father came to conduct vs away.

He demaunded why we went further with our Boate. I tolde him, in that I would haue occasion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other side the maine, where was salt water. My father [*i.e.*, *Newport*] had a childe slaine, whiche wee supposed *Monocan* his enemie [had done]: whose death we intended to reuenge.

After good deliberation, hee began to describe [to] mee the Countreys beyonde the Falles, with many of the rest; confirming what not onely *Opechancanoyes*, and an *Indian* which had beene prisoner to *Pewhatan* had before tolde mee: but some called it fiue dayes, some sixe, some eight, where the sayde water dashed amongest many stones and rockes, each storm; which caused oft tymes the heade of the Riuer to bee brackish:

Anchanachuck he described to bee the people that had

[1608] slaine my brother: whose death hee would reuenge. Hee described also vpon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called *Pocoughtronack*, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of *Moyaoncer* and *Pataromerke*, Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories: where the yeare before they had slain an hundred. He signified their crownes were shauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them, he described people with short Coates, and Sleeues to the Elbowes, that passed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee described [to] mee, to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie Riuer issuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas: The people cloathed at *Ocamahowan*, he also confirmed; and the Southerly Countries also, as the rest that reported vs to be within a day and a halfe of *Mangoge*, two dayes of *Chawwonock*, 6. from *Roonock*, to the south part of the backe sea: He described a countrie called *Anone*, where they haue abundance of Brasse, and houses walled as ours.

I requited his discourse (seeing what pride hee had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all hee knewe were vnder his Territories) in describing to him, the territories of *Europe*, which was subiect to our great King whose subject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gaue him to vnderstand the noyse of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting [that] were vnder captain *Newport* my father: whom I intituled the *Meworames*, which they call the King of all the waters. At his greatnesse, he admired: and not a little feared. He desired mee [*i.e.*, *the English*] to forsake *Paspahegh* [*i.e.*, *James Town*], and to
[*p.* 401.] liue with him vpon his Riuer, a Countrie called *Capa Howasicke*. Hee promised to giue me Corne, Venison, or what I wanted to feede vs: Hatchets and Copper wee should make him, and none should disturbe vs.

This request I promised to performe: and thus, hauing with all the kindnes hee could deuise, sought to content me, hee sent me home, with 4. men: one that vsually carried my Gowne and Knapsacke after me, two other loded with bread, and one to accompanie me.

This Riuer of *Pamaunke* is not past twelue mile from

that we dwell on, his course northwest and westerly as the other. *Weraocomoco* is vpon salt water in bredth two myles, and so [the river] keepeth his course without any tarrying some twenty miles; where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it diuideth it selfe into two partes, the one part to *Goughland*, as broad as *Thames*, and nauigable with a Boate threescore or fourescore miles, and with a Shippe fiftie: exceeding[ly] crooked, and manie low grounds and marishes, but inhabited with aboundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of *Youghtomam*, of no lesse worth, onely it is lower; but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Aboue *Manapacumter*, many high sandie mountaines. By the Riuer is many Rockes, seeming, if not, of seuerall Mines. [1608]

The other branch a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not neare so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sandie, and a white clay soyle: here is their best *Terra Sigillata*. The mouth of the Riuer, as I see [? *saw, see p.* 6] in the discouerie therof with *captain Newport*, is halfe a mile broad, and within foure miles not aboue a Musket shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the Riuer straight to the deuisions. *Kiskirk* [is] the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: Three or foure dayes [*which would be at Rasawrack; but stated at p.* 398 *to have been at Pamaunkey*] after my taking, seuen of them in the house where I lay, each with a rattle, began at ten a clocke in the morning to sing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale, and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each song, layde downe two or three graines of wheate: continuing this order till they haue included sixe or seuen hundred in a halfe Circle; and after that, two or three more Circles in like maner, a hand bredth from other. That done, at each song, they put betwixt euerie three, two, or fiue graines, a little sticke; so counting as an old woman her *Pater noster*.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnes of Weasels and other vermine, with a Crownet of feathers on his head, painted as vgly as the diuell, at the end of each song will make many signes and

[1608] demonstrations, with strange and vehement actions. great cakes of Deere suet, Deare, and Tobacco he casteth in the fire: till sixe a clocke in the Euening, their howling would continue ere they would depart.

Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall, to the number of twentie or thirtie, assembled themselues in a round circle, a good distance from the towne: where they told me they there consulted where to hunt the next day:

So fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the *Quiyoughquosicke*, which is a superiour power they worship: a more uglier thing cannot be described. One they haue for chief sacrifices, which also they call *Quiyoughquosick*. To cure the sick, a man, with a Rattle, and extreame howling, showting, singing, and such violent gestures and Anticke actions ouer the patient, will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient, out of their vnable stomacke, or any diseased place, as no labour will more tire them.

Tobacco, they offer the water in passing in fowle weather. The death of any they lament with great sorrow and weeping. Their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within their houses, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets, and copper: the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no resurrection.

Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his brethren succeeded [*succeedeth or will succeed*] other. For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successiuely the weomens heires. For the Kings haue as many weomen as they will, his Subiects two, and most but one.

From *Weramocomoco* is but 12. miles, yet the *Indians* [*p.* 401.] trifled away that day [7 *Jan.* 1608], and would not goe to our Forte by any perswasions: but in certaine olde hunting houses of *Paspahegh* we lodged all night.

The next morning [8 *Jan.* 1608] ere Sunne rise, we set [*pp.* 98, 401.] forward for our Fort, where we arriued within an houre: where each man with the truest signes of ioy they could expresse welcommed me, except *Maister Archer*, and some 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my absence, sworne Counsellour, though not with the consent of Captaine *Martin*:

Great blame and imputation was laide vpon mee by them [1608]
[*Archer, &c.*], for the losse of our two men which the *Indians* slew: insomuch that they purposed to depose me. But in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send *Captaine* [*pp.*100, 403.]
Nuport: who arriuing there the same night [8 *Jan.* 1608], so tripled our joy as for a while these plots against me were deferred; though with much malice against me, which captain *Newport* in short time did plainly see. Now was maister *Scriuener*, captaine *Martin*, and my selfe, called Counsellers [*i.e., to the exclusion of Archer*].

Within fiue or sixe dayes after the arriuall of the Ship [13 *or* 14 *January* 1608], by a mischaunce our Fort was burned, and the most of our apparell, lodging and priuate prouision. Many of our old men [became] diseased, and [many] of our new for want of lodging perished.

The Empereur *Powhatan*, each weeke once or twice, sent me many presents of Deare, bread, *Raugroughcuns*; halfe alwayes for my father [*Captaine Newport*] whom he much desired to see, and halfe for me: and so continually impor- [*pp.*101, 404.]
tuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had giuen me, as at last Captaine *Newport* resolued to go [to] see him.

Such acquaintance I had amongst the *Indians*, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them; euery of them calling me by my name, would not sell any thing till I had first receiued their presents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they vsually came into the Fort at their pleasure: The President and the rest of the Councell, they knewe not; but Captaine *Newports* greatnesse I had so described, as they conceyued him the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and seruants.

We had agreed with the king of *Paspahegh*, to conduct two of our men to a place called *Panawicke* beyond *Roonok*, where he reported many men to be apparelled. Wee landed him at *Warraskoyack*, where [he] playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after, without going further.

Captaine *Newport*, maister *Scriuener*, and my selfe, found the mouth of *Pamauncks* riuer, some 25. or 30. miles

[1608] north ward from Cape *Henrick* [*Henry*], the chanell good as before expressed.

[*pp.* 101, 404.] Arriuing at *Weramocomoca*, being iealous of the intent of this politick saluage; to discouer his intent the better, I with 20. shot armed in Jacks, went a shore. The Bay where he dwelleth hath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanel all os [*in Grenville copy* ost: *what is meant is* oose]. Being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the creeke, for they al there were within lesse then a mile: the Emperors sonne called *Naukaquawis*, the captaine that tooke me [*pp.* 15,152], and diuerse others of his chiefe men, conducted me to their kings habitation. But in the mid way I was intercepted by a great creek ouer which they had made a bridge of grained stakes and railes. The king of *Kiskieck*, and *Namontack*, who all the iourney, the king had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs [to] this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischiefe: the barge I had sent to meet me at the right landing, when I found my selfe first deceyued. And knowing by experience the most of their courages to proceede from others feare, though fewe lyked the passage, I intermingled the Kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forward, leauing halfe at the one ende to make a guard for the passage of the Front. The *Indians* seeing the weakenesse of the Bridge, came with a Canow, and tooke me in [*out*] of the middest, with foure or fiue more: being landed, wee made a guard for the rest till all were passed.

Two in a ranke we marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood fortie or fiftie great Platters of fine bread. Being entred the house, with loude tunes they all made signes of great ioy. This proude saluage, hauing his finest women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, sate in rankes as before is expressed: himself as vpon a Throne at the vpper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet haue often seene, either in Pagan or Christian. With a kinde countenance hee bad mee welcome, and caused a place to bee made by himselfe [for me] to sit.

I presented him a sute of red cloath, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte: as Iewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oration made by three of his Nobles, if there

be any amongst Saluages, kindly accepted them, with a publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship. [1608]

After that, he commanded the Queene of *Apamatuc*, a comely yong Saluage, to giue me water, a Turkie cocke, and breade to eate : [*p.* 400.]

Being thus feasted, hee began his discourse to this purpose. Your kinde visitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is he not with you. [*pp.*102, 405.]

I told him, he remained aboord, but the next day he would come vnto him.

With a merrie countenance he asked me for certaine peeces which I promised him, when I went to *Paspahegh*.

I told [him] according to my promise, that I proferred the man that went with me foure Demy Culuerings, in that he so desired a great Gunne : but they refused to take them.

Whereat with a lowde laughter, he desired to giue him some of lesse burden : as for the other I gaue him them, being sure that none could carrie them. But where are these men you promised to come with you.

I told him, without. Who therevpon gaue order to haue them brought in, two after two, euer maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselues, euer with thankes he would salute me : and caused each of them to haue foure or fiue pound of bread giuen them.

This done, I asked him for the corne and ground [*district*] he promised me.

He told me I should haue it : but he expected to haue all these men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subjects.

I tolde him that was a ceremonie our enemies desired, but neuer our Friends, as we presented ourselues vnto him ; yet that he should not doubt of our friendship. The next day my Father would giue him a child of his, in full assurance of our loues, and not only that, but when he should thinke it conuenient,wee would deliuer vnder his subiection the Country of *Manacam* and *Pocoughtaonack* his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediatly with attentiue silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me *Awerowanes* [*i.e.*, *a Werowance*, or subordinate Chief] of *Powhaton*, and

[1608] that all his subjects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Paspaheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people. This proffered kindnes for many reasons we contemned not, but with the best Languages and signes of thankes I could expresse, I tooke my leaue.

The King rising from his seat, conducted me foorth, and caused each of my men to haue as much more bread as hee could beare: giuing me some in a basket, and as much he sent a board for a present to my Father. Victuals you must know is all the[i]re wealth, and the greatest kindnes they could shew vs.

Arriuing at the Riuer, the Barge was fallen so low [*i.e., down the river*] with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft sent to preuent the same, yet the messengers deceiued mee. The Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King vnderstanding this mischance, sent his Sonne and *Mamontacke*, to conduct mee to a great house sufficient to lodge mee: where entring I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vsed all diligence to make vs fires, and giue vs content: the kings Orators presently entertained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take our bowes or arrowes, or offer any injury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venizon to stay my stomacke:

In the euening hee sent for mee to come onely with two shot with me. The company I gaue order to stand vpon their guard, and to maintaine two sentries at the ports all night.

To my supper he set before me meate for twenty men, and seeing I could not eate, hee caused it to be giuen to my men: for this is a generall custome, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you must either eate it, giue it away, or carry it with you. Two or three houres we spent in our aun[ci]ent discourses; which done, I was with a fire stick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting mee to the Riuer, shewed me his Canowes, and described vnto me how hee sent them ouer the Baye, for tribute Beades: and also what Countries paid him Beads, Copper, or Skins.

But seeing Captaine *Nuport*, and Maister *Scriuener*, comming a shore, the King returned to his house, and I went to meete him [*Newport*]. With a trumpet before him, wee marched to the King: who after his old manner kindly receiued him, especially a Boy of thirteen yeares old, called *Thomas Saluage*, whom he gaue him as his Sonne. He requited this kindnes with each of vs a great basket of Beanes. And entertaining him with the former discourse, we passed away that day, and agreed to bargaine the next day, and so returned to our Pinnis. [1608] [*pp.*102, 405.

The next day comming a shore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfast, questioned vs in this manner: Why we came armed in that sort, seeing hee was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes; what did wee doubt?

I told him it was the custome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies: wherewith though hee seemed satisfied, yet Captaine *Nuport* caused all our men to retire to the water side, which was some thirtie score [yards] from thence.

But to preuent the worst, Maister *Scriuener* or I were either the one or other by the Barge: experience had well taught me to beleeue his friendship till conuenient opportunity suffred him to betray vs. But quickly this polititian had perceiued my absence, and cunningly sent for me; I sent for Maister *Scriuener* to supply my place: the King would demand for him, I would againe releeue him. And they sought to satisfie our suspition with kind Language: and not being agreed to trade for corne, hee desired to see all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would giue vs corne. With that auncient tricke the *Chickahamaniens* had oft acquainted me: his offer I refused, offering first to see what hee would giue for one piece. Hee seeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell: but we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite vs. [*pp.*102, 406.]

Captain *Nuport* would not with lesse then twelue great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at *Chickahamania*, I had for one of lesse proportion. Our Hatchets hee would also haue at his owne rate: for which kindnes hee much seemed to

[1608] affect Captaine *Nuport.* Some few bunches of blew
[*Pp.*103, 406.] Beades I had, which he much desired, and seeing so few, he offred me a basket of two pecks, and that I drew to be three pecks at the least, and yet [he] seemed contented and desired more. I agreed with him, the next day, for two bushells: for the ebbe now constrained vs to returne to our Boate, although he earnestly desired vs to stay dinner which was a prouiding; and [which] being ready he sent aboard after vs, which was bread and venizon sufficient for fiftie or sixtie persons.

The next day hee sent his Sonne in the morning, not to bring a shore with vs any pieces, least his weomen and children should feare. Captaine *Nuports* good beliefe would haue satisfied that request. Yet twentie or twentie fiue short we got a shore: the King importuning mee to leaue my armes a board, much misliking my sword pistol and target. I told him the men that slew my Brother [*see p.* 19] with the like tearmes had perswaded me, and being vnarmed shot at vs, and so betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine *Nuport* that his men might leaue their armes: which [men] still hee [*Newport*] commanded to the water side.

This day we spent in trading for blew Beads: and hauing neare fraighted our Barge, Captaine *Nuport* returned with them that came abord, leauing me and Maister *Scriuener* a shore, to follow in Canowes. Into one I got with sixe of our men, which beeing la[u]nched, a stones cast from the shore stuck fast in the O[o]se.

Master *Scriuener* seeing this example, with seuen or eight more passed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other creeke: but they were inforced to stay, with such entertainment as a saluage [could afford; who] being forced ashore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his house and houshold, instantly set vp a house of mats, which succoured them from the storme.

The Indians seeing me pestred in the O[o]se, called to me: six or seuen of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in O[o]se, came to bear me out on their heads. Their importunacie caused me better to

like the Canow than their curtesie, excusing my deniall for feare to fall into the O[o]se: desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats to couer me, and I would content them. Each presently gaue his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce haue indured: yet a couple of bells richly contented them. [1608]

The Emperor sent his Seaman *Mantiuas* in the euening with bread and victuall for me and my men: he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how litle he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogge would scarce haue indured it. This kindnes I found, when I litle expected lesse then a mischiefe: but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood serued to carry vs aboard [*i.e.*, *the Barge*].

The next day we came ashore, the King [spoke] with a solemne discourse, causing all to depart but his principall men: and this was the effect.

When as hee perceiued that we had a desire to inuade *Monacum*, against whom he was no professed enemy: yet thus farre he would assist vs in his enterprise.

First hee would send his spies, perfectly to vnderstand their strength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himselfe. Captaine *Nuport* would not be seene in it himselfe, being great *Werowances*. They [*Powhatan and Newport*] would stay at home: but I, Maister *Scriuener*, and two of his [*Powhatan's*] Sonnes, and *Opechankanough* the King of *Pamaunke* should haue 100. of his men to goe before as though they were hunting; they giuing vs notise where was the aduantage, we should kill them: the weomen and young children he wished we should spare, and bring them to him. Only 100. or 150. of our men he held sufficient for this exploit. Our boats should stay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might conuey, each man a piece, till we were past the stones; and there joyne them to passe our men by [*over the*] water. If any were shot, his men should bring them backe to our boats.

This faire tale had almost made Captaine *Nuport* vndertake by this meanes to discouer the South sea: which will not be without trecherie, if wee ground our intent vpon his constancie.

[1608] This day we spent in trading, dancing, and much mirth. The King of *Pamaunke* sent his messenger [to me] (as yet not knowing Captaine *Nuport*) to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, desiring also my Father to visite him. The messenger stayed to conduct vs: but *Powhatan* vnderstanding that we had Hatchets lately come from *Paspahegh*, desired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further. This new tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what he listed, and to try whether we would go or stay.

Opechankenoughs messenger returned [answer], that wee would not come.

The next day his [*Opechancanough*'s] Daughter came to entreat me, shewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much sorrowed he could not see me.

Captaine *Nuport* being not to bee perswaded to goe, in that *Powhatan* had desired vs to stay: sent her away with the like answer.

Yet the next day, vpon better consideration, intreatie preuailed; and wee anchored at *Cinquoateck*, the first twaine [*town*] aboue the parting of the riuer, where dwelled two Kings of *Pamaunke*, Brothers to *Powhatan*; the one called *Opitchapam*, the other *Katatough*. To these I went a shore, who kindly intreated mee and Maister *Scriuener*, sending some presents aboard to Captaine *Nuport*, whilst we were trucking with these Kings.

Opechankanough his wife, weomen, and children came to meete me: with a naturall kind affection hee seemed to reioyce to see me.

Captaine *Nuport* came a shore, with many kind discourses wee passed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine *Nuport* went about with the Pinnis to *Menapacant*, which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land. *Opechankanough* conducted me and Maister *Scriuener* by land: where hauing built a feasting house a purpose to entertaine vs, with a kind Oration, after their manner, and his best prouision, [he] kindly welcomed vs. That day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight vs with content:

Captaine *Nuport* arriued towards euening; whom the King presented with sixe great platters of fine bread, and *Pansarowmana*.

The next day till noone wee traded: the King feasted all the company; and the afternoone was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight. By no meanes hee would haue vs depart till, the next day, he had feasted vs with venizon; for which he had sent, hauing spent his first and second prouision in expecting our comming: [1608]

The next day, he performed his promise, giuing more to vs three, then would haue sufficied 30. and in that we carried not away what we left, hee sent it after vs to the Pinnis. With what words or signes of loue he could expresse, we departed.

Captaine *Nuport* in the Pinnis, leauing mee in the Barge to digge a rocke, where wee supposed a Mine, at *Cinquaoteck*: which done, ere midnight, I arriued at *Weracomoco*, where our Pinnis [had] anchored, being 20. miles from *Cinquaotecke*.

The next day, we tooke leaue of *Powhatan*: who, in regard of his kindness, gaue him an *Indian*. He [was] well affected to goe with him for England in steed of his Sonne [*i.e.*, *T. Salvage, see p.* 27]: the cause, I assure me, was to know our strength and Countries condition:

The next day we arriued at *Kiskiack*. The people [there] so scornefully entertained vs, as with what signes of scorne and discontent we could, we departed: and returned to our Fort with 250. bushells of Corne [*on* 9 *March* 1608]. [*pp.*103, 406.]

Our president, being not wholy recouered of his sicknes, in discharging his Piece, brake and split his hand off, [of] which he is not yet [2 *June* 1608] well recovered.

At Captaine *Nuports* arriuall [9 *March* 1608], wee were victualled for twelue weeks: and hauing furnished him of what hee thought good, hee set saile for England the tenth of April [1608]. Master *Scriuener* and my selfe, with our shallop, accompanied him to Cape *Hendrick* [*i.e.*, *Henry*]: *Powhatan* hauing for a farrewell, sent him fiue or sixe mens loadings, with Turkeys for [the] swords which hee sent him in [*on*] our return to the fort: [*p.* 408.] [*pp.*106, 406.]

We discouered the riuer of *Nausam*[*on*]*d*, a proud warlike Nation, as well we may testifie, [from] at our first arriuall at *Chesiapiack*: but that iniury Captaine *Nuport* well reuenged at his returne. Where some of them intising him to their

[1608] Ambuscadoes by a daunce, hee perceiuing their intent, with a volly of musket shot, slew one, and shot one or two more, as themselues confesse.

The King at our ariuall sent for me to come vnto him. I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would, as had the rest of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented.

At last he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor some fortie yards from the shore. He signified to me to come a shore, and sent a Canow with foure or fiue of his men: two whereof I desired to come aboard and to stay, and I would send two to talke with their King a shore. To this hee agreed. The King wee presented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted [*accepted*], and sent for victualls to entertaine the messengers.

Maister *Scriuener* and my selfe also, after that, went a shore. The King kindly feasted vs, requesting vs to stay to trade till the next day. Which hauing done, we returned to the Fort.

This riuer is a musket shot broad, each side being should bayes; a narrow channell, but three fadom [deep]: his course for eighteene miles, almost directly South, and by West where beginneth the first inhabitants: for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the West, a great bay, and a white chaukie Iland conuenient for a Fort: his next course South, where within a quarter of a mile, the riuer diuideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the wester bought a highe plaine likewise, the Northeast answerable in all respects. In these plaines are planted aboundance of houses and people; they may containe 1000. Acres of most excellent fertill ground: so sweete, so pleasant, so beautifull, and so strong a prospect, for an inuincible strong City, with so many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene.

This is within one daies iourney of *Chawwonocke*, the riuer falleth into the Kings [*i.e.*, *Powhatan's*] riuer, within twelue miles of *Cape-hendicke* [*i.e.*, Cape *Henry*].

At our Fort, the tooles we had, were so ordinarily stolen by the Indians, as necessity inforced vs to correct

their brauing theeuerie: for he that stole to day, durst come againe the next day. One amongst the rest, hauing stolen two swords, I got the Counsels consent to set in the bilboes. The next day, with three more, he came, with their woodden swordes, in the midst of our men to steale. Their custome is to take any thing they can ceaze off: onely the people of *Pamaunke* wee haue not found stealing, but what others can steale, their King receiueth. I bad them depart, but flourishing their swords, they seemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands: his pride vrged me to turne him from amongst vs, whereat he offred to strike me with his sword; which I preuented, striking him first. The rest off[e]ring to reuenge the blow, receiued such an incounter, and fled. The better to affright them, I pursued them with fiue or sixe shot, and so chased them out of the Iland[, *or rather, the Peninsula on which James Town stood*]. [1608]

The beginner of this broyle, litle expecting by his carriage, [that] we durst haue resisted, hauing, euen till that present, not beene contradicted, especially them of *Paspahegh*: these Indians within one houre, hauing by other Saluages then in the Fort, vnderstood that I threatened to be reuenged, came presently of themselues, and fell to working vpon our wears which were then in hand by other Saluages: who seeing their pride so incountred, were so submissiue, and willing to doe any thing as might be. And with trembling feare desired to be friends, within three daies after.

From *Nawsamond*, which is 30. miles from vs, the King sent vs a Hatchet which they had stollen from vs at our being there: the messenger, as is the custome, also wee well rewarded and contented.

The twenty of Aprill [1608], being at worke, in hewing downe Trees, and setting Corne, an alarum caused vs with all speede to take our armes, each expecting a new assault of the Saluages: but vnderstanding it [to be] a Boate vnder saile, our doubts were presently satisfied with the happy sight of Maister *Nelson*, his many perrills of extreame stormes and tempests [passed], his ship well as his company could testifie, his care in sparing our [*p.* 409.] [*pp* 105, 409.]

[1608] prouision was well: but the prouidence [*provider*] thereof, as also of our stones, Hatchets and other tooles (onely ours excepted) which of all the rest was most necessary: which might inforce vs to thinke [him] either a seditious traitor to our action, or a most vnconscionable deceiuer of our treasures.

[*Pp.*105, 409.] This happy arriuall of Maister *Nelson* in the *Phenix*, hauing beene then about three monethes missing after Captaine *Nuports* arriuall, being to all our expectations lost: albeit that now at the last, hauing beene long crossed with tempestuous weather and contrary winds, his so vnexpected comming did so rauish vs with exceeding joy, that now we thought our selues as well fitted as our harts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needfull prouisions, till a further supply should come vnto vs.

[*Pp.*105, 409.] Whereupon the first thing that was concluded was that my selfe and Maister *Scriuener*, should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could prouide, to discouer beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements conueniently we might. Six or seauen daies we spent only in trayning our men to march, fight, and scirmish in the woods. Their willing minds to this action so quickned their vnderstanding in this exercise as, in all iudgements, wee were better able to fight with *Powhatans* whole force, in our order of battle amongst the Trees (for Thicks there is few) then the Fort was to repulse 400. at the first assault, with some tenne or twenty shot not knowing what to doe, nor how to vse a Piece.

Our warrant being sealed, Maister *Nelson* refused to assiste vs with the voluntary Marriners and himself, as he promised, vnlesse we would stand bound to pay the hire for shippe and Marriners, for the time they stayed. And further there was some controuersie, through the diuersitie of Contrary opinions: some alleadging that how profitable, and to what good purpose soeuer our iourney should portend, yet our commission commanding no certaine designe, we should be taxed for the most indiscreete men in the world, besides the wrong we should doe to Captaine *Nuport*, to whom only all discoueries did belong, and to no other:

The meanes for guides, besides the vncertaine courses of the riuer from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie vs in two houres better then that they first called the Fort, their Townes vpon the riuer each within one dayes iourney of other, besides our ordinary prouision, might well be supposed to adde reliefe: for truck and dealing only, but in loue and peace, as with the rest. If they assalted vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage so conuey that we should not share: but admit the worst, 16. daies prouision we had of Cheese Oatmeale and bisket; besides our randevous we could, and might, haue hid in the ground. With sixe men, Captaine *Martin* would haue vndertaken it himselfe, leauing the rest to defend the Fort and plant our Corne. [1608]

Yet no reason could be reason to proceede forward, though we were going aboard to set saile. These discontents caused so many doubts to some, and discouragement to others, as our iourney ended. Yet some of vs procured petitions to set vs forward, only with hope of our owne confusions [*disasters in the expedition*].

Our next course was to turne husbandmen, to fell Trees and set Corne. Fiftie of our men we imployed in this seruice; the rest kept the Fort, to doe the command of the president and Captaine *Martin*.

30. dayes [? *from* 4 *May to* 2 *June* 1608] the ship [*the Phœnix*] lay expecting the triall of certain matters which for some cause I keepe priuate.

The next exploit was an Indian hauing stolen an Axe, was so pursued by Maister *Scriuener* and them next him, as he threw it downe: and flying, drew his bow at any that durst incounter him.

Within foure or fiue dayes after, Maister *Scriuener* and I, being a litle from the Fort, among the Corne, two Indians, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with *Terrasigillata*, came circling about me as though they would haue clubbed me like a hare. I knew their faining loue is towards me not without a deadly hatred: but to preuent the worst, I calling maister *Scriuener* retired to the Fort. [*pp.*106, 410.]

The Indians seeing me suspect them, with good tearmes, asked me for some of their men whom they would beate;

[1608] and went with me into our Fort. Finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a spie; they offered to beat him. I in perswading them to forbeare, they offered to beginne with me; being now foure: for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other side the Fort.

Wherevpon I caused to shut the Ports, and apprehend[ed] them.

The president and Counsell, being presently acquainted, remembring at the first assault [*p.* 7], they came in like manner, and neuer else but against [*for*] some villanie, concluded to commit them to prison, and expect the euent. Eight more we ceazed at that present.

An houre after came three or foure other strangers extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, skinnes, and shooting gloues: their iealousie and feare bewrayed their bad intent, as also their suspitious departure.

The next day, came first an Indian, then another, as Embassadors for their men. They desired to speake with me. Our discourse was, that what Spades, Shouells, swords, or tooles they had stolne to bring home: if not, the next day, they should hang

[*pp.*106, 410.] The next newes was, they had taken two of our men ranging in the woods (which mischiefe no punishment will preuent but hanging): and these they would, should redeeme their owne 16. or 18.; thus brauing vs to our doores.

We desired the president, and Captaine *Martin*, that afternoone to sally vpon them, that they might but know what we durst do: and at night, mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and spoiled and destroyed what we could.

But they brought our men, and freely deliuered them. The president released one. The rest we brought well guarded, to Morning and Euening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare then caused them to[o] much sorrow, which till then scoffed and scorned at what we durst doe.

The Counsell concluded, that I should terrifie them with some torture, to know if I could know their intent.

The next day, I bound one in hold [*confinement*] to the maine Mast [*i.e., of the Phœnix*]: and presenting sixe Muskets with match in the cockes, forced him to desire life. To answere my demaunds he could not: but one

of his *Comouodos* was of the counsell of *Paspahegh*, that could satisfie me: [1608]

I releasing him out of sight, I affrighted the other, first with the rack, then with Muskets; which seeing, he desired me to stay, and hee would confesse to this execution.

Maister *Scriuener* came, his discourse was to this effect.

That *Paspehegh*, the *Chickahamaniar*, *Youghtanum*, *Pamaunka*, *Mattapanient*, and *Kiskiack*: these Nations were al[l] together a hunting that tooke me [*pp.* 15, 70, 152]. *Paspahegh* and *Chicahamanya* had entended to surprise vs at worke, to haue had our tools. *Powhatan* and al his would seeme friends, till Captaine *Nuports* returne, that he had againe his man, which he called *Namontack*: where, with a great feast, hee would so enamor Captain *Nuport* and his men, as they should ceaze on him. And the like traps would be laied for the rest.

This trap for our tooles, we suspected [to be] the chiefe occasion that foure daies before, *Powhatan* had sent the boy [*Thomas Salvage*, *pp.* 27 *and* 31], he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maister *Scriuener* and me: vnderstanding I would go vp vnto his Countries to destroy them; and he doubted [*feared*] it the more, in that I so oft practised my men, whose shooting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues and children.

We sent him word, we entended no such thing, but only to goe to *Powhatan*, to seeke stones to make Hatchets; except his men shot at vs, as *Paspahegh* had told vs they would: which if they did shoote but one arrowe, we would destroy them. And, least this mischiefe might happen, sent the boy [*Thomas Salvage*] to acquaint him thus much; and request[ed] him to send vs *Weanock*, one of his subiects for a guide.

The boy he returned backe with his Chest and apparell, which then we had giuen him: desiring another for him. The cause was, he was practising with the *Chikahamanias*, as the boy suspected some villanie, by their extraordinary resort and secret conference, from whence they would send him. The boy we keepe. Now we would send him many messengers and presents, the guide we desired he sent vs: and withall requested vs to returne him, either the boy or some other. But none he could haue. And that day these

[1608] Indians were apprehended, his sonne with others that had loaded at our Fort, returned, and being out of the Fort, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him, and to the *Chika*[*ha*]*manias*.

Not long after, *Weanock* that had bin with us for our guide, whom wee kept to haue conducted vs in another iourny, with a false excuse returned: and secretly after him, *Amocis* the *Paspaheyan*, who alwaies they kept amongst vs for a spie, whom, the better to auoide suspition, presently after they came to beate away:

These presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of *Amocis* the spie, but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of *Powhatan*; whose true meaning Captaine *Martin* most confidently pleaded.

The confession of *Macanoe*, which was the counseller of *Paspahegh*: first I, then Maister *Scriuener*, vpon their seuerall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that *Paspahegh* and *Chickahammania* did hate vs, and intended some mischiefe: and who they were that tooke me [*p.* 15]; the names of them that stole our tooles and swords, and that *Powhatan* receiued them they all agreed. Certaine vollies of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to think that their fellowes had beene slaine.

Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certaine Saluages, [*pp.* 106–107, 410.] sent [*i.e.*, *in May* 1608] his Daughter, a child of tenne yeares old: which, not only for feature, countenance, and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people: but for wit and spirit, [is] the only *Nonpariel* of his Country. This hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called *Rawhunt*, as much exceeding in deformitie of person; but of a subtill wit and crafty vnderstanding.

He, with a long circumstance, told mee, how well *Powhatan* loued and respected mee; and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me; a Deare and bread besides, for a present: desiring me that the Boy [*Thomas Salvage*] might come againe, which he loued exceedingly. [*p.* 410.] His litle Daughter hee had taught this lesson also, not taking notice at all of the Indeans that had beene prisoners three daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers

and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreate their libertie. [1608]

Opechankanough sent also vnto vs, that for his sake, we would release two that were his friends: and for a token, sent me his shooting Gloue and Bracer, which the day our men was taken vpon; separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same. Now all of them hauing found their peremptorie conditions but to increase our malice; which they seeing vs begin to threaten to destroy them, as familiarly as before, without suspition or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie for their men.

In the afternoone, they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church; and after prayer, gaue them to *Pocahuntas*, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindnesse in sending her. After hauing well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what else they had; and with [their] much content, sent them packing. *Pocahuntas* also we requited with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vsed the *Paspaheyans* very kindly in so releasing them. [*pp.* 107, 416]

The next day, we had suspition of some other practise for an Ambuscado; but perfectly wee could not discouer it.

Two daies after, a *Paspaheyan* came to shew vs a glistering Minerall stone, and with signes demonstrating it to be in great aboundance like vnto Rockes: with some dozen more, I was sent to seeke to digge some quantitie, and the Indean to conduct me. But suspecting this some trick to delude vs, for to get some Copper of vs; or with some ambuscado to betray vs, seeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, [we] led him ashore: where abusing vs from place to place, and so seeking either to haue drawne vs with him into the woods, or to haue giuen vs the slippe; I shewed him [the] Copper, which I promised to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promise. But for his scoffing and abusing vs, I gaue him twentie lashes with a Rope; and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him shoote if he durst: and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the most part well

[1608] recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then necessitie enforced vs vnto: we thought good, for the better content of the aduenturers, in some reasonable sort to fraight home Maister *Nelson*, with Cedar wood. About which, our men going with willing minds, [it] was in very good time effected, and the ship sent for England [*on 2nd June* 1608, *see p.* 109]. Wee now remaining being in good health, all our men wel contented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, and as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians: where we doubt not but by Gods gracious assistance, and the aduenturers willing minds and speedie futherance to so honorable an action, in after times to see our Nation to enioy a Country, not onely exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for comerce in generall; no doubt pleasing to almightie God, honourable to our gracious Soueraigne, and commodious generally to the whole Kingdome.

FINIS.

A MAP OF VIRGINIA.

VVITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COVNTREY, THE Commodities, People, Government and Religion.

VVritten by Captaine SMITH, *sometimes Governour of the Countrey.*

WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED THE proceedings of those Colonies, since their first departure from England, with the discourses, Orations, and relations of the Salvages, and the accidents that befell them in all their Iournies and discoveries

TAKEN FAITHFVLLY AS THEY were written out of the writings of

DOCTOR RVSSELL.	RICHARD WIEFIN.
THO. STVDLEY.	WILL. PHETTIPLACE.
ANAS TODKILL.	NATHANIEL POVVELL.
IEFFRA ABOT.	RICHARD POTS.

And the relations of divers other diligent observers there *present then, and now many of them in England.*

By VV. S.

AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

[The first part of this Work is evidently an expanded and revised text of that "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them" (*p.* 444), which President JOHN SMITH sent home, about November 1608, to the Council in London, as the result of his explorations in Chesapeake Bay in the previous summer.

That this book of travels &c. should have been printed at the Oxford University Press is a most singular fact.

The Earl of LEICESTER, then Chancellor of the University, gave, in 1585, that University a new printing press: and JOSEPH BARNES was, at the same time, appointed University Printer, which office he held till his death, about 1617.

The hand printing presses in England were jealously registered, and locked up every night, to prevent surreptious printing; all through the lifetime of our Author: and the Company of Stationers of London especially watched with a keen jealousy the printing operations of the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, who each possessed a single hand press. See W. HERBERT's edition of J. AMES's *Typographical Antiquities*, iii, 1398, Ed. 1790, 4to.

This solitary hand printing press at Oxford, usually produced sermons, theological and learned Works, &c.; in the midst of which, this book of travels crops up in a startling manner.

Why could not, or would not SMITH get it printed in London? Had the revision of its second Part by the Rev. Dr. SIMMONDS anything to do with the printing at Oxford? These nuts we must leave for others to crack.

Of course, being printed at Oxford, this book was not registered at Stationer's Hall, London.

For its bibliography, see *p.* cxxx: from which it would appear, that, while the eight other Works of Captain SMITH have been reprinted once or oftener during the last century, this is the first reprint of the *Map of Virginia* as it originally appeared.

It is sometimes misnamed the Oxford *tract*; but it is rather a book than a tract.]

TO THE HAND.

[1612]

LEast I should wrong any in dedicating this Booke to one: I have concluded it shal be particular to none. I found it only dedicated to a Hand, and to that hand I addresse it. Now for that this businesse is common to the world, this booke may best satisfie the world, because it was penned in the Land it treateth of. If it bee disliked of men, then I would recommend it to women, for being dearely bought, and farre sought, it should be good for Ladies. When all men reiected Christopher Collumbus: *that ever renowned Queene Izabell of Spaine, could pawne her Iewels to supply his wants; whom all the wise men (as they thought themselues) of that age contemned. I need not say what was his worthinesse, her noblenesse, and their ignorance, that so scornefully did spit at his wants, seeing the whole world is enriched with his golden fortunes. Cannot this successfull example moue the incredulous of this time, to consider, to conceaue, and apprehend* Virginia, *which might be, or breed vs a second India? hath not England an Izabell, as well as Spaine, nor yet a* Collumbus *as well as* Geneua? *yes surely it hath, whose desires are no lesse then was worthy* Collumbus, *their certainties more, their experiences no way wanting, only there wants but an Izabell, so it were not from Spaine.*

T. A.

Because many doe desire to knowe the maner of their language, I haue inserted these few words.

[1607-9] KA *ka torawines yowo.* What call you this.
Nemarough. a man.
Crenepo. a woman.
Marowanchesso. a boy.
Yehawkans. Houses.
Matchcores. Skins, or garments.
Mockasins. Shooes.
Tussan. Beds.
Pokatawer. Fire.
Attawp. A bowe.
Attonce. Arrowes.
Monacookes. Swords.
Aumoughhowgh. A Target.
Pawcussacks. Gunnes.
Tomahacks. Axes.
Tockahacks. Pickaxes.
Pamesacks. Kniues.
Accowprets. Sheares.
Pawpecones. Pipes.
Mattassin. Copper.
Vssawassin. Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white metal.
Musses. Woods.
Attasskuss. Leaues, weeds, or grasse.
Chepsin. Land.
Shacquohocan. A stone.
Wepenter, a cookold.
Suckahanna. Water.

[1607-9]

Noughmass. Fish.
Copotone. Sturgion.
Weghshaughes. Flesh.
Sawwehone. Bloud.
Netoppew. Friends.
Marrapough. Enimies.
Maskapow. The worst of the enimies.
Mawchick chammay. The best of friends.
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan vttasantasough. In how many daies will there come hether any more English ships?

Their numbers.

Necut. 1.
Ningh. 2.
Nuss. 3.
Yowgh. 4.
Paranske. 5.
Comotinch. 6.
Toppawoss. 7.
Nusswash. 8.
Kekatawgh. 9.
Keskeke. [10.]

They count no more but by tennes as followeth.

Case, how many.
Ninghsapooeksku. 20.
Nussapooeksku. 30.
Yowghapooeksku. 40.
Parankestassapooeksku. 50.
Comatinchtassapooeksku. 60.
Nussswashtassapooeksku. 80.
Toppawousstassapooeksku. 70.
Kekataughtassapooeksku. 90.
Necuttoughtysinough. 100.
Necuttwevnquaough. 1000.

Rawcosowghs. Daies.
Keskowghes. Sunnes.
Toppquough. Nights.
Nepawweshowghs. Moones,

[1607-9] *Pawpaxsoughes.* Yeares.
Pummahump Starres.
Osies. Heavens.
Okes. Gods.
Quiyoughcosucks. Pettie Gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes. Deaths.
Kekughes. Liues.
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher. I am verie hungrie? what shall I eate?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan. where dwels Powwhatan.
Mache, nehiegh yowrowgh, orapaks. Now he dwels a great way hence at orapaks.
Vttapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper werowacomoco. You lie, he staide ever at werowocomoco.
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vttapitchewayne. Truely he is there I doe not lie.
Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekatenwawgh peyaquaugh. Run you then to the king mawmarynough and bid him come hither.
Vtteke, e peya weyack wighwhip. Get you gone, and come againe quickly.
Kekaten pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh. Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I wil giue her white beads to make her a chaine.

FINIS.

THE DESCRIPTION
OF VIRGINIA BY CAPTAINE
Smith.

VIRGINIA is a Country in *America*, that lyeth betweene the degrees of 34 and 44 of the north latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean*. On the South lyeth *Florida*: on the North *nova Francia*. As for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this country wee purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the English men in the yeare of our Lord, 1606 [*i.e., according to the old style of reckoning the year from the 25th of March; Smith, therefore, here means the winter of* 1606–7]. *And this is vnder the degrees* 37. 38. *and* 39. The temperature of this countrie doth agree well with English constitutions being once seasoned to the country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to haue made them sicke, but even to end their daies, &c. [1607-9]

The latitude. [*p.* 343.]

The sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the winter colde as in *Fraunce* or *England*. The heat of sommer is in Iune, Iulie, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the proverbe is true that *no extreame long continueth.* [*p.* 344.]

The temperature.

[1607–9] In the yeare 1607[–8]. was an extraordinary frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was founde as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. daies of ill weather, other 14 daies would be as Sommer.

The windes. The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the aire, I haue seldome either seene or [2] heard in *Europe*. From the Southwest came the greatest gustes with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-East as from the *Barmadas*, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessity of neither, by reason we see not but that all the variety of needfull fruits in *Europe* may be there in great plenty by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

The entrances. There is but one entraunce by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, the widenesse whereof is neare 18. or 20. miles. The cape on the South *Cape Henry.* side is called *Cape Henry* in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of the land there, is a white hilly sand like vnto the Downes, and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles. The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles* in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*.

The country. Within is a country that may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, for large and pleasant navigable rivers: heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some [*p.* 345.] woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South in which the water floweth neare 200 miles and hath a channell for 140 miles, of depth betwixt 7 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 miles. From the head of the Bay at the north, the land is mounta[i]nous, and so in a

manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the more Southward, the farther of[f] from the Bay are those mountaines. From which, fall [3] certaine brookes, which after come to fiue principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the west side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 15 miles one of an other. [1607-9]

The mountaines.

The mountaines are of diverse natures, for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like milnstones. Some of marble, &c. And many peeces of christall we found as throwne downe by water from the mountaines. For in winter these mountaines are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow valleyes which yet is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.*

The soile.

The vesture of the earth in most places doeth manifestly proue the nature of the soile to be lusty and very rich. The coulor of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac*, *terra sigillata ad lemnia*, Fullers earth, marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the earth is a black sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees or abundance of weedes, &c.

The vallyes.

The country is not mounta[i]nous nor yet low but such pleasant plaine hils and fert[i]le valleyes, one prettily crossing an other, and watered so conveniently with their sweete brookes and christall springs, as if art it selfe had devised them.

Plaines.

By the rivers are many plaine marishes containing some 20, some 100, some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are fewe, but only where the *Savages* inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees and weedes being a plaine wildernes as God first made it. [*p.* 346.]

On the west side of the Bay, wee said were 5. faire and

[1607-9] [4] delightfull *navigable* rivers, of which wee will nowe proceed to report.

The river Powhatan. The first of those rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay, hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this river they call *Powhatan* accor[ding] to the name of a principall country that lieth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neere three miles in breadth, *yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neere the land that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanck. This river is navigable* 100 *miles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to bee expressed.* It falleth from Rockes farre west in a country inhabited by a nation that they call *Monacan.* But where it commeth into our discoverie it is *Powhatan.* In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, showles, &c., which makes it past navigation *any higher.* Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs that disperse themselues for best service, as doe the vaines of a mans body.

The branches. From the South there fals into this river. First the pleasant river of *Apamatuck*: next more to the East are the two rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke.* A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*; then the river of *Nandsamund*, and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack.*

From the North side is the river of *Chickahamania*, the backe river of *Iames* Towne; another by the *Cedar Isle* where we lived 10 weekes vpon oisters, then a convenient harbour for fisher boats or smal boats at *Kecoughtan*, that so conveniently turneth it selfe into *Bayes* and Creeks that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes.*

The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families. [which are] Of the name of the rivers. They haue also in every of those places some Gouernour, as their king, which they call *Werowances.*

Iames Towne. In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the English planted in a place by them called *Iames* [5] Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie: vpon which side are also many places vnder the *Werowances.*

[*p.* 347.]

The first and next the rivers mouth, are the *Kecoughtans*, who besides their women and children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes*, on whose land is seated the English Colony, some 40. miles from the *Bay*, haue not passed 40. The river called *Chickahamania* [has] neere 200. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan*, some 40. On the South side [of] this river, the *Appamatucks* haue 60 fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks*, 25. The *Warraskoyacks* 40. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* are able to make 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*, except the *Chickhamanians*, who are governed by the Priestes and their Assistants of their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes*. In somer no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon*, nor in winter more abundance of fowle, especially in the time of frost. There was once taken 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of 2 foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of 2 or three yards long and fewe others. And in 4 or 5 houres with one nette were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient. [1607–9]

The severall inhabitants.

Foureteene miles Northward from the river *Powhatan*, is the river *Pamavnke, which is navigable* 60 *or* 70 *myles, but with Catches and small Barkes* 30 *or* 40 *myles farther*. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. *R. Pamavnke.*

On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided, the Country is called *Pamavnke* [**6**], and nourisheth neere 300 able men. About 25 miles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when Captain *Smith* was deliuered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liueth at *Orapakes* by *Youghtanund* in the wildernesse. 10 or 12 myles lower, *The inhabitants*

[1607-9] on the South side of this river is *Chiskiack*, which hath
[*p.* 348.] some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck, Irrohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great kings chiefe alliance and inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

Payankatank. R Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (*some* 30 *myles navigable*) that commeth from the Inland: the river is called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about some 40 serviceable men.

Toppahanock, R. The third navigable riuer is called *Toppahanock*. (*This is navigable some* 130 *myles.*) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoackes* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we describe.

The inhabitants Vpon this river on the North side are seated a people called *Cuttatawomen*, with 30 fighting men. Higher on the riuer are the *Moraughtacunds*, with 80 able men. Beyond them *Toppahanock* with 100 men. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20 men. On the South, far within the river is *Nautaughtacund* hauing 150 men. This river also, as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

Patawomek. R. The fourth river is called *Patawomeke* and is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. *It is navigable* 140 *miles, and* fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeelde no lesse plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish.

The inhabitants This river is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* and hath some 130 men: beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30. The *Onawmanient* with 100. Then *Patawomeke* with 160 able men.

Here doth the river divide it selfe into [7] 3 or 4 convenient rivers; The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough* [and] treadeth [? *trendeth*] north west, but the river it selfe turneth *North east* and is stil a navigable streame. On the westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the north of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40 men. Some what further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part of the bought of the river is *Pamacacack* with 60 men. After, *Moyowances* with 100. And lastly, *Nacotchtanke* with 80 able men. The river 10 miles aboue this place maketh

his passage downe a low pleasant vally overshaddowed [1607-9] in manie places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

The fifth river is called *Pawtuxunt*, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 or 18 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit[e] skuls of divers kinds of fish more then elsewhere. *Pawtuxunt R.* [*p.* 349.]

Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt* and *Mattapanient*. 200 men was the greatest strength that could bee there perceived. But they inhabit togither, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of al other were found the most civill to giue intertainement.

Thirty leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red earth or clay resembling *bole Armoniack*, the English called it *Bolus*. *Bolus, R.*

At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 miles in breadth, there fall into it 4 small rivers, 3 of them issuing from diverse bogges invironed with high mountaines. *The head of the Bay.*

There is one that commeth *du*[*e*] north, 3 or 4. daies iourn[e]y from the head of the Bay, and fals from rocks and mountaines. Vpon this riuer inhabit a people called *Sasquesahanock*. *Sasquesahanock.*

They are seated 2 daies higher then was passage for the discoverers Barge, which was hardly 2 toons, and had in it but 12 men to perform this discouery, wherein they lay aboue the space of 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, hauing nothing but a little meale or oatmeale and water to feed them; and scarse halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the [8] Savages and by the plentie of fish they found in all places, they made themselues provision as opportunitie served; yet had they not a marriner or any that had skill to trim their sayles, vse their oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but 2 or 3. The rest being Gentlemen or as ignorant in such toyle and labour: yet necessitie in a short time, by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leaue to the censure of the Reader to iudge by this discourse and the annexed Map. [*p.* 350.]

But to proceed, 60 of those *Sasquesahanocks* came to the discouerers with skins, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets,

[1607-9] Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours: yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, [and they were] with much adoe restrained from adoring the discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voice in a vault, or caue, as an Eccho. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heades and skinnes that a mans necke goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the nose hung a Beares Pawe: the halfe sleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares and the armes through the mouth, with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell; his Tobacco pipe 3 quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Beare, a Deare, or some such deuise at the great end, sufficient to beat out the braines of a man: with bowes, and arrowes, and clubs, su[i]table to their greatnesse and conditions.

The description of a Sasquesahanough.

These are scarse knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neere 600 able and mighty men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from [9] the *Massawomekes* their mortall enimies. 5 of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboard the discoverers, and crossed the *Bay* in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose leg was 3 quarters of a yard about: and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man that euer we beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fiue quarters [of a yard] long, headed with flints or splinters of stones, in forme like a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a woolues skinne at his backe for his quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

[*p.* 384.]

[*p.* 351.]

On the East side the *Bay* is the river of *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some 7 miles within the river: where they haue a Fort very wel pallisadoed and mantelled with the barke of trees. Next to them is *Ozinies* with 60 men. More to the South of that East side of the *Bay*, the river of *Rapahanock*; neere vnto which is the river of *Kuskarawaock*, vpon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that is the river of *Tants Wighcocomoco*, and on it a people with 100 men. [1607-9]

Tockwhogh. R.

Rapahanock R.

Kuskarawaock. R.

Wighococomoco. R.

The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river of *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* [with] 80 men, doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan* and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as king.

Accomack. R.

Southward they went to some parts of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags*, to search [for] them there left by *Sir Walter Raleigh*; for those parts to the Towne of *Chisapeack*, hath formerly been discovered by *Maister Heriots* and *Sir Ralph Layne*.

Chawonoeck.

[*p.* 312.]

Amongst those people are thus many severall nations of sundry languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonokes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks* [**10**], the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. Al those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eie, the way of the mountaines and current of the riuers, with their seuerall turnings, bays, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on riuers, mountaines, or other places, haue beene discouered; the rest was had by information of the *Savages*, and are set downe according to their instructions.

The several languages.

[*p.* 384.]

Of such things which are naturall in Virginia and how they vse them.

[*p.* 352.]

Why there is little grasse.

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegitables and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none but what groweth in lowe Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weedes, by reason of the rancknesse of the ground; which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut: many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foot and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long. Of this wood there is 2 or 3 seuerall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, is somewhat sweetish; which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last afford **a** sweete oyle, which they keep in goards to annoint their heads and ioints. The fruit they eate, made in bread or otherwise.

Woods with their fruits.

Elme

There is also some Elme, some black walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps: but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other.

Walnuts.

Supposed Cypres

Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes: there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it; and of those trees there are [**11**] some neere 3 fadome about at the root, very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a braunch.

Mulberies.

By the dwelling of the *Savages* are some great Mulbery trees; and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke: during which time, they were eaten with rats.

Chestnuts.

In some parts, were found some Chestnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or *Italy*, to their tast[e]s that had tasted them all.

Plumbs there are of 3 sorts. The red and white are

like our hedge plumbs: but the other, which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta*. The fruit is like a medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe it will drawe a mans mouth awrie with much torment; but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock. [1607-9] [*B.* 353.]

They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damsen; but for their tastes and colour, we called them Cherries. We see some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. *Cherries.*

Of vines, [there is] great abundance in many parts, that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but fewe grapes. But by the riuers and Savage[s] habitations where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of those hedge grapes, wee made neere 20 gallons of wine, which was neare as good as your French Brittish wine, but certainely they would proue good were they well manured. *Vines.*

There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messaminnes*; they bee fatte, and the iuyce thicke: neither doth the tast so well please when they are made in wine.

They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*, which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call [12] *Rawcomenes*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. *Chechinquamens* *Rawcomens*

Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they vse in this manner. *The walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and Chechinquamens* are dryed to keepe. When they need them, they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the walnut shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a mat ouer a hurdle. After, they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very small: that done, they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke; which they cal *Pawcohiscora*, and keepe it for their vse. *How they vse their fruits* *Walnut milke.*

The fruit like medlers, they call *Putchamins*, they cast vppon hurdles on a mat, and preserue them as Pruines.

[1607-9] *Of their Chesnuts* and *Chechinquamens* boyled 4 houres,
[*A.* 354.] they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts.

Gummes. Besides those fruit trees, there is *a white populer*, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleere and an odoriferous *Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsom.* There are also *Cedars* and *Saxafras trees.* They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

Cedars.

Saxafras trees.

Berries. In the wat[e]ry valleyes groweth *a berry*, which they call *Ocoughtanamnis*, very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they will eat them, they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poyson. *Mattoume* groweth as our bents do in meddows. The seede is not much vnlike to rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a dainty bread buttered with deare suet.

Matoume.

Straw-berries During Somer there are either *strawberries* which ripen in April; or mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. Raspises hurres; or a fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit much like a lemond.

Hearbs. Many *hearbes* in the spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslin, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose [**13**] names we know not.

Rootes. The chiefe roote they haue for foode is called *Tockawhoughe.* It groweth like a flagge in low muddy freshes. In one day a *Savage* will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnes and taste of *Potatoes.* They vse to couer a great many of them with oke leaues and ferne, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a colepit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this ordinarily for bread.

They haue an other roote which they call *wighsacan*: as th[e]other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones* is a small roote that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red: and this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioints, painting their heads and garments. They account it very pretious and of much worth. *Musquaspenne* is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like. [1607-9] *Wighsacan a Root.* [*p.* 355.] *Pocones a small Roote.* *Musquaspenne, a Root.*

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Sasafrage*, and diuers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable. *Pellitory.* *Sasafrage.*

In the low Marishes, *growe plots of Onyons* containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the Toppe of ones Thumbe. *Onyons.*

Of beastes the chiefe are Deare, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the riuers, ther[e] are many, but amongst the riuers few. *Their chiefe beasts are Deare*

There is a beast they call Aroughcun, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. *Their Squirrels* some as neare as greate as [**14**] our smallest sort of wilde rabbits; some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray. *Aroughcun.* *Squirrels.*

A small beast they haue, they call Assapanick, but we call them flying squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins that they haue bin seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. *An Opassom hath an head like a Swine*, and a taile like a *Rat*, and is of the bignes of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein shee lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young. *Mussascus* is a beast of the forme and nature of our water *Rats*, but many of them smell exceeding strong of muske. Their Hares [are] no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found. *Assapanick a Squirrel flying.* *Opassom.* *Mussascus.*

Their *Beares* are very little in comparison of those of *Muscovia* and *Tartaria*. The *Beaver* is as bigge as an ordinary water dogge, but his legges exceeding short. His fore feete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. *Beares.* *The Beaver.*

[1607–9] His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire; which to eate, the *Savages* esteeme a great delicate. *They haue many Otters*, which, as the Beavers, they take with snares, and esteeme the skinnes great ornaments; and of all those beasts they vse to feede, when they catch them.

[*p.* 356.]
Otters.

Vetchunquoyes.
Foxes.
Dogges.
Martins.
Polcats.
Weesels, and Minkes.

There is also a beast they call Vetchunquoyes in the forme of a wilde Cat. *Their Foxes* are like our siluer haired Conies, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. *Their Dogges* of that country are like their Wolues, and cannot barke but howle; and their wolues [are] not much bigger then our English Foxes. *Martins, Powlecats, weessels and Minkes* we know they haue, because we haue seen many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them aliue.

But one thing is strange, that we could never perceiue their vermine *destroy our hennes, egges, nor chickens*, nor do any hurt: nor their flyes nor serpents [to be] anie waie pernitious; where [as] in the South parts of *America*, they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Birds.

Of birds, the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of diuerse sorts as our Falconers called them, *Sparowhawkes* [15], *Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons* and *Osperayes*; but they all pray most vpon fish. *Patrridges* there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are woosels or blackbirds with red shoulders, thrushes, and diuerse sorts of small birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a wrenne, but few in Sommer. In winter there are great plenty of Swans, Craynes gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to vs unknowne by name. But in sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

Fish.

Of fish we were best acquainted with *Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies* whose tailes are very dangerous. Brettes, mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of 3 sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Creuises,

Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a smal one so like the picture of *S. George* his Dragon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings: and the To[a]defish which will swell till it be like to brust, when it commeth into the aire. [1607-9] [A. 357.]

Concerning the entrailes of the earth little can be saide for certainty. There wanted good Refiners: for these that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mounetaines and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought down; flattering themselues in their own vaine conceits to haue bin supposed that they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Only this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford mines very rich of diuerse natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeue there are other mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the mine from *spare*. [16] *The Rocks.*

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia and how they vse them.

THey diuide the yeare into 5. seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring *Cattapeuk*, the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the haruest and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September vntill the midst of Nouember are the chiefe Feasts and sacrifice. Then haue they plenty of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beastes exceeding fat. *How they divide the yeare.*

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the country naturally is ouergrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then do they scortch the roots with fire that they grow no more. *How they prepare the ground*

[1607-9] The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood, they beat vp the woodes by the rootes; and in that [*those*] moulds, they plant their corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put 4 graines of wheat and 2 of beanes. These holes they [*p.* 358.] make 4 foote one from another. Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne midle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

How they plant In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October. Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some 3, seldome any 4, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being green hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a suger Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as wee gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old.

They plant also pease they cal *Assentamens*, which are the same they cal in Italye, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties. [17]

How they vse their corne. Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter with a Polt, lappe it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe[n], by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beans for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat they first steep a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receaue the flower in a platter made of wood scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, couering them with ashes till they bee baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie presently with their owne heat: or else

boyle them in water eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*. [1607-9]

The grouts and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind away the branne, they boile 3 or 4 houres with water; which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen*. But some more thrifty then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale; but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. [*p.* 359.]

Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or broyle it so long on hurdles over the fire; or else, after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, til it be as drie as their ierkin beefe in the west *Indies*, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat. *How they vse their fish and flesh.*

In May also amongst their corne, they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like vnto a muske millen, but lesse and worse; which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntil September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a lemmon, which also increase infinitely: they begin to ripe[n] in September [**18**] and continue till the end of October. *Planted fruits.*

When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them: for neere 3 parts of the yeare, they only obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The commodities in Virginia or that may be had by industrie.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Vnder that latitude or climat, here will liue

[1607–9] *A proofe cattell will liue well.*

any beasts, as horses, goats, sheep, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sortes, for transportation or fishing, &c.

The Bay and riuers haue much marchandable fish and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of iron, &c.

[p. 360.] *The commodities.*

Muscovia and *Polonia* doe yearely receaue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, Firres, glasse, and such like; also *Swethland* for iron and copper. *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt; *Spaine* asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets, consumes our chiefe commodities. *Hol[l]and* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres: besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those florishing kingdomes for the benefit of our land, whenas within one hundred miles all those are to bee had, either ready provided by nature, or else to bee prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Only of Copper wee may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that [19] both copper and better munerals are there to be had for their labor. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place a nurse for souldiers, a practise for marriners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore infidels to the true knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.

[1607-9]

The land is not populous, for the men be fewe; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 miles of *Iames* Towne there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarse 1500. To nourish so many together they haue yet no means, because they make so smal a benefit of their land, be it never so fertill.

The numbers.

6 or 700 haue beene the most [that] hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselues to *haue surprised Captaine Smyth* at *Pamavnke*, hauing but 15 to withstand the worst of their furie [*p.* 457]. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discouered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne. The people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed.

700 men were the most were seen together, when they thoght to haue surprised Captaine Smith.

A description of the people. [*p.* 361.]

Some being very great as the *Sesquesahamocks*, others very little as the *Wighcocomocoes*: but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally black; but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long. For Barbers they vse their women, who with 2 shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long.

The[ir] barbers

They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in *Ambuscado* in the Sommer.

The[ir] constitution.

They are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, [**20**] timerous, quicke of apprehension and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all *Savage*. Generally covetous of copper, beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malitious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, least their coniurers should reueale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is

The[ir] disposition

[1607–9] certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to bee suspected of dishonesty without the leaue of their husbands.

The[ir] possessions Each houshold knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and most liue of their owne labours.

Their attire. For their apparell, they are some time couered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in sommer without. The better sort vse large mantels of deare skins not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seen some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and wouen with threeds that nothing [*p.* 362.] could bee discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwaies couered about their midles with a skin and [are] very shamefast to be seene bare.

Their ornaments They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings. Their women some haue their legs, hands, brests and face cunningly imbrodered with diuerse workes, as beasts, serpentes, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hange chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a smal greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke often times familiarly would kiss his lips. Others wear a dead Rat tied by the tail. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird or some large feather, with a Rattell [**21**]. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many haue the whole skinne of a hawke or some strange fowle, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of copper, and some the hand of their enemy dryed. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* braied to powder mixed with oyle; this they hold in somer to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vse,

but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behould. [1607–9]

Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the riuers or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors of small young springs [? *sprigs*] bowed and tyed, and so close covered with mats or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde raine or weather, they are as warme as stooues, but very smoaky; yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire. *Their buildings*

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reedes covered with a mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house, they lie heads and points one by th[e] other against the fire: some covered with mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground; from 6 to 20 in a house. *Their lodgings.*

Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens; which are smal plots of ground, some 20 [*acres p.* 363], some 40, some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. Some times from 2 to 100 of these houses [are] togither, or but a little separated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is [but] little small wood, or old trees on the ground, by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any waie, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. [*p.* 363.] *Their gardens*

Men women and children haue their severall names according to the seuerall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easilie deliuered of childe, yet doe they [**22**] loue children verie dearly. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the riuers, and by painting and ointments so tanne their skins, that after year or two, no weather will hurt them. *How they vse their children.*

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman like exercise; which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters; pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like. *The industry of their women.*

[1607-9] Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaues, or anie such like drie thing that will quickly burne.

How they strike fire.

Their order of diet. In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing, weares; and feed on fish, Turkies and squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fieldes; and liue most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselues in small companies, and liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In Iune, Iulie, and August, they feed vpon the rootes of *Tocknough*, berries, fish, and greene wheat.

It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their diet; euen as the deare and wilde beastes, they seeme fat and leane, strong and weak. *Powhatan* their great king and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

[*p.* 364.] For fishing and hunting and warres they vse much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made, some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone some 2 or 3 inches long. These they vse to shoot at squirrels on trees. An other sort of arrowes they vse, made of reeds. These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters [**23**] of christall or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife, he hath the splinter of a reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will ioint a Deare or any beast; shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow hee hath the tooth of a Beuer set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a hart; and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deare, and the tops of Deares hornes boiled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolue in cold water.

How they make their bowes and arrowes.

Their knifes.

Their Targets and Swords. For their wars also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sworde of wood at their

backs, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deare put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some, a long stone sharpened at both ends vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plenty of the same forme, of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes. [1607-9]

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by bowing [? *burning*] and scratching away the coles with ston[e]s and shels till they haue made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and some will beare 40 men; but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignes. Insteed of oares, they vse paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster then our Barges. *Their boats*

Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin the barks of trees, deare sinews, or a kind of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*; of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many vses, as about their housing, apparell; as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. *How they spin.* [*p.* 365.]

Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nock their arrows, in the forme of a crooked pinne or fishhook; or of the splinter [**24**] of a bone tied to the clift of a litle stick, and with the ende of the line, they tie on the bate. *Their fishhookes.*

They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of *Accawmack* vse staues like vnto Iavelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall weares in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travel, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deare, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the *How they hunt*

[1607-9] mountaines, by the heads of their riuers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers, the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth there which they devoure not. It is a marvel they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 daies iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours couered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, euery man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those quallities, they get their wiues. Forty yards will they shoot leuell, or very neare the mark, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 or 300 together. Hauing found the Deare, they enuiron them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deare being thus feared by the fires and [*p.* 366.] their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrowe point of land, [**25**] when they find that aduantage; and so force them into the riuer, where with their boats they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deare by land, they follow him like blood hounds by the blood and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Pattridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power.

In one of these huntings, they found Captaine *Smith* in the discoverie of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire; where he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

One Savage hunting alone. One Savage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deare slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed; and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and every part as arteficially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne, by stalking he approacheth the Deare, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deare chance to find fault, or stande at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to

seeme like a Deare, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best aduantage to approach, hauing shot him, hee chaseth him by his blood and straine till he get him. [1607-9]

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vsually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers, and their Allies and ancient friends; but chiefely the Priestes determine their resolution. Every *Werowance*, or some lustie fellow, they appoint Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enimies, namely all their westernely Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Russawmeake*; vnto whome the *Mouhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanuggs*, and other nations, pay tribut[e]s.

Their consultations.

Their enimies

Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a [**26**] people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributers the *Tauxsnitanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Outponcas*, the *Tegoneaes*, the *Whonkentyaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinnungas*, and diuerse others; all confederats with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wild beasts and fruits. [*p.* 367.]

Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Savages report, inhabit their most mortall enimies, the *Massawomekes* vpon a great salt water, which by all likelyhood is either some part of *Commada* [*i.e.*, *Canada*], some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those riuers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxuntes*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes*, are continually tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine *Smith* and his company, to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose, they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection.

Massawomekes.

Their offer of subiection.

To which he concluded to effect. But the counsell [*Council*] then present, emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him 40 men to be hazarded in those vnknowne regions; hauing passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie.

[1607-9] Seaven boats full of these *Massawomeks* the discouerers encountred at the head of the *Bay*; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and euery thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts: and their dexteritie in their small boats made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water.

Against all these enimies the *Powhatans* are constained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances*, women and children, they put not to death; but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures [27], they shewed it vs; and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Their manner of battell.

Having painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could deuise, they divided themselues into two Companies, neare a 100 in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. These as enimies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselves 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards; not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles, so as the Reare could shoot as conueniently as the Front.

[*p.* 368.]

Hauing thus pitched the fields; from either part went a Messenger with these conditions: that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape, vpon their submission in 2 daies after, should liue; but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerers.

The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders. On each flanke a Sarieant, and in the Reare an officer for levitenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they vse only in warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes, they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as though so many infernall helhounds could not haue made them more terrible.

When they had spent their arrowes, they ioined together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage, they catched their enimies by the haire of the head; and downe he came that was

taken. His enimie with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish. [1607-9]

The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe moone: they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes*, on whome they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselues among the fresh men, wherevpon the *Powhatans* retired with al speed to their seconds; which the *Monacans* seeing, took that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each [**28**] returned to their owne quarter.

All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the hight of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenes thereof made it seem very delightfull.

Their Musicke

For their musicke they vse a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres, they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them togither till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpion shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane and Trible. These mingled with their voices sometimes 20 or 30 togither, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright then delight any man. [*p.* 369.]

Their entertainment.

If any great commander arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a mat as the Turkes do a carpet, for him to sit vpon. Vpon an other right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this, doe 2. or more of their chiefest men make an oration, testifying their loue. Which they do with such vehemency and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop; and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry or starke mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely; and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocones* and oile, to be his bedfellow.

[1607-9] Their manner of trading is for copper, beades, and such like; for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, fowle, fish, flesh, and their country corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

Their trade.

Their phisicke.

Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuice of a root they call *wighsacan*, and water; whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent maner; so that in 3 or 4 daies after, they scarce [29] recover their former health.

Their chirurgery.

Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure wherof they build a stoue in the form of a douehouse with mats, so close that a fewe coales therein covered with a pot, will make the pacient sweate extreamely. For swellings also they vse smal peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe, they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *wighsacan* they ordinarily heal greene wounds: but to scarrifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers or putrified hurtes are seldome seene cured amongst them.

[*p.* 370.]

Their charmes to cure.

They haue many professed Phisitions, who with their charmes and Rattels, with an infernall rowt of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inwarde griefe from their navels or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceipted, that they beleeued any Plaister would heale any hurt.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in *Virginia* no place discouered to bee so *Savage* in which the *Savages* haue not a religion, Deare, and Bow and Arrowes. All thinges that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinance, peeces, horses, &c.

But their chiefe God they worship is the Diuell. Him they call *Oke* and serue him more of feare than loue. They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples, they haue his image euill favouredly carued, and then painted and adorned with chaines, copper, and beades; and couered with a skin, in such manner as the deformity may well suit with such a God. [1607-9] *Their God.*

By him is commonly the sepulcher of their kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dryed vpon hurdles till they bee verie dry, and so about the most of their iointes and necke they hang bracelets or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, [30] as they vse to weare: their inwards they stuffe with copper beads and couer with a skin, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests. *How they bury their kings.* [*p.* 371.]

For their ordinary burials, they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes; and the corp[s]es being lapped in skins and mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon sticks in the ground, and so couer them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions. *Their ordinary burials.*

In every Territory of a *werowance* is a Temple and a Priest [or] 2 or 3 or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack* at *Pamavnke*, neare vnto which is a house Temple or place of *Powhatans*. *Their Temples.*

Vpon the top of certaine redde sandy hils in the woods, there are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60 foot in length, built arbor wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priestes and kings dare come into them: nor the *Savages* dare not go vp the river in boats by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or

[1607-9] *Pocones*, into the river, for feare their *Oke* should be offended and revenged of them.

Their ornaments for their Priests

In this place commonly is resident 7 Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments: but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at.

The ornaments of the chiefe Priest was certain attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen or 16 or [**31**] more snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse; and of weesels and other vermine skins, a good many. All these [*p.* 372.] they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crown of feathers; the skins hang round about his head necke and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face.

The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise. In their hands, they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller [*i.e.,lighter in sound*]. Their devotion was most in songs which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him: sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences, by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest giue a short groane.

Their times of solemnities.

It could not bee perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other: but only in some great distresse, of want, feare of enimies, times of triumph and gathering togither their fruits, the whole country of men women and children come togither to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it, with rattles and shouts togither, 4 or 5 houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing; he all the while clapping his hands as if he would keepe time. And after their songs and dauncings ended, they goe to their Feasts.

They haue also diuers coniurations. One they made when Captaine *Smith* was their prisoner; (as they reported) to know if any more of his countrymen would ariue there, and what he there intended. The manner of it was thus.

First they made a faire fire in a house. About this fire set 7 Priests setting him by them; and about the fire,

they made a circle of meale. That done, the chiefe Priest attired as is expressed [above], began to shake his rattle; and the rest followed him in his song. At the end of the song, he laid downe 5 or 3 graines of wheat, and so continued counting his songs by the graines, till 3 times they incirculed the fire. Then they divide [**32**] the graines by certaine numbers with little stickes, laying downe at the ende of euery song a little sticke. [1607-9]

In this manner, they sat 8, 10, or 12 houres without cease, with such strange stretching of their armes, and violent passions and gestures as might well seeme strange to him they so coniured; who but euery houre expected his end. Not any meat they did eat till, late in the evening, they had finished this worke: and then they feasted him and themselues with much mirth. But 3 or 4 daies they continued this ceremony.

Their altars.

They haue also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*: but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, other in the woodes and wildernesses. Vpon these, they offer blood, deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. [*p.* 373.]

Sacrifices to the water.

They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the riuers and sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, and such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whome they thinke to be very angry in those stormes.

Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire; which is all the grace they are known to vse.

Their solemne sacrifices of children.

In some part of the Country, they haue yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock*, some 10 miles from *Iames* Towne, and thus performed.

Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene 10 and 15 yeares of age, they painted white. Hauing brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with rattles.

In the afternoone, they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them, all the men stood in a guard, every one

[1607-9] hauing a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This [*these*] made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed 5 young men [33] to fetch these children. So every one of the fiue went through the guard, to fetch a child, each after other by turnes: the guard fearelessly beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receauing all; defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes they pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while, the women weepe and crie out very passionately; prouiding mats, skinnes, mosse, and drie wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals.

After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the tree, branches and boughs, with such violence, that they rent the body, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with the leaues. [*p.* 374.] What else was done with the children was not seene; but they were all cast on a heape in a valley, as dead: where they made a great feast for al the company.

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not al dead, but [only] that the *Oke* or *Divell* did sucke the blood from their left breast [of those], who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead. But the rest were kept in the wildernesse by the yong men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not conuerse with any: and of these, were made their Priests and Coniurers.

This sacrifice they held to bee so necessarie, that if they should omit it, their *Oke* or Divel and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes* (which are their other Gods) would let them haue no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor fish: and yet besides, hee would make great slaughter amongst them.

Their resurrection. They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priestes, which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyound the mountaines towardes the setting of the sun, and euer remaine there in forme of their *Oke*, with their heads painted with oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers; and shal haue beades, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing with all their Predecessors.

But the common people, they suppose [**34**] shall not liue after death. [1607-9]

To diuert them from this blind idolatrie, many vsed their best indeauours, chiefly with the *Werowances* of *Quiyoughcohanock*; whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition much exceeded any in those Countries: who though we could not as yet preuaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeue, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrows; and many times did send to the President, at *Iames* towne, men with presents, intreating them to pray to his God for raine, for his Gods would not send him any.

And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Diuell, not knowing their Creator.

Of the manner of the Virginians governement. [*p.* 375.]

Although the countrie people be very barbarous; yet haue they amongst them such governement, as that their Magistrat[e]s for good commanding, and their people for du[e] subiection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.

The forme of their Common wealth is a monarchicall gouernement. One as Emperour ruleth ouer many kings or governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*.

Some countries he hath, which haue been his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the countrie called *Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuke, Pamavnke, Youghtanu*[*n*]*d*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report haue beene his seuerall conquests.

In all his ancient inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours; some 30, some 40 yardes long; and at euery house, provision for his entertainement, according to the time. At *Werowcomoco*, he was seated vpon the North side of the riuer *Pamavnke*, some 14 miles

[1607-9] from *Iames* Towne; where for the most part, hee was resident, but he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood [**35**], that were able to visit him against his will in 6 or 7 houres, that he retired himself [*in Jan.* 1609, *see p.* 146] to a place in the deserts at the top of the riuer *Chickahamania* betweene *Youghtanund* and *Powhatan*. His habitation there is called *Orapacks*, where he ordinarily now resideth.

A description of Powhatan. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke; his head somwhat gray, his beard so thinne [*p.* 376.] that it seemeth none at al. His age neare 60; of a very *His attendance and watch.* able and hardy body to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the 4 quarters of his house are 4 Sentinels, each standing from other a flight shoot: and at euery halfe houre, one from the Corps du guard doth hollowe; vnto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand. If any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

His treasurie. A mile from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, hee hath a house, in which he keepeth his kind of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beades; which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bowes and arrowes. This house is 50 or 60 yards in length, frequented only by Priestes. At the 4 corners of this house stand 4 Images as Sentinels; one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the 3 like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man: all made euill favordly, according to their best workmanship.

His wiues. He hath as many women as he will: whereof when hee lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet; but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand, and another on his left. As he is wearie of his women, hee bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands.

When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wo[o]den platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them insteed of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe.

His kingdome descendeth [**36**] not to his sonnes nor children: but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*; and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest: and after them to the heires male and female of the eldest sister; but never to the heires of the males. [1607-9] *His successors*

[Neither] He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters wherby to write or read; the only lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth, his will is a law and must bee obeyed: not only as a king, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. *His authority* [*f.* 377.]

His inferiour kings whom they cal *werowances* are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death as their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance* which we call and conster for a king, is a common worde whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but fewe words in their language, and but few occasions to vse anie officers more then one commander, which commonly they call *werowances*.

They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits to fish, fowle, or hunt in: but they hold all of their great *Werowances Powhatan*, vnto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration all these people doe obay this *Powhatan*. For at his feet, they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no maruell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. *The tenor* [tenure] *of their land*

For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then hauing of many fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beates out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enimie or malefactor [**37**], he causeth him to be tied to a tree, and, with muscle shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth of[f] *His maner of punishments.*

[1607–9] his ioints one after another, euer casting what they cut of[f] into the fire; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly, and so burne him with the tree and all.
[*pp.* 98, 395.] Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen.*

Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. Wee haue seene a man kneeling on his knees; and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a s[w]ound, and yet
[*p.* 378.] neuer cry nor complained.

In the yeare 1608, hee surprised the people of *Payankatank*, his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent diverse of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* inuironed al their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoile: 24 men they slewe, the long haire of the one side of their heades with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women and the children and the *Werowance.* All these they present[ed] to *Powhatan.* The *Werowance*, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service.

The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line vnto two trees. And thus he made ostentation as of a great triumph at *Werowocomoco;* shewing them to the English men that then came vnto him, at his appointment: they expecting provision; he, to betray them [? *Captain Smith's visit*, 12 *Jan.* 1609, *see p.* 133] [and] supposed to halfe conquer them, by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthie of note; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia.* Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarse euer 10 miles from *Iames* Town, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a great disgrace that [38] amongst so much

action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, [1607–9] though they never adventured to knowe any thing; nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents: because they found not English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plenty of gold and [p. 379] siluer and dissolute liberty as they expected, [they] had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means to returne for England. For the Country was to them a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell; and their reports here, and their owne actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to pass to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mystery of the businesse in themselues, though they had neither time nor meanes to knowe much of themselues; yet al mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more then al the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the mony, tinne [*time*], and meanes haue still miscaried: yet they ever returning, and the Planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, stil to maintain their vaineglory and estimation, from time to time they haue vsed such diligence as made them passe for truthes, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest liuing is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting verbal [**39**] and idle contemplatours, and those so deuoted to pure idlenesse that though they had lived two or three yeares in *Virginia* lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *Iames* Towne; and those wittie spirits, what would they not affirme in

[1607-9] the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in *England* to get their passes?

Thus from the clamors and the ignorance of false informers are sprung those disasters that spring in *Virginia*; and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of 30 of the best only, preserued in Chris-
[p. 380.] tianitie, by their industrie, the idle livers of neare 200 of the rest: who liued neer 10 months of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded.

Notwithstanding all this, and the worst furie of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but 7 or 8 men: yet subiected the Savages to our desired obedience, and receaued contribution from 35 of their kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assalt them; in which order they continued true and faithful, and as subjects to his Maiestie, so long after as I did gouern there, vntill I left the Country:

Since, how they haue revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted; and [how] the businesses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue bin more diligent in such observations.

FINIS.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIE IN Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, *till this present* 1612, *with all their accidents that befell them in their Iournies and Discoveries.*

Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations of the Bordering neighbours, and how they became subiect to the English.

Unfolding even the fundamentall causes from whence haue sprang so many miseries to the vndertakers, and scandals to the businesse: taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter Russell Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniell Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, Tho: Hope, Rich: Pots and the labours of divers other diligent observers, that were residents in Virginia.

And pervsed and confirmed by diverse now resident in England that were actors in this busines.

By W. S.

AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

[T. ABBAY states, on the opposite page, respecting this second Part,

Neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, *since passing the hands of many to pervse, chancing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale; nor in conscience, but approve.*

This Part is therefore the Vindication or Manifesto of the thirty or forty Gentlemen and Soldiers, who, under SMITH, saved the Colony *pp.* 155, 472, 930. So far therefore, it is an *ex parte* statement: but we have taken the edge off that objection, by printing at *pp.* xxxiii–cxiv of the Introduction all the documents, written by the other side that perished, which we could readily find. It will be seen that these introductory pieces illuminate and illustrate, rather than contradict, what follows.

This second Part of the *Map of Virginia*, compiled, and perhaps added to, by RICHARD POTS, *p.* 169; tested and revised by the Rev. WILLIAM SIMMONDS, D.D., *p.* 174; and published by T. ABBAY; is a condensed summary of the sayings and writings of the following seven Virginian Colonists:

GENTLEMEN.

Original Planters, 1607.

NATHANIEL POWELL (killed in the Massacre, 22 March 1622, *pp.* 575, 583), *pp.* 93, 120.

THOMAS STUDLEY, Cape Merchant or Colonial Storekeeper (who died 28 August 1607, *p.* lxxii), *pp.* 93, 99, 107.

First Supply, 1608.

WILLIAM PHETTIPLACE, *pp.* 107, 148, 169, 185.

Dr. WALTER RUSSELL, *pp.* 108, 115.

RICHARD WIFFIN, *pp.* 108, 148, 185.

Second Supply, 1609.

THOMAS ABBAY, *pp.* 42, 88, 129, 445.

SOLDIER.

Original Planter, 1607.

ANAS TODKILL, *pp.* 94, 107, 115, 120, 148.

In the revision of this text in the *General History*, Lib. 3, in 1624; the testimonies of eight other Gentlemen were incorporated (not *invented* as some would think), for which see *p.* 384.

It is to be especially noted that, while he would endorse it all, Captain SMITH is not named as an author of *any portion* of this Second Part, either in the title in the previous page or in the text itself: therefore no allusion to the POCAHONTAS deliverance should be expected in it; and there is none.]

TO THE READER.

LOng hath the world longed, but to be truely satisfied what Virginia is, with the truth of those proceedings, from whence hath flowne so manie reports of worth, and yet few good effects of the charge, which hath caused suspition in many well willers that desire yet but to be truely satisfied therein. If any can resolue this doubt it is those that haue lived residents in the land: not sa[i]lers, or passengers, nor such mercinary contemplators, that only bedeck themselues with others plumes. This discourse is not from such, neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, since passing the hands of many to pervse, chancing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale; nor in conscience, but approue. By the advise of many graue and vnderstanding gentlemen, that haue pressed it to the presse, it was thought fit to publish it, rather in it[s] owne rude phrase then other waies. For that nothing can so purge that famous action from the infamous scandal some ignorantly haue conceited, as the plaine simple and naked truth. For defect whereof the businesse is still suspected, the [1612]

[1612] *truth vnknowne, and the best deservers discouraged, and neglected, some by false reports, others by coniecture, and such power hath flattry to ingender of those, hatred and affection, that one is sufficient to beguile more then* 500 *can keepe from being deceiued.*

But this discourse is no Iudge of mens manners, nor catalogue of their former courses; only a reporter of their actions in Virginia, not to disgrace any, accuse any, excuse any, nor flatter any; for which cause there is no wrong done but this, shortnesse in complaining, and so sparing in commending as only the reader may perceiue the truth for his paines, and the action purged of foule slander; it can detract from none that intendeth there to adventure their fortunes; and to speake truly of the first planters, that brake the yce and beate the path, howsoeuer many difficulties obscured their inde[a]*vours, he were worse then the worst of Ingrates, that would not spare them* [their] *memory that haue buried themselues in those forrain regions. From whose first adventures may spring more good blessings then are yet conceiued. So I rest thine, that will read, pervse, and vnderstand me. If you finde false orthography or broken English, they are small faultes in souldiers, that not being able to write learnedly, onlie striue to speake truely, and be vnderstood without an Interpreter.*

T. Abbay.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writings of *Thomas Studly*, Cape-marchant, *Anas Todkill*, Doctor *Russell*, *Nathaniell Powell*, *William Phetiplace*, and *Richard Pot*[s], with the laboures of other discreet observers, during their residences.

CHAPTER I.

IT might wel be thought, a countrie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memorie of those that affected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the businesse hath beene carried, where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, howe it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings. [1606-7] [f. 385.]

The first mouer of the action

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, the first mover of this plantation, hauing many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Maister *Edward maria Wingfield*, Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and diverse others, who depended a

[1606-7] yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till
[*p.* 386.] by their great charge and industrie it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, [**2**] Gentrie, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patent, gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here, and to governe and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare; and by that time, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tonns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised
Orders for government. for the westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for gouernement were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arived in *Virginia*.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set saile, but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of
[*pp.* 93, 99, 103, 386, 389, 402, 407.] England; all which time, *Maister Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but 10 or 12 miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormie weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him; all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines; but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse: so many discontents did then arise; had he not, with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention. [**3**]

Wee watred at the Canaries; wee traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selu[e]s amongst these west-India Iles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boiled porck as well
Monica an vnfrequented Ile full of birds. as over the fire. And at the little Ile called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare 2 hogsheads full of birds in 3 or 4 houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, where with a lothsome beast like a Crocadil, called a Gwayn [*Iguana*], Tortoses, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had three daies passed their reckoning, and found no land; so that Captaine *Ratcliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God, the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extream[e] storme to hul[l] all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired port, beyond all their expectations: for never any of them had seene that coast. [1607] [*p.* 387.]

The first land they made, they called *Cape Henry*; where anchoring, *Maister Wingfield, Gosnoll*, and *Newport*, with 30 others, recreating themselues on shore, were assalted by 5 Salvages; who hurt 2 of the English very dangerously. *Their first landing.* [*pp.* 5, 387.]

That night [26 *April* 1607], was the box opened, and the orders read: in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, Iohn Smith, Iohn Rat*[c]*liffe, Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to bee the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jurie, [4] but determined by the major part of the Councell in which the Precedent had 2 voices. *Matters of gouernmen*[t]

Vntill the 13 of May, they sought a place to plant in: then the Councell was sworne, Maister *Wingfield* was chosen Precident, and an oration made, whie Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest [*p.* 6.]

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships; some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Precidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*.

Newport, with *Smith*, and 20 others, were sent to discover the head of the river. By divers smal habitations they passed. In 6 daies they arrived [*the writer of this passage was evidently not in this expedition; and is therefore probably T. Studley*] at a towne called *Powhatan*, consisting [*p.* 6.] *The discouery of the Falles and Powhatan.*

[1607] of some 12 houses pleasantly seated on a hill: before it, 3 fertil[e] Iles, about it many of their cornefields. The place is very pleasant, and strong by nature. Of this place, the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*.

[*p.* 388.] To this place, the riuer is navigable; but higher within a mile, by reason of the Rockes and Iles, there is not passage for a smal boate: this they call the Falles. The people in al parts kindly intreated them, til being returned within 20 miles of *Iames* towne, they gave iust cause of iealousie. But had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation. For at the fort, where they arived the next day, [**5**] they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages. And had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the ships strooke down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slaine; being securely all at worke, and their armes in drie fats.

The Fort assalted by the Salvages.

[*p.* 7.]

[*p.* 8.] Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the ordinance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults and Ambuscadoes of the Salvages; and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped.

What toile wee had, with so smal a power to guard our workmen adaies, watch al night, resist our enimies and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corne, &c., I referre to the readers consideration.

Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships.

Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries, was restrained [24 *Mar. p.* lvii] as a prisoner, vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute); who fained he intended to vsurpe the governement, murder the Councell, and make himselfe king; that his confederat[e]s were dispearsed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederat[e]s that revealed it, would affirme it: for this he was committed.

13 weekes he remained thus suspected; and by that time the ships should returne, they pretended, out of their

commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in England, to receaue a [**6**] check; rather then by particulating his designes, make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrowe his reputation. [1607] [*p.* 389.]

But he much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie. Hee wisely prevented their pollicies, though he could not suppresse their envies: yet so wel he demeaned himselfe in this busines, as all the company did see his innocencie, and his adversaries malice; and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation. Many vntruthes were alleaged against him; but being so apparently disproved begat a generall hatred in the h[e]arts of the company against such vniust commanders.

Many were the mischiefes that daily sprong from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Maister *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councell [20 *June*]. [*pp.* 90, 99, 103, 386, 407.]

The next day all receaved the Communion: the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for England with newes; leaving in *Virginia*, 100. the 15 [*or rather* 22] of Iune 1607. *Captaine Newports returne for England.* [*p.* 8.]

The names of them that were the first planters, *were these following.*

Maister Edward Maria Wingfield.
Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll.*
Captaine *Iohn Smyth.*
Captaine *Iohn Rat[c]liffe.*
Captaine *Iohn Martin.*
Captaine *George Kendall.*
} Councell. [**7**]

Maister Robert Hunt Preacher.

Maister George Percie.
Anthony Gosnoll.
Captaine *Gabriell Archer.*
} Gent.

Robert Ford.
William Bruster.
Dru[e] Pickhouse.
Iohn Brookes.
Thomas Sands.
Iohn Robinson.
Vstis Clovill.
Kellam Throgmorton.
Nathaniell Powell.
Robert Behethland.
Ieremy Alicock.
Thomas Studley.
Richard Crofts.
} Gent. [*p.* 390.]

[1607]

Nicholas Houlgraue.
Thomas Webbe:
Iohn Waler.
William Tankard.
Francis Snarsbrough.
[p. lx.] *Edward Brookes.*
Richard Dixon.
Iohn Martin.
George Martin.
Anthony Gosnold.
Thomas Wotton, Sierg.
Thomas Gore.
Francis Midwinter.

Gent. [8]

William Laxon.
Edward Pising.
Thomas Emry.
Robert Small.

Carpenters.

Anas Todkill.
Iohn Capper.
Iames Read, Blacksmith.
Ionas Profit, Sailer.
Thomas Couper, Barber.

Iohn Herd, Bricklayer.
William Garret, Bricklayer.
Edward Brinto, Mason.
William Loue, Taylor.
Nicholas Skot, Drum[mer].

Iohn Laydon.
William Cassen.
George Cassen.
Thomas Cassen.
William Rods.
William White.
Ould Edward.
Henry Tauin.
George Golding.
Iohn Dods.
William Iohnson.
William Vnger.

Labourers.

William Wilkinson, Surgeon.

Samuell Collier.
Nathaniel Pecock.
Iames Brumfield.
Richard Mutton.

Boyes.

with diverse others, to the number of 105. [9]

[p. 391.]

CHAPTER II.

What happened till the first supply.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that, within tenne daies, scarse ten amongst vs coulde either goe, or well stand; such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed vs. And thereat none need mervaile, if they consider the cause and reason; which was this.

Whilest the ships staied, our allowance was somewhat

bettered by a daily proportion of bisket which the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue, or exchange with vs, for mon[e]y, saxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of rel[e]ife but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkeness, we might haue bin canonized for Saints. But our President would never haue bin admitted, for ingrossing to his privat [*i.e., his own use*], Otemeale, sacke, oile, aquavitæ, beefe, eg[g]s, or what not, but the kettel; that indeede he allowed equally to be distributed: and that was halfe a pinte of wheat, and as much barly, boyled with water, for a man a day; and this having fryed some 26. weeks in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines, so that we might truely call it rather so much bran than corne. Our drinke was water; our lodgings, castles in the air [*i.e., in the trees*]. [1607] *The sailers abuses.*

With this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised [**10**] vs, and our continuall labour in the extremity of the heate had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue country, or any other place in the world.

From May to September, those that escaped lived vpon Sturgion and sea-Crabs.

50. in this time we buried.

The rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnas by flight (who all this time, had neither felt want nor sicknes), [this] so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him [10 *Sept.* 1607]; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place: *Gosnoll* being dead [22 *Aug.* 1607], [and] *Kendall* deposed[? *Sept.* 1607]. *Smith* newly recovered; *Martin* and *Rat[c]liffe* was, by his care, preserved and relieued. *A bad Precident.* *p.* 8.] [*p.* 392.]

But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God, the patron of all good indeavours, in that desperate extreamity, so changed the harts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits and provision, as no man wanted. *Plentie vnexpected.*

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councel to send forth men so badly prouided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill

[1607] advised to nourish such il conceipts. First, the fault of our going was our owne. What could bee thought fitting or necessary wee had: but what wee should finde, what we should want, where we shoulde be, we were all ignorant [of]. And supposing to make our passage in two monthes, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke: we weare at sea 5. monthes, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunity of the time and season to plant. [**11**]

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties: but nothing [is] so difficult as to establish a common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes; and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither do well themselues, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

[*p.* 9.] The new President, and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers and lesse industry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad [*i.e.*, *out of doors*] to captaine *Smith*: who, by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch; some to build houses, others to thatch them; himselfe alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his own share: so that, in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe.

The building of Iames Towne.

This done, seeing the Salvages superfluity beginne to decrease, [he] (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the shallop, to search the country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailers, the want of a sufficient power [*forces*] (knowing the multitude of the Saluages), [of] apparell for his men, and [of] other necessaries; [these] were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement.

[*p.* 393]

Being but 6 or 7 in company, he went down the riuer to *Kecoughtan*; where at first they scorned him, as a starved man: yet he so dealt with them, that the next day they loaded his boat with corne. And in his returne, he discouered and kindly traded with the *Weraskoyks*.

The beginning of trade abroad.

[*p.* 9.]

[*p.* 10.]

In the meane time, those at the fort so glutted the Saluages with their commodities, as they became not regarded. [**12**]

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth, the company being well recovered, caused the Pinas to bee provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following. But in the interim, he made 3. or 4. iournies, and discovered the people of *Chickahamine*. Yet what he carefully provided, the rest careles[s]ly spent. [1607] [*p.* 394.]

The discoverie of Chickahamine.

Wingfield and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, (seeing al things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small loue to *Martins* never-mending sicknes) strengthened themselues with the sailers and other confederates, to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes abord the Pinas (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade), to alter her course, and to go for England.

Smith vnexpectedly returning [? *Nov.* 1607], had the plot discovered to him. Much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of fauken [*falcon balls*] and musket shot, he forced them [*i.e.*, *by threats*] [to] stay or sinke in the riuer Which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall* [*who was shot after trial, see p.* 13].

These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten: yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders.

The President and captaine Archer not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country; which proiect also was curbed and suppressed by *Smith*. [*p.* 10.]

Another proiect to abandon the Country.

The Spanyard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall: which he found so plentiful in the riuer of *Chickahamine*, where hundreds of Salvages, in diuers places, stood with baskets expecting his coming. [**13**]

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins; fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England.

But our comædies never endured long without a [*p.* 395.]

[1607-8] Tragedie. Some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discovering the head of *Chickahamine* river; and taxed by the Councell, to bee too slow in so worthie an attempt: the next voyage, hee proceeded so farre that with much labour, by cutting of trees in sunder, he made his passage.

But when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay, out of danger of shot; commanding none should goe ashore till his returne. [He] himselfe, with 2
[*f.* 14.] English and two Salvages, went vp higher in a Canowe.

But hee was not long absent, but his men went ashore; whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages, to surprise one *George Casson*; and much failed not to haue cut of[f] the boat and all the rest.
[*f.* 15.] *Smith* little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, 20 myles in the desert, had his 2 men slaine, (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall. Who finding he was beset with 200 Salvages, 2 of them hee slew; stil defending himselfe with the aid of a Salvage his guid[e], whome hee bounde to his arme and vsed as his buckler: till at last slipping into a bogmire, they tooke him prisoner.

When this newes came to the fort, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting [**14**] what ensued.

A month those Barbarians kept him prisoner. Many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him: yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the Fort; but procure his owne liberty, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired [*wondered at*] him as a demi-God.

The 3. proiect to abandon the fort

So returning safe to the Fort [*on 8 Jan.* 1608], [he] once more staied the Pinnas her flight for England; which, til his returne, could not set saile, so extreame was the
[*f.* 22.] weather, and so great the frost.

His relation of the plentie he had seene, especially at
[*f.* 402.] *Werowocomoco*, where inhabited *Powhatan* (that till that time was vnknowne [*i.e., personally*]), so revived againe their dead spirits as all mens feare was abandoned.

Powhatan having sent with this Captaine, divers of his

men loaded with provision; he had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie messengers to bring but 2 or 3 of our great ordenances: but the messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes was vsed with guifts to assure them [of] our loues. [1608]

Thus you may see what difficulties stil crossed any good indeavour, and the good successe of the businesse; and being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction, yet you see by what strange meanes God hath still delivered it.

As for the insufficiencie of them admitted in commission, that errour could not be prevented by their electors; there being no other choice, and all were strangers each to others education, quallities, or disposition.

A true proofe of Gods loue to the action.

And if any deeme it a shame to our nation, to haue any mention made of these enormities [**15**], let them pervse the histories of the Spanish discoveries and plantations: where they may see how many mutinies, discords, and dissentions haue accompanied them and crossed their attempts; which being knowne to be particular mens offences, doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, [that] mallice and ignorance might else produce to the scandall and reproach of those whose actions and valiant resolution deserue a worthie respect.

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith* to haue concluded with any of their severall proiects to haue abandoned the Countrie with some 10 or 12 of them [that] we cal the better sort; to haue left Maister *Hunt* our preacher, Maister *Anthony Gosnoll* (a most honest worthy and industrious gentleman) with some 30 or 40 others, his countrie men, to the furie of the Salvages, famin, and all manner of mischiefes and inconveniences; or starved himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging; or but adventuring abroad to make them provision: or by his opposition, to preserue the action, and saue all their liues; I leaue to the censure of others to consider.

[*pp.* 90, 93, 103, 386, 389, 402, 407.]

Of two evils the lesser was chosen

Thomas Studley.

[p. 403.]

CHAPTER III.

The arrivall of the first supply with their proceedings and returne. [16]

[1603] ALl this time, our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrie, but the Treasurer and Councell in England were as diligent and carefull to supplie vs. Two tall ships they sent vs, with neere 100 men, well furnished with all things [that] could be imagined necessarie, both for them and vs. The one commanded by Captaine *Newport*. The other, by Captaine *Nelson*, an honest man and an expert marriner: but such was the leewardnesse of his ship, that (though he were within sight of *Cape Henry*) [he], by stormy contrarie windes, was forced so farre to sea as the West Indies was the next land [he made], for for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water.

The Pheuix from Cape henry, forced to the west Indies.

But Captaine *Newport* got in, and ar[r]ived at *Iames* towne [8 *Jan.* 1608], not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith*; to whome the Salvages, every other day, brought such plentie of bread, fish, turkies, squirrels, deare, and other wild beasts: part they gaue him as presents from the king; the rest, hee as their market clarke, set the price how they should sell. So he had inchanted those pore soules (being their prisoner) in demonstrating vnto them the roundnesse of the world, the course of the moone and starres, the cause of the day and night, the largenes of the seas, the quallities of our ships shot and powder, the devision of the world, with the diversity of the people, their complexions customes and conditions. All which hee fained to be vnder the command of Captaine *Newport*, whom he tearmed to them his father; of whose arrival [17] it chanced he so directly prophecied, as they esteemed him an oracle.

[p. 23.]

How Capt. Smith got his liberty.

By these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, [that] he might command them what his listed. That God that created al these things, they knew he adored for his God; whom they would also tearme in their discourses, the God of captaine *Smith*. [1608]

Their opinion of our God

The President and Councel so much envied his estimation amongst the Salvages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good therof) that they wrought it into their vnderstandings, by their great bounty in giuing 4. times more for their commodities then he appointed, that their greatnesse and authority as much exceed[ed] his, as their bounty and liberality. [*P.* 404.]

Now the arrivall of [t]his first supply so overioyed vs, that we could not devise too much to please the mariners. We gaue them liberty to track [*truck*] or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time, it followed [that] that could not be had for a pound of copper, which before was sold for an ounce. Thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of *Newports* greatnes; wherewith *Smith* had possessed *Powhatan*: especially by the great presents *Newport* often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinas to go and visit him. So that this Salvage also desired to see him. [*P.* 23.]

A great bruit there was to set him forwarde [*Feb.* 1608]. When he went, he was accompanied with captaine *Smith* and *Maister Scrivener* (a very wise vnderstanding gentleman newly arrived, and admitted of the Councell), and 30. or 40. chosen men for that guarde.

Smiths revisiting Powhatan

Arriving at *Werowocomo*[*co*], *Newports* conceipt of this great Salvage bred [**18**] many doubts and suspitions of treacheries. Which *Smith*, to make appeare was needlesse, with 20. men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter (with that number) the worst that could happen. The[i]re names were [*P.* 24.]

Nathaniell Powell.	*Iohn Taverner.*
Robert Beheathland.	*William Dier.*
William Phettiplace.	*Thomas Coe.*
Richard Wyffin.	*Thomas Hope.*
Anthony Gosnoll.	*Anas Todkell.*

with 10. others whose names I [*evidently Todkill*] haue forgotten. [*P.* 405.]

[1608] These being kindly receiued a shore; with 2. or 300. Salvages were conducted to their towne. *Powhatan* strained himselfe to the vttermost of his greatnes, to entertain vs, with great shouts of Ioy, orations of protestations, and the most plenty of victuall hee could prouide to feast vs.

Powhatans first entertainement of our men.

Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbroydred (after their rude manner) with pearle and white beades, his attire a faire Robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle, at his head and [at his] feet a handsome young woman: on each side [of] his house sate 20. of his concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about their necks; before those, sate his chiefest men, in like order, in his arbor-like house.

[*p.* 25]. With many pretty discourses to renue their olde acquaintaunce; the great kinge and our captaine spent the time till the ebbe left our Barge a [**19**] ground: then renuing their feasts and mirth, we quartred that night with *Powhatan*:

[*p.* 27.] The next day *Newport* came a shore, and receiued as much content as those people could giue him. A boy named *Thomas Savage* was then giuen vnto *Powhatan*, who[m] *Newport* called his son: for whom *Powhatan* gaue him *Namontacke* his trusty servant, and one of a shrewd subtill capacity.

The exchange of a Christian for a Salvage.

[*p.* 406.] 3. or 4. daies were spent in feasting, dancing, and trading; wherin *Powhatan* carried himselfe so prowdly, yet discreetly (in his Salvage manner), as made vs all admire his natural gifts, considering his education.

[*p.* 27.] As scorning to trade as his subiects did, he bespake *Newport* in this manner.

Powhatans speech.

> Captain *Newport* it is not agreable with my greatnes in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you a great *werowans*. Therefore lay me down all your commodities togither, what I like I will take; and in recompence giue you that I thinke fitting their value.

Captaine *Smith* being our interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his father, knowing best the disposition of *Powhatan*, told vs his intent was but to cheat vs; yet captaine *Newport* thought to out-braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatnes, and so to bewitch him with his bounty, as to haue

what he listed: but so it chanced, *Powhatan* having his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, as I [? *A. Todkill*] thinke it [were] better cheape in *Spaine*; for we had not 4. bushels for that we expected 20. hogsheads [for]. [1608]

This bred some vnkindnes betweene our two captaines, *Newport* seeking to please the humor of the vnsatiable Salvage, *Smith* to cause the Salvage to please him: but smothering his distast[e] to avoide the [**20**] Salvages suspition, [he] glaunced in the eies of *Powhatan* many Trifles; who fixed his humour vpon a few blew beads. A long time he importunat[e]ly desired them, but *Smith* seemed so much the more to affect them: so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beads, he brought over my king for 2 or 300 bushels of corne; yet parted good friends. *Difference of opinions.* [*p.* 28.]

The like entertainement we found of *Opechanchynough*, king of *Pamaunke*; whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads: and so we returned to the fort [*on* 9 *March* 1608]. [*p.* 31.]

Where this New Supply being lodged with the rest, [had] accidently fired the quarters, and so the Towne [*about* 14 *Jan.* 1608]; which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their pallizadoes (though 10. to 12 yardes distant), with their armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision. Good *Maister Hunt* our preacher, lost all his library, and al that he had but the cloathes on his backe, yet [did] none ever see him repine at his losse. This hapned in the winter, in that extreame frost 1607[-8]. *Iames towne burnt.* [*p.* 407.] [*pp.* 90, 93, 103, 386, 389, 402, 407.]

Now though we had victuall sufficient, I meane only of Oatmeale, meale, and corne: yet the ship staying there 14. weeks (when shee might as well haue been gone in 14. daies), spent the beefe, porke, oile, aquavitæ, fish, butter and cheese, beere, and such like, as was provided to be landed [for] vs. *A ship idly loitring 14 weeks.*

When they departed, what their discretion could spare vs, to make a feast or two with bisket, pork, beefe, fish, and oile, to relish our mouths; of each somewhat they left vs: yet I [? *A. Todkill*] must confess those that had either mony, spare clothes, credit to giue bils of payment, gold rings, furres, or any such commodities, were ever welcome to this

[1608] removing taverne. Such was [**21**] our patience to obay such vile commanders [i.e., *the President Ratcliffe and the majority of the Council*], and buy our owne provision at 15 times the valew; suffering them [to] feast, we bearing the charge; yet must [we] not repine, but fast; and then leakage, ship-rats and other casualties occasioned the losse. But the vessell and remnants (for totals), we were glad to receiue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their providence for preserving that.

For all this plentie, our ordinarie was but meale and water; so that this great charge little relieved our wants: whereby, with the extreamity of the bitter cold aire, more then halfe of vs died, and [*or*] tooke our deathes, in that piercing winter.

I cannot deny but both *Skrivener* and *Smith* did their best to amend what was amisse: but with the President went the major part [*the majority of the Council*], that their hornes were too short.

The effect of meere verbalists. [*p.* 408.]

But the worst mischiefe was our gilded refiners, with their golden promises, made all men their slaues in hope of recompence. There was no talke, no hope, nor worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold. Such a bru[i]te of gold, as one mad fellow [*a wag*] desired to bee buried in the sandes, least they should by their art make gold of his bones. Little need there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, their wages run on, our victuall consume 14 weekes, that the Marriners might say, they built such a golden Church, that we can say, the raine washed neare to nothing in 14 daies.

A needles charge

Were it that Captaine *Smith* would not applaud all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trials, nor golden consultations I knowe not: but I [? *Anas Todkill, see p.* 107] heard him question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he would shew [**22**] him a more substantiall triall, hee was not inamored with their durtie skill. Breathing out these and many other passions, never any thing did more torment him, than to see all necessarie businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded durt.

Till then wee never accounted Captaine *Newport* a refiner. Who being fit to set saile for England, and wee not having any vse of Parliaments, plaies, petitions,

admirals, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea, nor Iustices of peace, sent Maister *Wingfield*, and Captaine *Archer* with him, for England, to seeke some place of better imploiment. [1608]

A returne to England.

CHAPTER IV.

The ar[r]ival of the Phœnix, her returne, and other accidents.

THE authoritie nowe consisting in refining Captaine *Martin* and the still sickly President: the sale of stores [and] commodities maintained their estates as inheritable revenews.

The spring approching, and the ship departed, Maister *Skriuener* and Captaine *Smith* divided betwixt them, the rebuilding our towne, the repairing our pallisadoes, the cutting downe trees, preparing our fields, planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and re-cover our store-house. *The repairing of Iames towne.* [*p.* 409.]

Al men thus busie at their severall labours, Maister *Nelson* arived [*on* 20 *April* 1608] with his lost Phœnix, (lost I say, for that al men deemed him lost), landing safely his men. [*p.* 33, 34.]

So well hee had mannaged his ill hap, causing the Indian Iles to feed his company, [**23**] that his victuall ([added] to that was left vs before) was sufficient for halfe a yeare. He had nothing but he freely imparted it; which honest dealing (being a marriner) caused vs [to] admire him. Wee would not haue wished so much as he did for vs.

Nowe to relade this ship with some good tidings, the President (yet not withstanding [*it not standing*] with his dignitie to leaue the fort), gaue order to Captaine *Smith* and Maister *Skriuener*, to discover and search the commodities of *Monacans* countrie beyound the Falles. 60 able men was allotted their number, the which, within 6 daies exercise, *Smith* had so well trained to their armes and [*p.* 34.]

60 appointed to discover Monacan.

[1608] orders, that they little feared with whome they should encounter. Yet so vnseasonable was the time, and so opposite was Captain *Martin* to every thing but only to fraught to [t]his ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine *Smith* rather desired to relade her with Cedar, which was a present dispatch, than either with durt, or the reports of an vncertaine discoverie.

An ill example to sell swords to Salvages. [*p.* 31.]

Whilst their conclusion was resolving, this hapned. *Powhatan* to expresse his loue to *Newport*, when he departed, presented him with 20 Turkies, conditionally to returne him 20 Swords: which immediately were sent him.

[*p.* 410.]

Now after his departure, hee presented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage; but not finding his humour obaied, in sending him weapons, he caused his people with 20.

Powhatans tricherie.

devises to obtain them. At last, by ambuscadoes at our very ports, they would take them per force, surprise vs at work or any way: which was so long permitted that they became so insolent, there was no rule. The command from England was so straight not [**24**] to offend them, as

The gouernors weaknesse.

our authority bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then peace breakers.

[*pp.* 35–39.]

This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chaunced they medled with captaine *Smith*: who, without farther deliberation, gaue them such an incounter, as some he so

Smiths attempt to suppresse the Salvage insolencies.

hunted vp and downe the Ile, some he so terrified with whipping beating and imprisonment; as for revenge, they surprised two of his forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our ports to force *Smith* to redeliver 7 Salvages which for their villanies he detained prisoners. But to try their furies, in lesse then halfe an houre, he so hampered their insolencies, that they brought the 2. prisoners, desiring peace without any farther composition for their prisoners: who being threatned and examined their intents, and [the] plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by *Powhatan*, to obtaine [for] him, our owne weapons, to cut our own throats; with the manner how, where, and when, which wee plainely found most rue and apparant.

Powhatans excuses.

Yet he sent [*May* 1608] his messengers and his dearest

Daughter *Pocahuntas* to excuse him of the iniuries done by his subiects; desiring their liberties, with the assuraunce of his loue. [1608] [*p.* 38.]

After *Smith* had giuen the prisoners what correction hee thought fit; [he] vsed them well a day or two after, and then deliuered them [to] *Pocahuntas*: for whose sake only, he fained to saue their liues and graunt them liberty. [*p.* 39.]

The patient Councel, that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with captaine *Smith* for his cruelty; yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge: but it brought them in such feare and [**25**] obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them. [*p.* 411.]

A ship fraught with Cedar.

The fraught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar; by the diligence of the Master, and captaine *Smith*, shee was quickly reladed: *Maister Scrivener* was neither Idle nor slow, to follow all things at the fort.

The ship falling to the Cedar Ile, captaine *Martin* having made shift to be sicke neare a yeare; and [there being] now neither pepper, suger, cloues, mace, nor nugmets [*nutmegs*], ginger, nor sweet meates in the country: (to enioy the credit of his supposed art) at his earnest request, [he] was most willingly admitted to returne for England.

The aduentures of Captaine Martin.

Yet having beene there but a yeare, and not past halfe a year since the ague left him; that he might say somewhat he had seene, hee went twice by water to *Paspahegh* [*p.* 11], a place neere 7. miles from *Iames* towne: but lest the dew should distemper him, was ever forced to returne before night. Thus much I [*evidently Anas Todkill*] thought fit to expresse; he expresly commanding me to record his iournies: I being his man, and he sometimes my master

Thomas Studly, Anas Todkill.

Their names that were landed in this supply:

Matthew Scriviner, appointed to be of the Councell.

Michaell Phetyplace. } Gent.
William Phetyplace. }

Ralfe Morton. } Gent.
William Cantrill. }

[1608] *Richard Wyffin.*
Robert Barnes.
George Hill. [26]
George Pretty.
Iohn Taverner.
Robert Cutler.
Michaell Sickelmore.
Thomas Coo.
Peter Pory.
Richard Killingbeck.
William Causey.
[*p.* 412.] *Doctor Russell.*
Richard Worley.
Richard Prodger.
William Bayley.
Richard Molynex.
Richard Pots.
Iefry Abots.
Iohn Harper.
Timothy Leds.
Edward Gurganay.
George Forest.
Iohn Nickoles.
William Gryvill.
} Gent.

Daniel Stalling, Iueller.
William Dawson, Refiner.
Abraham Ransacke, Refiner.
William Iohnson, Goldsmith.
Peter Keffer, a Gunner.
Robert Alberton, a Perfumer.
Richard Belfield, Goldsmith.
[27]
Ramon Goodyson.
Iohn Speareman.
William Spence.
Richard Brislow.
William Simons.
} Labourers.

Iohn Bouth.
William Burket.
Nicholas Ven.
William Perce.
Francis Perkins.
Francis Perkins.
William Bentley.
Richard Gradon.
Rowland Nelstrop.
Richard Salvage.
Thomas Salvage.
Richard Miler.
William May.
Vere.
Michaell.
Bishop Wyles.
} Labourers.

Iohn Powell.
Thomas Hope.
William Beckwith.
William Yonge.
Lawrence Towtales.
William Ward.
} Tailers.

Christopher Rodes.
Iames Watkings.
Richard Fetherstone.
Iames Burne. [28]

Thomas Feld.
Iohn Harford.
} Apothecaries.
Post Gittnat, a C[hir]urgion.
Iohn Lewes, a Couper.
Robert Cotten, a Tobaco-pipe-maker.
Richard Dole, a blacke Smith
and divers others, to the number of 120.

CHAPTER V.

The accidents that happened in the Discoverie of the bay.

THe prodigality of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store, that *Smith* and *Scrivener* had a while tyed both *Martin* and him to the rules of proportion: but now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authorite so overswayed *Maister Scriveners* discretion, as our store, our time, our strength and labours, was idlely consumed to fulfill his phantasies. [1608]

The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the fort, to performe his discoverie; with this company.

Walter Russell Doctour of Physicke. [*p.* 413.]

Gent. [29]: *Ralph Morton.*, *Thomas Momford.*, *William Cantrill.*, *Richard Fetherstone.*, *Iames Bourne.*, *Michael Sicklemore.*

Sould.: *Anas Todkill.*, *Robert Small.*, *Iames VVatkins.*, *Iohn Powell.*

Iames Read, blacke smith.
Richard Keale, fishmonger.
Ionas Profit, fisher.

These being in an open barge of two tunnes burden.

Leaving the Phenix at Cape-Henry, we crossed the bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Iles called *Smiths* Iles.

The first people we saw were 2. grimme and stout Salvages vpon Cape-Charles, with long poles like Iavelings, headed with bone. They boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Acawmacke*, the habitation of the *Werowans*, where we were kindly intreated. *Cape Charles.* *Acawmacke.*

[1608] This king was the com[e]liest proper civill Salvage wee incountred. His country is a pleasant fertill clay-soile. Hee tolde vs of a straunge accident lately happened [to] him, and it was. Two deade children, by the extreame passions of their parents, or some dreaming visions, phantasie, or affection [which] moued them againe to revisit their dead carkases: whose benummed bodies reflected to the eies of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vital spirits. This, as a miracle, drew many to behold them: all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped.

A strange mortalitie of Saluages.

They spake the language of *Powhatan* wherein they made such descriptions of the bay, Iles, and rivers that often did vs exceeding pleasure.

Passing [**30**] along the coast, searching every inlet and bay fit for harbours and habitations: [and] seeing many Iles in the midst of the bay, we bore vp for them; but ere wee could attaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, raine, thunder, and lightning happened, that with great daunger, we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that ocean-like water.

An extreame gust.

[*p.* 414.] The next day, searching those inhabitable Iles (which we called Russels Isles) to provide fresh water: the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne channell, which brought vs to the river *Wighcocomoco.*

Russels Iles.

Wighcocomoco.

The people at first with great furie seemed to assault vs; yet at last with songs, daunces, and much mirth. But searching their habitations for water, wee could fill but 3 [? *barricoes*], and that such puddle that never til then wee ever knew the want of good water. We digged and search many places but ere the end of two daies, wee would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco.*

A extreame want of fresh water.

Being past these Isles, falling with a high land vpon the maine, wee found a great pond of fresh water; but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some bath. That place we called Point ployer.

Being thus refreshed, in crossing over from the maine to other Iles, the wind and waters so much increased with thunder lightning and raine, that our fore-mast blew overbord; and such mightie waues overwrought vs in that

The barge neere sunk in a gust.

smal barge, that with great labour wee kept her from sinking, by freeing out the water. [1608]

2 daies we were inforced to inhabit these vninhabited Iles; which (for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and il weather) we called *Limbo*.

Repairing our fore saile with [**31**] our shirts, we set saile for the maine; and fel with a faire river on the East called *Kuskaranaocke*. By it inhabit the people of *Soraphanigh*, *Nause*, *Arsek*, and *Nautaquake*, that much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes*: in search of whome, wee returned by Limbo. *The first notice of the Massawomekes.*

But finding this easterne shore shallow broken Iles, and the maine for [the] most part without fresh water; we passed by the straights of Limbo, for the weasterne shore. So broad is the bay here, that we could scarse perceiue the great high Cliffes on the other side.

By them, wee anc[h]ored that night, and called them Richards Cliffes. 30 leagues we sailed more Northwards, not finding any inhabitants; yet the coast well watred, [*p.* 416.] the mountaines very barren, the vallies very fertil, but the woods extreame thicke, full of Woolues, Beares, Deare, and other wild beasts.

The first inlet we found, wee called *Bolus*, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) Bole-Armoniacke. *Bolus river.*

When we first set saile, some of our gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much hast home. But hauing lien not aboue 12 daies in this smal Barge, oft tired at their oares, their bread spoiled with wet, so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could digest it), did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner [*on* 13 *June* 1608].

> Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable historie of Sir *Ralfe Lane*, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discoverie of *Morattico*, alleaging, they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feed them in their returnes; what shame would it be for you [**32**] (that haue beene so suspitious of my tendernesse) to force me [to] returne with a months prouision, scarce able to say where we *Smiths speech to his souldiers.* [*pp.* 314, 416.]

[1608] haue bin, nor yet heard of that wee were sent to seeke. You cannot say but I haue shared with you of the worst [that] is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares, that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust: abandon those childish feares, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits: for returne I wil not, (if God assist me) til I haue seene the *Massawomekes*, found *Patawomeck*, or the head of this great water you conceit to be endlesse.

[*p.* 417.] 3 or 4 daies we expected [? *experienced*] wind and weather, whose adverse extreamities added such discouragements to our discontents as 3 or 4 fel extreame sicke; whose pitiful complaints caused vs to returne, leauing the bay some 10 miles broad at 9 or 10 fadome water.

The discovery of Patawomeck. The 16 of Iune, we fel with the riuer of *Patawomeck*. Feare being gon[e], and our men recovered, wee were all contented to take some paines to knowe the name of this 9 mile broad river. We could see no inhabitants for 30 myles saile. Then we were conducted by 2 Salvages vp a little bayed creeke toward *Onawmament*: where all the

Ambuscadoes of Salvages. woods were laid with Ambuscadoes to the number of 3 or 400 Salvages; but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, showting, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them so many divels.

They made many bravadoes, but to appease [**33**] their furie, our Captaine prepared (with a seeming willingnesse, as they) to encounter them. The grazing of the bullets vpon the river, with the ecc[h]o of the woods so amazed them, as down went their bowes and arrowes; and exchanging hostage[s] *Iames Watkins* was sent 6. myles vp the woods, to their kings habitation. Wee were kindly vsed by these Salvages: of whom we vnderstood, they were commaunded to betray vs, by *Powhatans* direction;

A treacherous proiect. and hee so directed, from the discontents [*discontented*] of Iames towne.

The like incounters we found at *Patawomeck*, *Cecocawone*, and divers other places; but at *Moyaones*, *Nacothtant*, and *Taux*, the people did their best to content vs. [1608]

The cause of this discovery was to search a glistering mettal, the Salvages told vs they had from *Patawomeck* (the which *Newport* assured that he had tryed to hold halfe siluer), also to search what furres, metals, riuers, Rockes, nations, woods, fishings, fruits, victuals, and other commodities the land afforded; and whether the bay were endlesse, or how farre it extended.

Antimony

The mine we found 9 or 10 myles vp in the country from the river; but it proved of no value. Some Otters, Beavers, Martins, Luswarts, and sables we found: and, in diverse places, that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan; but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, more plenty or variety, had any of vs ever seene in any place, swimming in the water, then in the bay of *Chesapeack*: but there not to be caught with frying-pans.

An abundant plentie of fish.

To expresse al our [**34**] quarrels, treacheries and incounters amongst those Salvages, I should be too tedious: but in briefe, at al times we so incountred them and curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace; yet wee lost not a man. At our first meeting, our captaine ever observed this order, to demaunde their bowes and arrowes, swords, mantles, or furres; with some childe for hostage: whereby he could quickly perceiue when they intended any villany.

[*p.* 419.]

How to deale with the Salvages.

Having finished this discovery, (though our victuall was neare spent) he intended to haue seene his imprisonments acqaintance vpon the river of *Toppahannock* [*pp.* 18, 19, 119]. But our boate (by reason of the ebbe) chansing to ground vpon a many shoules lying in the entrance, we spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the sands. Our captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner. By this devise, we tooke more in an houre then we all could eat.

[1608] But it chanced, the captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition), being much of the fashion of a Thornebacke with a longer taile whereon is a most poysoned sting of 2. or 3. inches long, which shee strooke an inch and [a] halfe into the wrist of his arme. The which, in 4. houres, had so extreamly swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as we al with much sorrow concluded [*anticipated*] his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed); which then wee called Stingeray Ile, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious oile, Doctour *Russel* applyed, ere night his tormenting paine was so wel asswaged that he eate the fish to his supper: which [**35**] gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs, then ease to himselfe.

A Stingray very hurtfull.

Having neither Surgeon nor surgerie but that preservatiue oile, we presently set saile for Iames Towne.

Passing the mouth of *Pyankatanck* and *Pamavnke* riuers, the next day we safely arrived at *Kecoughtan*.

p. 420.] The simple Salvages seeing our captaine hurt, and another bloudy (which came by breaking his shin), [and] our number of bowes, arrowes, swords, targets, mantles and furs, would needs imagine we had bin at warres. The truth of these accidents would not satisfie them; but impaciently they importuned vs to know with whom wee fought. Finding their aptnes to beleeue, we failed not (as a great secret) to tel them any thing that might affright them, what spoile wee had got and made of the *Masawomeekes*. This rumor went faster vp the river then our barge: That arrived at *Weraskoyack*, the 20 of Iulie; where trimming her, with painted streamers and such devises, we made the Fort iealious of a Spanish frigot; where we all safely arrived the 21. of Iuly.

The Salvages affrighted with their owne suspition.

There wee found the Last Supply al sicke; the rest, some lame, some bruised: al vnable to do any thing but complain of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse cruelty of their sillie President [*Ratcliffe*] that had riotously consumed the store; and to fulfill his follies, about building him an vnnecessarie pallas in the woodes, [which] had brought them all to that miserie, that had not we arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge.

A needlesse miserie.

But the good newes of our discovery, and the good hope we had (by the Salvages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South sea, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Rat[c]liffe* should be deposed, and that captaine *Smith* would take [**36**] vpon him the governement. [1608]

Their request being effected [? 23 *July*], hee substituted *Maister Scrivener,* his deare friend, in the Presidencie; equally distributing those private provisions the other[s] had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist *Scrivener* (who they lay extreamelie tormented with a callenture): and in regard of the weaknes of the company, and heat of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease; but imbarked himselfe to finish his discovery.

The company left to liue at ease.

Written by Walter Russell and Anas Todkill.

CHAPTER VI.

What happened the second voyage to discouer the Bay.

[1608] THE 20. [*or rather* 24, *see p.* 421] of Iuly, Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery, with 12. men. Their names were

[*p.* 421.]

Nathaniell Powell.
Thomas Momford.
Richard Fetherstone. } Gent.
Michaell Sicklemore.
Iames Bourne.

Anas Todkill.
Edward Pysing.
Richard Keale. } Sould.
Anthony Bagnall.

Iames Watkins, Sould.
William Ward.
Ionas Profit.

The winde beeing contrary, caused our stay 2 or 3 [**37**] daies at *Kecoughtan*; the *werowans* feasting vs with much mirth. His people were perswaded we went purposely to be reuenged of the *Massawomeckes*. In the evening, we firing 2. or 3. rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible wee attempted, and desired to assist vs.

The Salvages admire fireworkes.

The first night, we anchored at Stingeray Ile; the next day, crossed *Patawomecks* riuer, and hasted for the riuer Bolus.

Wee went not much farther, before wee might perceiue the Bay to devide in 2. heads; and arriving there, we founde it devided in 4; all which we searched so far as we could saile them.

The head of the Bay.

2. of them wee found vninhabited, but in crossing the

bay to the other, wee incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of *Massawomecks*. [1608]

An incounter with the Massawomecks.

We seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our oares, and made way with our saile to incounter them; yet were we but fiue (with our captaine) [that] could stand: [f]or within 2. daies after wee left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the Last Supply) were sicke almost to death (vntill they were seasoned to the country). Hauing shut them vnder our tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the barge side, to make vs seeme many. And so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men: for they fled with all possible speed to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them.

[Four of these five First Planters were N. Powell, A. Todkill, E. Pysing, and J. Profit. See *pp.* 93, 94.]

[*p.* 422.]

Long it was ere we could drawe them to come vnto vs. At last, they sent 2 of their company vnarmed in a Canowe: the rest all followed to second them, if need required. These 2 being but each presented with a bell, brought aborde all their fellowes; presenting the captain with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrows, [38] clubs, targets, and beare-skins.

Wee vnderstood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs they had been at warres with the *Tockwoghs*, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds.

But the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete; but after that we never saw them.

An incounter with the Tockwoghs.

Entring the River of *Tockwogh*, the Saluages all armed in a fleete of Boates round invironed vs. It chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parly. But when they see vs furnished with the *Massawomeckes* weapons, and we faining the inuention of *Kecoughtan* to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like mounts, brested about with Barks very formally. Their men, women, and children, with dances, songs, fruits, fish, furres, and what they had, kindly entertained vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, [and] stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

Many hatchets, kniues, and peeces of yron and brasse,

[1608] *Hatchets from Sasquesahanock[s].* we saw; which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanockes*, a mighty people, and mortall enimies with the *Massawomeckes*.

The *Sasquesahanocks* inhabit vpon the chiefe spring of these 4.; two daies journey higher then our Barge could passe for rocks. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him an other interpreter to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come to visit vs: for their language[s] are different.

[*p.* 423.] 3. or 4. daies we expected their returne. Then 60. of these giantlike-people came downe, with presents of venison, Tobacco [**39**] pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrows. 5 of their *Werowances* came boldly abord vs, to crosse the bay for *Tockwogh*; leaving their men and Canowes; the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.

The Sasquesahanocks offer to the English. Our order was, dayly, to haue prayer, with a psalm: at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondered. Our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in most passionate manner, to hold vp their hands to the sunne, with a most feareful song. Then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded til their song was finished. Which don[e], with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voice, [one] began an oration of their loues.

That ended, with a great painted beares skin, they couered our Captaine. Then one ready with a chaine of white beads (waighing at least 6 or 7 pound) hung it about his necke: the others had 18 mantles made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together. All these, with many other toyes, they laid at his feet; stroking their ceremonious handes about his necke, for his creation to be their governour; promising their aids, victuals, or what they had, to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomecks*.

But wee left them at *Tockwogh*, they much sorrowing for our departure: yet wee promised the next yeare againe to visit them.

Many descriptions and discourses they made vs of

Atquanahucke, Massawomecke, and other people; signifying they inhabit the river of *Cannida*, and from the French to haue their hatchets and such like tooles by trade. [**40**] These knowe no more of the territories of *Powhatan* then his name, and he as little of them. [1608] *Cannida.*

Thus hauing sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt*. These people we found very tractable, and more civill then any. Wee promised them, as also the *Patawomecks*, the next yeare to revenge them of the *Massawomecks*. *Pawtuxunt R.* [*p.* 424.]

Our purposes were crossed in the discoverie of the river of *Toppahannock*, for wee had much wrangling with that peevish nation; but at last, they became as tractable as the rest. It is an excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, fertill, and a goodly navigable river. *Toppahannock R.* [*pp.* 119, 419, 426.]

Toward the head thereof, it pleased God to take one of our sicke (called Maister *Fetherstone*), where in Fetherstons bay, we buried him, in the night, with a volly of shot. The rest (notwithstanding their ill diet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge, in so many dangers, neuer resting but alwaies tossed to[o] and againe) al well recovered their healthes. [*p.* 426.] *Fetherstone buried.*

Then we discovered the riuer of *Payankatank*, and set saile for *Iames* Towne. But in crossing the bay in a faire calme, such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night, with thunder and raine, as wee were halfe imployed in freeing out water, never thinking to escape drowning; yet running before the winde, at last we made land by the flashes of fire from heaven: by which light only, we kept from the splitting shore, vntil it pleased God in that black darknes, to preserue vs by that light to find Point comfort. *Payankatanke discovered.* [*p.* 430.]

And [we] arived safe at *Iames* Towne, the 7 of September, 1608: where wee found Maister *Skriuener* and diverse others well recouered, many dead, some sicke; [and] the late President [a] prisoner for [**41**] muteny. By the honest diligence of Maister *Skriuener*, the harvest [had been] gathered; but the stores [and] provision [were] much spoiled with raine. *Their proceedings at Iames Towne.*

Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captain *Rat[c]liffe*) but only this discoverie: wherein to

[1608] [*p.* 433.] expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters, this small number passed in that small barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (til then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced reader, than I would be tedious, or partiall being a partie.

By Nathaniell Po[w]ell, and Anas Todkill.

CHAPTER VII. [p. 433.]

The Presidencie surrendred to Captaine Smith. The arrivall and returne of the second supply: and what happened.

THe 10. of September 1608. by the election of the Councel, and request of the company, Captaine *Smith* received the letters patents, and tooke vpon him the place of President; which till then, by no meanes he would accept, though hee were often importuned therevnto. [1608]

Now the building of *Ratcliffes* pallas staide, as a thing needlesse: the church was repaired, the storehouse, re-couered; [and] building prepared for the supply we expected. The fort [was] reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch renued, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained. The [42] whole company every Satturday exercised in a fielde prepared for that purpose; the boates trimmed for trade, which in their Iourney encountred the second supply, that brought them back to discover the country of *Monacan*. *QVERE.* [p. 434.]

How, or why Captaine *Newport* obtained such a private commission as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certainty of the south sea, or one of the lost company of Sir *Walter Rawley*, I know not: nor why he brought such a 5. pieced barge, not to beare vs to that south sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines (which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne). As for the coronation of *Powhatan*, and his presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Clothes, and such costly nouelties; they had bin much better well

[1608] spared, then so ill spent: for we had his favour much better onlie for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all.

Powhatans scorne when his curtesie was most deserved

As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch, to make pitch and tarre, glasse, milles, and sope-ashes; [that] was most necessarie and well. But to send them and seauenty more without victuall, to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not haue hurt vs, had they bin 200.; though then we were 130 that wanted for our selves. For we had the Salvages in that Decorum, (their haruest beeing newly gathered) that we feared not to get victual sufficient, had we bin 500.

No way but one to ouerthrowe the busines.

Now vvas there no way to make vs miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision, whilst it was to be had; the which vvas done to perfourme this strange discovery, but more strange coronation. To loose that time, spend that [**43**] victuall we had, tire and starue our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs: how or by whom they vvere invented I knovv not.

But Captaine *Newport* we only accounted the author; [*p.* 435.] who to effect these proiects, had so gilded all our hopes with great promises, that both company and Councel concluded his resolution. I confesse we little vnderstood then our estates, to conclude his conclusion against al the inconveniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the councell, one Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne*; two ancient souldiers and valiant gentlemen, but ignorant of the busines, being newly arriued. *Ratcliffe* vvas also permitted to haue his voice; and *Maister Scrivener* [was] desirous to see strange countries. So that although *Smith* was President, yet the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed.

As for cleering *Smiths* obiections, how pitch, and tarre, wa[i]nscot, clapbord, glasse, and sope ashes could be provided to relade the ship; or provision got to liue withal when none was in the Country, and that which we had, spent before the ships departed: the answer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertook to fraught the Pinnace with corne, in going and returning in his discoverie, and to refraught her

againe from *Werawocomoco*; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his ship, inferring that *Smiths* propositions were only devises to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie *Smith* had vsed to the Salvages in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes. For which, al workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for his guard. [**44**] [1608]

And *Smith*, to make cleere these seeming suspicions, that the Salvages were not so desperat[e] as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing he was to further them to effect their projects; because the coronation would consume much time, vndertooke their message to *Powhatan* (to intreat him to come to *Iames* Towne to receiue his presents) accompanied only with Captaine *Waldo*, *Maister Andrew Buckler*, *Edward Brinton*, and *Samuel Collier*. *Captaine Smith with 4 goeth to Powhatan.* [*p.* 436.]

With these 4, hee went overland [to] against *Werawocomoco*, there passed the river of *Pamavnke* in the Salvages Canowes. *Powhatan* being 30 myles of[f]; who, presently, was sent for. In the meane time, his women entertained *Smith* in this manner.

In a faire plaine field, they made a fire; before which, he sitting vppon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power came to surprise them: but the beholders, which were many, men women and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter; being presently presented with this anticke. *The womens entertainement at Werawocomoco.*

30 young women came naked out of the woods (only covered behind and before with a few greene leaues), their bodies al painted, some white, some red, some black, some partie colour; but every one different. Their leader had a faire paire of stagges hornes on her head, and an otter skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, and bow and arrowes in her hand. The next, in her hand a sword; another, a club; another, a pot-stick: all horn[e]d alike. The rest, every one with their severall devises.

These feindes, with most hellish [**45**] cries and shouts, rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselues in a ring

[1608] about the fire, singing and dauncing with excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing and daunce. Hauing spent neere an houre, in this maskarado; as they entered, [they] in like manner departed.

Hauing reaccomodated themselues, they solemnely invited Smith to their lodging: but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nimphes [the] more tormented him than ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging vpon him, most tediously crying, *loue you not mee.*

This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of fruit in baskets, fish and flesh in wooden platters; beans and pease there wanted not (for 20 hogges), nor any Salvage daintie their invention could devise: some attending, others singing and dancing about them.

This mirth and banquet being ended, with firebrands (instead of torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

[*p.* 437.] *Captain Smiths message.* The next day, came *Powhatan. Smith* delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him *Namontack*; desiring him [to] come to his Father *Newport* to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the *Monacans.*

Wherevnto the subtile Salvage thus replied

Powhatans answer.

> If your king haue sent me presents, I also am a king, and this [is] my land. 8 daies I will stay to receaue them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him; nor yet to your fort: neither will I bite at such a baite. As for the *Monacans*, I can revenge my owne iniuries; and as for *Atquanuchuck*, where you say your brother was slain[*pp.* 20, 28]; it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it [**46**]. But for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the relations you haue had from my people are false.

Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground, according to his discourse, of all those regions.

Many other discourses they had (yet both desirous to giue each other content in Complementall courtesies), and so Captaine *Smith* returned with this answer.

Powhatans Coronation. Vpon this Captaine *Newport* sent his presents by water, which is neare[ly] 100 miles; with 50 of the best shot

himselfe went by land, which is but 12 miles; where he met with our 3 barges to transport him over. [1608]

All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, ewer, bed and furniture set vp: [and] his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him, (being perswaded by *Namontacke* they would doe him no hurt). But a fowle trouble there was to make him kneele to receaue his crowne. He, neither knowing the maiestie nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and *Newport* put the Crowne on his head; when, by the warning of a pistoll, the boates were prepared with such a volly of shot, that the king start[ed] vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, [*p.* 438] he gaue his old shoes and his mantle to Captain *Newport*.

But perceiuing his purpose was to discover the *Monacans*, hee laboured to divert his resolution; refusing to lend him either men or guides more then *Namontack*. And so, after some complementall kindnesse [**47**] on both sides, in requitall of his presents, he presented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares, that might contain 7 or 8 bushels; and as much more we bought, ready dressed, in the town: wherewith we returned to the fort.

The discovery of Monacan.

The ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first gentlewoman and woman servant that arrived in our Colony; Captaine *Newport* with al the Councell, and 120 chosen men, set forward for the discovery of *Monacan*: leauing the President at the fort with 80. (such as they were) to relade the shippe.

Arriving at the falles, we marched by land some forty myles in 2 daies and a halfe; and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two townes wee discovered of the *Monacans*, the people neither vsing vs well nor ill: yet for our securitie wee tooke one of their pettie *Werowances*, and lead him bound, to conduct vs the way.

And in our returne [we] searched many places wee supposed mynes, about which we spent some time in refining; having one *William Callicut* a refiner, fitted for that pur-

[1608] pose. From that crust of earth wee digged, hee perswaded vs to beleeue he extracted some smal quantitie of siluer (and not vnlikely better stuffe might bee had for the digging). With this poore trial, we were contented to leaue this faire, fertill, well watred countrie.

Comming to the Falles, the Saluages fained there were diverse ships come into the Bay to kill them at *Iames* Towne. Trade they would not; and find their corn we could not, for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arriued at *Iames* Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining and tired with toile famine and discontent [48] to haue only but discovered our gilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certaineties, as the President foretold vs.

[*p.* 439.] ... No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed [as] many as were able, some for glasse, others for pitch, tarre, and sope ashes; leaving them [*the rest*], with the fort, to the Councels oversight.

But 30 of vs he conducted 5. myles from the fort to learn to make clapboard, cut downe trees, and ly[e] in woods. Amongst the rest, he had chosen *Gabriell Beadell*, and *Iohn Russell* the only two gallants of this last supply, and both proper gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions: yet lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke, they became Masters; making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell. But the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd oath to drowne the eccho: for remedy of which sin, the President devised howe to haue everie mans oathes numbered; and at night, for every oath to haue a can of water povvred downe his sleeue. VVith which, every offender vvas so vvashed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarse heare an oath in a weeke.

A punishment for swearing.

By this, let no man think that the President, or these gentlemen spent their times as common wood-hackers at felling of trees, or such like other labours; or that they were pressed to anything as hirelings or common slaues: for what they did (being but once a little inured), it seemed, and they conceited it, only as a pleasure and a recreation.

Yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary [**49**] Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must bee prest to it by compulsion. Master *Scrivener*, Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne* at the fort; every one in like manner, carefully regarded their charge. [1608]

One gentleman better then 20 lubbers. [*p.* 440.]

The President, returning from amongst the woodes, seeing the time consumed, and no provision gotten, (and the ship lay Idle, and would do nothing), presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge; giuing order to the Councell, to send *Master Persey* after him, with the next barge that arrived at the fort. 2 barges he had himselfe, and 20 men. But arriving at *Chickahamina*, that dogged nation was too wel acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was *Powhatans* pollicy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them [*p.* 16]. And so landing his men, and ready to charge them, they immediately fled. But then they sent their imbassadours, with corne, fish, fowl, or what they had, to make their peace: (their corne being that year bad) they complained extreamly of their owne wants; yet fraughted our boats with 100 bushels of corne, and in like manner *Master Persies*, that not long after vs arriued. They having done the best they could to content vs; within 4. or 5. daies, we returned to Iames Towne.

The Chickahamines forced to contribution.

Though this much contented the company (that then feared nothing but starving) yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to starue, then his paines should proue so much more effectuall then [**50**] theirs. Some proiects there was, not only to haue deposed him but to haue kept him out of the fort; for that being President, he would leaue his place and the fort without their consents: but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselues more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

A bad reward for well doing.

All this time our old taverne made as much of all them that had either mony or ware as could bee desired; and by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane Souldiers, Sailers, and Salvages,) as there was ten times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the Colony things that were [*p.* 441.]

A good tauerne in Virginia.

[1608] necessary. Neither was it a small pollicy in the mariners, to report in England wee had such plenty, and [to] bring vs so many men without victuall; when they had so many private factors in the fort, that within 6. or 7. weekes after the ships returne[*i.e., to Virginia*], of 2. or 300. hatchets, chissels, mattocks, and pickaxes, scarce 20 could be found: for pike-heads, kniues, shot, powder, or any thing (they could steale from their fellowes) was vendible. They knew as well (and as secretly) how to convay them to trade with the Salvages, for furres, baskets, mussaneekes, young beastes, for such like commodities; as exchange them with the sailers, for butter, cheese, biefe, porke, aquavitæ, beere, bisket, and oatmeale: and then faine, all was sent them from their friends. And though Virginia [hath] afford[ed] no furs for the store; yet one mariner in one voyage hath got so many, as hee hath confessed to haue solde in England for 30*l.*

A bad trade of masters and sailers.

Those are the Saint-seeming worthies of *Virginia*; [**51**] that haue notwithstanding all this, meate, drinke, and pay: but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented.

None hath bin in *Virginia* (that hath not observed any thing) which knowes not this to be true; and yet the scorne and shame was the poore souldiers, gentlemen, and carelesse governours, who were all thus bought and solde; the aduenturers cousened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all the world Iudge how this businesse coulde prosper; being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

Master Scrivener was sent with the barges and Pinas to *Werawocomoco*, where he found the Salvages more ready to fight then trade: but his vigilancy was such, as prevented their proiectes, and by the meanes of *Namontack*, got 3. or 4. hogsheads of corne, and as much Red paint, which (then) was esteemed an excellent die.

Skriueners voiage to Werawocomoco.

Captaine *Newport* being dispatched with the tryals of pitch, tarre, glasse, frankincense, and sope ashes, with

that clapbord and wainscot [which] could bee provided, met with *Master Scrivener* at point Comfort, and so returned for England; leaving vs in all 200, with those hee brought vs. [1608] [*p.* 442.]

The names of those in this supply are these. [*p.* 445.]

Captaine Peter Winne. } *were appointed to bee of the*
Captaine Richard Waldo. } *Councell.* [**52**]

Gent.:
Master Francis West.
Thomas Graues.
Rawley Chroshaw.
Gabriell Bedle.
Iohn Russell.
Iohn Bedle.
William Russell.
Iohn Gudderington.
William Sambage.
Henry Collings.
Henry Ley.
Harmon Haryson.
Daniell Tucker.
Hugh Wollystone.
Iohn Hoult.
Thomas Norton.
George Yarington.
George Burton.
Henry Philpot.
Thomas Maxes.
Michaell Lowicke.
Master Hunt.
Thomas Forest.
William Dowman.
Iohn Dauxe.
Thomas Abbay.

Tradesmen [*i.e., Artizans*].:
Thomas Phelps.
Iohn Part.
Iohn Clarke.
Iefry Shortridge. [**53**]
Dius Oconor.
Hugh Wynne.
Davi[d] Vphu.
Thomas Bradley. [*p.* 446.]
Iohn Burras.
Thomas Lavander.
Henry Bell.
Master Powell.
Davi[d] Ellys.
Thomas Gipson.

Laborers.:
Thomas Dowse.
Thomas Mallard.
William Taler.
Thomas Fox.
Nicholas Hancock.
Walker.
Williams.
Morrell.
Rose.
Scot.
Hardwin.

Boys.:
Milman.
Hellyard.

Mistresse Forest and Anne Buras [*see p.* 130] *her maide,* 8. *Dutchmen and Poles, with divers to the number of* 70. *persons.*

Those poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine, that the President provided for *Nansamund.* [He] tooke *Nansamund forced to contribution.*

[1608] with him Captaine *Winne*, and *Master Scrivener* (then returning from Captaine *Newport*).

These people also [**54**] long denied him trade (excusing themselues to bee so commanded by *Powhatan*) til we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather sell vs some, then wee should take all. So loading our boats with 100 bushels, we parted friends, [*p.* 447.] and came to Iames Towne: at which time, there was a marriage betweene *Iohn Laydon* and *Anna Burrowes* [*see p.* 129]; being the first marriage we had in *Virginia*.

Long he staied not, but fitting himselfe and captaine *Waldo* with 2. barges [the President sought] from *Chawopo*, *weanocke* and all parts there, [where] was found neither corne nor Salvage, but all fled (being Iealous of our intents) till we discovered the river and people of *Appametuck*, where we found [but] little. That they had we equally devided betwixt the Salvages and vs, but gaue them copper in consideration.

Appamatucke discovered.

Master Persie and *Master Scrivener* went also abroad, but could finde nothing.

The President seeing this proc[r]astinating of time, was no course to liue, resolued with Captaine *Waldo* (who he knew to be sure in time of need), to surprise *Powhatan* and al his provision: but the vnwillingnes of Captaine *Winne*, and *Master Scrivener* (for some private respects), did their best to hinder their proiect.

But the President, whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, bring him a grin[d]stone, 50. swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with copper and beads; he would loade his shippe with corne.

The President not ignoraunt of his devises, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunity, presently sent 3. Dutch-men and 2. English (having no victuals [**55**] to imploy them, all for want thereof being idle). Knowing there needed no better castel then that house, to surprize *Powhatan* [in]; to effect this project, he took order with Captaine *Waldo*, to second him, if need required. *Scrivener*, he left [as] his subsitute; and set forth with the Pinnas, 2. barges, and six and forty men, which only were such as voluntarily

offered themselues for his iourny: the which (by reason of *Master Scriveners* ill successe) was censured very desperate. They all knowing *Smith* would not returne empty howsoever, caused many of those that he had appointed to find excuses to stay behinde. [1608]

CHAPTER VIII.

[p. 448.]

Captaine Smiths iourney to Pamavnke.

THE 29 of December [1608], hee set forward for *Werawocomoco.*: his company were these.

In the Discovery barge, *himselfe.*

Robert Behethland.	Gent.	*Anas Todkill.*	Sould. [56]
Nathaniell Powell.		*VVilliam Loue.*	
Iohn Russell.		*VVilliam Bentley.*	
Rawly Crashaw.		*Geoffrey Shortridge.*	
Michaell Sicklemore.		*Edward Pising.*	
Richard Worlie.		*VVilliam VVarde.*	

In the Pinnace.

Master George Persie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland; Master Frauncis VVest, brother to the Lord De-la-Ware.

VVilliam Phetiplace, Captaine of the Pinnas.

Ionas Profit, Master.

Robert Ford, clarcke of the councell.

Michaell Phetiplace.	Gent.	*Iohn Dods.*	Sould.
Geoffrey Abbot, Serg.		*Edward Brinton.*	
VVilliam Tankard.		*Nathaniel Peacocke.*	
George Yarington.		*Henry Powell.*	
Iames Bourne.		*David Ellis.*	
George Burton.		*Thomas Gipson.*	
Thomas Coe.		*Iohn Prat.*	

[1608-9] *George Acrigge.* *Iames Reade.* *Nicholas Hancocke.* *Iames VVatkins.* } Sould.

Anthony Baggly, Serg. *Thomas Lambert.* *Edward Pising*, Serg. } Sould.

[Pising was in the barge, see previous page.]

4. *Dutchmen and Richard Salvage were sent by land, to build the house for Powhatan against our arrivall.*

This company being victualled but for 3. or 4. daies, [**57**] lodged the first night at *Weraskoyack*; where the President tooke sufficient provision.

This kind Salvage did his best to divert him from seeing *Powhatan*: but perceiuing he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner

[*p.* 449.] *The good counsell of Weraskoyack.*

> Captaine *Smith*, you shall finde *Powhatan* to vse you kindly, but trust him not; and bee sure hee haue no opportunitie to seaze on your armes, for hee hath sent for you only to cut your throats.

The Captaine thanked him for his good counsell; yet the better to try his loue, desired guides to *Chowanoke*, for he would sent a present to that king to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney, was sent *Michael Sicklemore*, a very honest, valiant, and painefull soldier: with him, two guid[e]s, and directions howe to search for the lost company of Sir *Walter Rawley*, and silke grasse.

Then wee departed thence, the President assuring the king [of] his perpetuall loue; and left with him *Samuell Collier* his page, to learne the language.

The next night being lodged at *Kecoughtan*, [for] 6 or 7 daies, the extreame wind, raine, frost, and snowe caused vs to keepe Christmas amongst the Salvages: where wee were never more merrie, nor fedde on more plentie of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in England then in the drie warme smokie houses of *Kecoughtan*.

Plentie of victuall.

[Christmas ends on 6 Jan.]

But departing thence, when we found no houses, we were not curious [*fastidious*] (in any weather) to lie, 3 or 4 nights together, vpon any shore, vnder the trees, by a good fire. 148 fowles, the President, *Anthony Bagly*, and *Edward Pising* [*the two Serjeants*] did kill at 3 shoots.

148 *Fowles killed at 3 shoots.*

At *Kiskiack*, the frost forced vs 3 or 4 daies, also to

suppresse the insolencie of those [**58**] proud Salvages, to quarter in their houses and guard our barge, and [to] cause them to giue vs what wee wanted: yet were we but 12 with the President, and yet we neuer wanted harbour [*shelter*] where we found any houses. **[1609]**

The 12 of Ianuarie [1609], we arrived at *Werawocomoco*, where the river was frozen neare halfe a mile from the shore. But to neglect no time, the President with his barge, so farre had approached, by breaking the Ice, as the eb[b] left him amongst those oozie shoules: yet, rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example, hee taught them to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot, through this muddie froye ooze. When the barge flo[a]ted, he appointed 2 or 3 to returne her abo[a]rd the Pinnace; where, for want of water, in melting the salt ice they made fresh water. But in this march, Master [*Iohn*] *Russell* (whome none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill and exceeding[ly] heavie, so overtoiled him selfe, as the rest had much adoe (ere he got a shore) to regain life into his dead benummed spirits. [*p.* 450.] *An ill march.*

Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to *Powhatan* for provision; who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison.

The next day, hauing feasted vs after his ordinarie manner; he began to aske, when we would bee gon[e], faining [*feigning*] hee sent not for vs: neither had hee any corne, and his people much lesse; yet for 40 swords he would procure vs 40 bushels.

The President, shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him, how it chaunced he became so forgetful: thereat, the king concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our commodities; but none he liked without gunnes and swords, [**59**] valuing a basket of corne more pretious then a basket of copper, saying he could eate his corne, but not his copper. *Powhatans subteltie.*

Captaine *Smith* seeing the intent of this subtil Saluage, began to deale with him after this manner. *Captaine Smithes discourse to Powhatan.*

> *Powhatan*, though I had many courses to haue made my provision; yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your

[1609] desire: and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne. What your people had, you haue engrossed, forbidding them our trade; and nowe you thinke by consuming the time, wee shall consume for want, not hauing [wherewith] to fulfill your strange demandes. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall knowe, those I haue, can keepe me from want: yet steale, or wrong you, I will not; nor dissolue that friendship wee haue mutually promised, except you constraine mee by your bad vsage.

Powhatans reply and flattery. [*p.* 451.]

The king hauing attentiuely listned to this discourse, promised that both hee and his Country would spare him what they could; the which within 2 daies, they should receaue. Yet, Captaine *Smith*, (saith the king) some doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would: for many do informe me, your comming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country: who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you [are] thus armed with your men. To cleere vs of this feare, leaue abord your weapons; for here they are needlesse, we being all friends and for ever *Powhatans*. [**60**]

With many such discourses, they spent the day, quart[e]ring that night in the kings houses.

The next day, he reviewed his building, which hee little intended should proceed. For the Dutchmen finding his plenty, and knowing our want; and perceiuing his preparation to surprise vs, little thinking wee could escape both him, and famine: to obtaine his favour, reuealed to him as much as they knew of our estates and proiects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so good a iudgement, spirit, and resolution (and a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labour; and ever well vsed, both he and his countrimen) that the President knewe not whome better to trust; and, not knowing any fitter for that imploiment, had sent him as a spie, to discover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie; nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after [*p.* 150].

Whilst we expected the comming in of the countrie, we wrangled out of the king 10 quarters of corne for a copper kettle; the which the President perceiving him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcety) hee would accept of as much more the next yeare, or else the country of *Monacan*. The King exceeding liberall of that hee had not, yeelded him *Monacan*. Wherewith each seeming well contented, *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference betwixt peace and war, after this manner. [1609]

Powhatans discourse of peace and warre.

Captaine *Smith*, you may vnderstand that I, hauing seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those 3 generations but my selfe, I knowe the difference of peace and warre better then any in my [**61**] Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long must die. My brethren, namely *Opichapam*; *Opechankanough*, and *Kekataugh*, my two sisters, and [*p.* 452.] their two daughters, are distinctly each others successours. I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your loue to them, no lesse then mine to you: but this bru[i]te from *Nansamund*, that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that perforce, you may quietly haue with loue, or to destroy them that provide you food? What can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woodes, whereby you must famish, by wronging vs your friends? And whie are you thus iealous of our loues, seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours? Think you I am so simple not to knowe it is better to eate good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merrie with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want, being your friend; then bee forced to flie from al, to lie cold in the woods, feed vpon acorns roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you that I can neither rest eat nor sleepe, but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, everie one crie, there comes Captaine *Smith*: then must I flie I knowe not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my

[1609] miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which, through your rash vnadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably ende, for want of that you never knowe how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and everie yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you [62] with corne; and now also if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your gunnes and swords, as to invade your foes.

C. Smiths reply To this subtil discourse, the President thus replied.

Seeing you will not rightly conceaue of our words, wee striue to make you knowe our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept. As for your promise I finde it everie daie violated by some of your subiects; yet wee finding your loue and kindnesse, our custome is so far from being vngratefull, that for your sake only, wee haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they knowne as wel the crueltie we vse to our enimies as our true loue and curtesie to our friendes. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue, as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue by our armes, of yours: that had wee intended you anie hurt, long ere this we coulde haue effected it. Your people comming to me at *Iames* towne, are entertained with their bowes and arrowes without exception; we esteeming it with you, as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell.

[*p.* 453.] As for the dangers of our enimies, in such warres consist[s] our chiefest pleasure. For your riches we haue no vse. As for the hiding [of] your provision, or by your flying to the woods; we shall [not] so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude: your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge.

Manie other discourses they had, til at last they began to trade. But the king seing his will would not bee admitted as a lawe, our guard [not] dispersed, nor our men [63] disarmed; he, sighing, breathed his mind once more, in this manner.

Captaine *Smith*, I neuer vsed anie of *Werowances* so

[1609]

kindlie as your selfe; yet from you, I receaue the least kindnesse of anie. Captaine *Newport* gaue me swords, copper, cloths, a bed, tooles, or what I desired; ever taking what I offered him: and would send awaie his gunnes when I intreated him. None doth denie to laie at my feet, or do, what I desire, but onelie you; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not: and yet you wil haue whatsoeuer you demand. Captain *Newport* you call father, and so you call me: but I see, for all vs both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendlie as you saie, sende hence your armes that I may beleeue you: for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause mee thus nakedlie [to] forget my selfe.

Powhatans importunitie for to haue them vnarmed, to betray them.

Smith (seeing this Salvage but trifled the time, to cut his throat) procured the Salvages to breake the ice, that his boat might come to fetch both him and his corne; and gaue order for his men to come ashore, to haue surprised the king: with whom also, he but trifled the time till his men landed; and to keepe him from suspition, entertained the time with this reply.

Powhatan, you must knowe as I haue but one God, I honour but one king: and I liue not here as your subiect, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestowe on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visite mee as I doe you, you should knowe it is not our customes to sell our curtesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Country [**64**] with you for your g[u]ard, I will not dislike of it as being over iealous. But to content you, to-morrow I will leaue my armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will loue you: but the smal care you had of such a child, caused my men perswade me to shift for my selfe.

C. Smiths discourse to delay time, that hee might surprise Powhatan.

[The last time Smith sees Powhatan.]

By this time, *Powhatan* having knowledge [that] his men were readie; whilst the ice was breaking, his luggage, women and children fledde. And to avoid suspition [he] left 2 or 3 of his women talking with the Captaine; whilst he secretly fled, and his men as secretlie beset the house. Which being at the instant discovered to Captaine *Smith*;

Powhatans plot to haue murdered Smith.

[*p.* 454.]

[1609] with his Pistol, Sword and Target, he made such a passage amongst those naked divels that they fled before him, some one waie, some another: so that without hurt, he obtained [*reached*] the Corps du guard.

When they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his 8 men (for he had no more with him), to the vttermost of their skill, they sought by excuses to dissemble the matter. And *Powhatan*, to excuse his flight and the suddaine comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a greate bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Orator that bespoke vs to this purpose (perceiving then from our Pinnace, a barge and men departing and comming vnto vs.)

A chaine of perle for a present.

> Captaine Smith, our *Werowans* is fled, fearing your guns; and knowing [that] when the ice was broken, there would come more men, sent those of his, to guard his corne from the pilfrie that might happen without your knowledge. Now though some bee hurt by your misprison; yet he is your friend, and so wil continue. And since the ice is open, hee would haue you send awaie [**65**] your corne; and if you would haue his companie, send also your armes, which so affrighteth this people that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should.

Nowe having prouided baskets for our men to carrie the corne, they kindlie offered their service to g[u]ard our armes, that none should steale them. A great manie they were, of goodlie well appointed fellowes, as grim as divels: yet the verie sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few words, caused them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our gu[a]rd, and beare downe our corne on their own backes. Wee needed not importune them to make quick despatch.

Pretending to kill our men lo[a]ded with baskets, we forced the Salvages [to] carrie them.

But our own barge being left by the ebb, caused vs to staie till the midnight tide carried vs safe abo[a]rd [*i.e., by the side of the Pinnace*].

Hauing spent that halfe night with such mirth as though we never had suspected or intended anything; we left the Dutchman to build, *Brinton* to kil fowle for *Powhatan* as by his messengers he importunately desired; and left directions with our men to giue *Powhatan* all the content they could, that we might inioy his company at our returne from *Pamaunke*.

[*p.* 455.]

CHAPTER IX. [*p.* 456.]

How we escaped surprising at Pamavnke.

WEE had no sooner set saile, but *Powhatan* returned, and sent *Adam* and *Francis* (2. stout Dutch men) to the fort: who fained to Captaine *VVinne* that al things were well, and that Captaine *Smith* had vse for their armes: wherefore they requested newe [**66**] (the which were giuen them). They told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell. By this colourable excuse, they obtained 6. or 7. more to their confederacie, such expert theefes that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder, and such like. They had Salvages at hand ready to carry it away. The next day, they returned vnsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow; and, in the interim, to convay them a competencie of all things they could: for which service, they should liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen [to] the Colony. [1609]

The dutch men deceaue C. Smith.

Samuell their other consort, *Powhatan* kept for their pledge; whose diligence had prouided him [*Powhatan*] 300. of their kinde of hatchets; the rest, 50. swords, 8. peeces, and 8. pikes.

Brinton and *Richard Salvage* seeing the Dutch-men so strang[e]ly diligent to accommodate the Salvages [with] these weapons, attempted to haue got to *Iames* Towne; but they were apprehended.

Within 2. or 3. daies, we arrived at *Pamavnke:* the king [*i.e.*, *Opechancanough*] as many daies entertained vs with feasting and much mirth.

And the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with *Master Persie, Master West, Master Russell, Master Beheathland, Master Powell, Master Crashaw, Master Ford,* and some others, to the number of 15., went vp to *Opechancanoug*[*h*]*s* house (near a quarter of a mile from the river); where we [*the writers of this portion of the Work, pp.* 148, 131, *were evidently of this party*] founde nothing but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned.

Opechancanoughs abandoned.

[1609] Not long we staide ere the king arrived, and after him, came divers of his people loaded with bowes and arrowes; but such pinching commodities, and those [*p.* 457.] esteemed at such a value [**67**], as our Captaine beganne with him, in this manner.

Smiths speech to Opechancanough.

Opechancanough, the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceipt by your actions. Last yeare, you kindly fraughted our ship; but now you haue invited me to starue with hunger. You know my want; and I, your plenty: of which, by some meanes, I must haue part. Remember it is fit for kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice: the rest I will proportion fit bargaines for your people.

The king seemed kindly to accept this offer; and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our own content: promising the next day, more company, better provided.

The barges and Pinnas being committed to the charge of *Master Phetiplace*: the President, with his old 15, marched vp to the kings house; where we found 4 or 5 men newly come with great baskets.

Not long after came the king, who, with a strained cheerefulnes, held vs with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise, till *Master Russell* brought vs in news that we were all betraied, for at least 6. or 700. of well appointed Indians had invironed the house and beset the fields.

700 Salvages beset the English being but 16.

The king coniecturing what *Russell* related, we could wel perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent. Whereat, some of our companie seeming dismaide with the thought of such a multitude, the Captaine incouraged vs after this manner.

Smiths speech to his company.

Worthy countrymen, were the mischiefes of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared, were they as many more, if you [**68**] dare do but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious councell, with their open-mouthed minions, will make mee such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in England, as

wil break my neck. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherin I pray, aide me with your opinions. Should wee begin with them and surprize this king, we cannot keep him and defend well our selues. If we should each kill our man, and so proceede with al[l] in this house, the rest will all fly: then shall we get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and then starue for victuall. As for their fury, it is the least danger. For well you know, being alone assaulted with 2 or 300 of them, I made them compound to saue my life; and we are now 16 and they but 700. at the most; and assure your selues God wil so assist vs, that if you dare but to stande to discharge your peeces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoever, if there be occasion, let vs fight like men, and not die like sheep: but first I will deale with them to bring it to passe, we may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me youle [*you will*] be valiant. [1609] *p.* 458.]

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoever he attempted, or die. Wherevpon the captaine approaching the king, bespoke him in this manner.

Smiths offer to Opechancanough.

I see *Opechancanough*, your plot to murder me; but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme but by our directions. Take therefore your arms, you see mine. My body shalbe as naked as yours, [69] the Ile in your river is a fit place, if you be contented; and the conqueror, of vs two, shalbe Lord and Master over all our men. Otherwaies drawe all your men into the field, if you haue not enough, take time to fetch more; and bring what number you will, so everie one bring a basket of corne: against all which, I will stake the value in copper. You see I haue but 15 men, and our game shalbe, the conqueror take all.

Opechancanoughs devise to betray Smith.

The king, being guarded with 50 or 60 of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease *Smiths* suspition of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the dore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him without the dore, where

[1609] the present was g[u]arded with at the least 200 men, and 30 lying under a greate tree that lay thwart as a Barricado, each [with] his arrow nocked ready to shoot.

Some, the President commanded to go and see what kinde of deceit this was, and to receiue the present; but they refused to do it: yet divers offered, whom he would not permit: but commanding *Master Persie* and *Master VVest* to make good the house, tooke *Master Po[w]ell* and *Master Beheathland* to guard the dore; and in such a rage, [*A.* 459.] snatched the king by his vambrace in the midst of his men, with his pistoll ready bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling king, neare dead with feare, amongst all his people; who delivering the Captaine his bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their armes, little dreaming anie durst in that manner haue vsed their king: who then, to escape himselfe, bestowed his presents in good sadnesse.

And hauing caused all his multitude to approach disarmed, the President argued with them to this effect. [**70**]

Smiths discourse to the Pamaunkies.

I see, you *Pamavnkies*, the great desire you haue to cut my throat, and my long suffering [of] your iniuries haue imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies is the promise I made you, before the God I serue, to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to bee your enimie. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe mee; you cannot hurt me: if I breake it, he will destroie me. But if you shoot but one arrow to shed one drop of blood of any of my men, or steale the least of these beades or copper I spurne before me with my foot; you shall see, I wil not cease revenge, if once I begin, so long as I can heare where to find one of your nation that will not deny the name of *Pamavnke*. I am not now at *Rasseneac* [*pp.* 17, 21], halfe drownd with mire, where you tooke me prisoner: yet then, for keeping your promise, and your good vsage, and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denials of your treacherie doth half perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I stand, shoote hee that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed; and so you shall, or I meane to load her

with your dead carkases. Yet if as friends you wil come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion. [1609]

Vpon this, awaie went their bowes and arrowes ; and men, women, and children brought in their commodities. But 2 or three houres they so thronged about the President, and so overwearied him, as he retired himself to rest, leaving *Master Beheathland* and *Master Powel* to accept their presents. *The Salvages dissemble their intent.*

But some Salvage perceiving him fast asleepe, and the guard carelessly dispersed, 40 or 50 of their choice men [**71**], each with an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house; with 2 or 300 others that pressed to second them. The noise and hast[e] they made in, did so shake the house as they awoke him from his sleep ; and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, [he] betooke him straight to his sword and target, *Master Crashaw* and some other[s] charging in like manner, they thronged faster back, then before forward. The house thus clensed, the king and his ancients, with a long oration came to excuse this intrusion. [*p.* 460.] *Their excuse and reconcilement.*

The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse : the company againe renuing their presents of their best provision. And whatsoever we gaue them, they seemed well contented with it.

Now in the meane while, since our departure, this hapned at the fort.

Master Scriuener willing to crosse the surprizing of *Powhatan*, 9 daies after the Presidents departure [*i.e. on 7 January* 1609], would needs visit the Ile of hogges ; and took with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the President had appointed him to bee readie to second his occasions) with *Master Antony Gosnoll* and eight others : but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the boat sunke; but where, or how, none doth knowe, for they were all drowned. Onlie this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much overloaded, and would scarse haue lived in that extreme tempest had she beene emptie : but by no perswasion could hee bee diverted, though both *Waldo* and 100 others doubted [*feared*] as it hapned. *The losse of Master Skriuener and others with a Skiffe.*

[1609] The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects.

To advertise the President of this heavie [**72**] newes, none could bee found [that] would vndertake it: but the iourney was often refused of all in the fort, vntill *Master Wiffin* vndertooke alone the performance thereof. Wherein he was encountred with many dangers and difficulties; and in all parts as hee passed, as also that night he lodged with *Powhatan*, [he] perceived such preparation for warre that assure him some mischiefe was intended: but with extraordinarie bribes and much trouble, in three daies travell, at length, he found vs [*apparently about 22 January* 1609] in the midst of these turmoiles.

Master Wiffin his journey to the President.

[*p.* 461.]

This vnhappie newes, the President swore him to conceale from the rest; and so, dissembling his sorrow with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, [he] went safely abord with all his companie.

Powhatan constraineth his men to be trecherous.

Now so extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not, by some meanes, kill Captaine *Smith*, that the next day they appointed the Countrie should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be treacherous but that they were constrained, hating fighting almost as ill as hanging; such feare they had of bad successe.

The next morning, the sunne had not long appeared, but the fieldes appeared covered with people, and baskets to tempt vs ashore. The President determined to keepe abo[a]rd; but nothing was to bee had without his presence, nor would they not indure the sight of a gun.

Their third attempt to betray vs.

Then the President, seeing many depart, and being vnwilling to lose such a booty, so well contrived the Pinnace and his barges with Ambuscadoes; as only with *Master Persie*, *Master West*, and *Master Russell* armed, he went ashore. Others vnarmed, he appointed to receiue what was brought. The Salvages flocked [**73**] before him in heapes, and (the bancke serving as a trench for retreat) hee drewe them faire open to his ambuscadoes.

For he not being to be perswaded to go to visit their king, the King [*Opechancanough*] came to visit him, with 2 or 300 men, in the forme of two halfe-moons, with some 20 men and many women loaded with great painted baskets. But

when they approached somewhat neare vs, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fieldes in this manner, they thought their purpose sure; yet so trembled with fear as they were scarse able to nock their arrowes. *Smith* standing with his 3 men readie bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our ambuscado; who, vpon the word, discovered themselues, he retiring to the banke: which the Salvages no sooner perceived, but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage. [1609] [*p.* 462.]

That night, we sent to the fort *Master Crashaw* and *Master Foard* [*evidently in one of the barges*]; who, in the midway betweene *Werawocomoco* and the fort, met 4 or 5. of the Dutch mens confederates going to *Powhatan*: the which (to excuse those gentlemens Suspition, of their running to the Salvages) returned to the fort, and there continued [*p.* 150].

The Salvages hearing our barge depart in the night, were so terriblie afraide that we [had] sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and canowes), that the next day the King [*Opechancanough*] sent our Captaine a chaine of pearle to alter his purpose and stay his men; promising, though they wanted themselues, to fraught our ship, and to bring it abo[a]rd to avoid suspition: so that, 5 or 6 daies after, [**74**] from al parts of the countrie within 10 or 12 miles, in the extreame cold frost and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes.

A chaine of pearle sent to obtaine peace.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poison bin sufficient, the President with *Master West* and some others had been poysoned. It made them sicke but expelled it selfe.

The President Poysoned.

Wecuttanow, a stout yong fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with 40 or 50. of his choice companions, seeing the President with but a few men at *Pontavncat*, so prowdlie braved it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving, in the midst of his companie, did not onlie beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe: wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue so well escaped; and the townsmen remaining

The offender punished

[1609] presentlie fraughted our barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing manie excuses to excuse *Wecuttanow*, being son to their chiefe king but *Powhatan*, and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to vs to punish as wee pleased.

Men maie thinke it strange there should be this stir for a little corne: but had it been gold with more ease wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole colonie had starved. We maie be thought verie patient to indure all those iniuries. Yet onlie with fearing them, we got what they had: whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse, we should haue lost our selu[e]s.

[p. 463.]

We searched also the countries of *Youghtanund* and [**75**] *Mattapamient*, where the people imparted what little they had with such complaints and tears from women and children, as he had bin too cruell to be a Christian that would not haue bin satisfied and moved with compassion.

The Salvage want and poverty.

But had this happened in October, November, and December, when that vnhappie discoverie of *Monacan* was made; wee might haue fraughted a ship of 40 tuns, and twice as much might haue bin had from the rivers of *Toppahannock*, *Patawomeck*, and *Pawtuxunt*.

The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Salvages was to part friends, as we did, to giue the lesse cause of suspition to *Powhatan* to fly: by whom we now returned, with a purpose to haue surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof, when we came against the towne, the President sent *Master Wiffin* and *Master Coe* a shore, to discover and make waie for his intended project.

The Dutchmen did much hurt.

But they found that those damned Dutchman had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house and *werawocomoco*, and to carrie awaie all his corne and provision: and the people, they found, by their means, so ill affected, that had they not stood well vpon their guard, they had hardlie escaped with their liues.

So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, helde on his course for *Iames* Towne: we having in this Iornie (for 25l[bs.] of copper [and] 50l[bs.] of Iron and beads) kept 40 men 6. weekes [*i.e.*, *from* 29 *Dec.* 1608 *to about* 8 *Feb.* 1609];

and dailie feasted with bread, corne, flesh, fish, and fowle. Everie man having for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision, no trade being allowed but for the store; and we [**76**] delivered at Iames Towne to the Cape Marchant, 279 bushels of corne. [1609]

Those temporall proceedings, to some maie seeme too charitable, to such a dailie daring trecherous people; to others vnpleasant that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransaking, and destroying (as did the Spaniards) the simple bodies of those ignorant soules; nor delightful, because not stuffed with relations of heaps and mines of gold and siluer, nor such rare commodities as the Portugals and Spaniards found in the East and West Indies. The want wherof hath begot vs, that were the first vndertakers, no lesse scorne and contempt, than their noble conquests and valiant aduentures (beautified with it), praise and honor. Too much, I confesse, the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit. And to cleare vs from the worlds blind ignorant censure, these fewe words may suffise to any reasonably vnderstanding. [*p.* 464.]

It was the Spaniards good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, whoe had manured the ground with that providence that it afforded victuall at all times; and time had brought them to that perfection [that] they had the vse of gold and silver, and [of] the most of such commodities as their countries affoorded: so that what the Spaniard got was only the spoile and pillage of those countrie people, and not the labours of their owne hands.

But had those fruitfull Countries beene as Salvage, as barbarous, as ill-peopled, as little planted laboured and manured, as *Virginia*; their proper labours, it is likely would haue [**77**] produced as small profit as ours. But had *Virginia* bin peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of pretious Iewels and rich commodities as was the Indies: then, had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might bee expected from vs, the world might then haue traduced vs and our merits,

[1609] and haue made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a lande, even as God made it. Where we found only an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold, or silver, or any commodities; and carelesse of anything but from hand to mouth, but for ba[u]bles of no worth; nothing to encourage vs but what accidentally wee found nature afforded. Which ere wee could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our adventurers; [p. 465.] we were to discover the country, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable civil and industrious, and teach them trades that the fruits of their labours might make vs recompence, or plant such colonies of our owne that must first make provision how to liue of themselues ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the countrie: which doubtless will be as commodious for England as the west Indies for Spaine, if it be rightly managed; notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions that will argue the contrarie, as formerly such like haue done against the Spaniards and Portugals.

But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion I only say this for those that the three first yeares began this plantation: notwithstanding al their factions, mutenies, and miseries, so gently corrected [**78**] and well prevented, pervse the Spanish *Decades*, the relations of *Master Hacklu[y]t*; and tell mee how many ever, with such smal meanes as a barge of 2 Tunnes, sometimes with 7. 8. 9, or but at most 15 men, did ever discover so many faire and navigable rivers, subiect so many severall kings people and nations to obedience and contribution, with so little bloud shed.

And if in the search of those Countries, wee had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it, as obedience and contribution; but if wee haue overskipped it, we will not envy them that shall chance to finde it. Yet can wee not but lament it was our ill fortunes to end, when wee had but only learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

By Richard Wiffin, William Phettiplace, and Anas Todkill.

CHAPTER X.

How the Salvages became subiect to the English

WHen the shippes departed [*November*, 1608], al the provision of the store but that the President had gotten, was so rotten with the last somers rain, and eaten with rats and wormes as the hogs would scarsely eat it; yet it was the souldiers diet till our returnes: so that wee found [**79**] nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our armes convayed to the Salvages. [1609]

[*p.* 466.]

But now, casting vp the store [*the discovery of the rottenness &c., of the corn in the casks was later on, see p.* 155], and finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned: and the company [being] divided into tennes, fifteenes, or as the businesse required, 4 houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise.

But the vntowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President to make a generall assembly; and then he advised them as followeth.

The Presidents advise to the company.

Countrimen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe; and thinke not that either my pains, or the adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloth. I speake not this to you all; for diverse of you, I know, deserve both honor and reward better then is yet here to bee had; but the greater part must be more industrious, or starue. Howsoever you haue bin heretofore tolerated by the authoritie of the Councell from that I haue often commanded you: yet seeing nowe the authoritie resteth wholly in my selfe, you must obay this for a law, that he that will not worke, shall not eate, except by sicknesse he be disabled. For the labours of 30 or 40 honest and industrious men shall not bee consumed to maintaine 150 idle varlets. Now though you presume the authoritie here is but a shaddow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any but my own

[This speech was evidently made after the death of the last surviving member of the Council, Captain *Winne*, see *p.* 157. E. A.]

[1609] must answer it; the letters patents each week shall be read [to] you, whose contents will tell you the contrary. I would wish you therefore, without contempt, seeke to obserue these orders [**80**] set downe; for there are now no more Councells to protect you, nor curbe my indeauors. Therefore hee that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment.

Hee made also a table [*notice board*] as a publike memoriall of every mans deserts, to encourage the good, and with shame to spurne on the rest to amendment. By this, many became very industrious: yet more by severe punishment performed their businesse; for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevail to deceiue him.

Yet the Dutchmens consorts so closely still convai[e]d [*p.* 467.] powder, shot, swords, and tooles; that though we could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late.

The Dutchmens plot to murder Capt. Smith. All this time, the Dutchmen remaining with *Powhatan*, received them, instructing the Salvages [in] their vse. But their consorts not following them as they expected [*p.* 145], to know the cause, they sent *Francis* their companion, a stout young fellow, disguised Salvage like, to the glasse-house, a place in the woods neere a myle from *Iames* Towne, where was the randavus for all their vnsuspected villany.

40 men, they procured of *Powhatan* to lie in Ambuscadoe for Captaine *Smith*; who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but hee sent to apprehend him.

Who found he was gon[e]; yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, Captaine *Smith* presently dispatched 20 shot after him. And then returning but from the glasse-house alone, hee incountred the King of *Paspaheigh*, a most strong stout Salvage; whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a fauchion, attempted to haue shot him. But the President prevented his shot [**81**] by grapling with him; and the Salvage as well prevented him from drawing his fauchion, and perforce bore him into the river to haue drowned him. Long they struggled in the water, from whence the king perceiving two of the Poles vpon the sandes, would haue fled: but the President held him by

Smith taketh the king of Paspaheigh prisoner

the haire and throat til the Poles came in. Then seeing howe pittifully the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the fort. [1609]

The Dutchman ere long was also brought in, whose villany (though all this time it was suspected), yet he fained such a formall excuse that for want of language [*i.e., Dutch*], *Win* [*ne*] had not rightly vnderstood them: and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues, they were constrained to accommodate [him with] his armes; of whome he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce, and that hee made his escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned but only walked in the woods to gather walenuts.

Yet for all this faire tale, there was so smal appearance of truth, hee went by the heeles [*was put in irons*].

The king also he put in fetters, purposing to regaine the Dutch-men, by the saving [of] his life. [*p.* 468.]

The poore Salvage did his best, by his daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not return: neither did *Powhatan* stay them; and [to] bring them fiftie myles on their backes [*i.e., overland from Orapaks*], they were not able. Daily this kings wiues children and people came to visit him with presents, which hee liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the king finding his g[u]ard negligent, though fettered yet escaped.

Captain *Win* thinking to pursue [82] him, found such troopes of Salvages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flights of arrowes.

Captaine *Smith* hearing of this, in returning to the fort, tooke two Salvages prisoners: the one called *Kemps*, the other *Kinsock*; the two most exact villaines in the countrie.

With those, Captaine *Win* and 50 chosen men attempted that night to haue regained the king, and revenged his iniurie.

And so had done, if he had followed his directions, or bin advised by those two villaines (that would haue betraied both their king and kindred for a peece of copper); but hee trifling away the night, the Salvages, the next morning by the rising of the sunne, braved him [to] come a shore to fight. A good time both sides let flie

[1609] at other; but wee heard of no hurt. Only they tooke two Canows, burnt the kings house; and so returned.

The President fearing those bravadoes would but incourage the Salvages, begun himself to trie his conclusions; whereby 6 or 7 Salvages were slaine, [and] as many made prisoners. [He] burnt their houses; tooke their boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at *Iames* Towne for his owne vse: and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe vpon al that had iniured him.

The Salvages desire peace. But in his iourney, passing by *Paspaheigh* towards *Chickahamina*, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their ambuscadoes: but seeing him regardlesly passe their Countrey, all shewed themselues in their bravest manner, [*p.* 469.] to trie their valours. He could not but let flie, and ere he could land, the Salvages no sooner knewe him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator was a stout young man [**83**] called *Ocanindge*; whose worthie discourse deserveth to be remembered. And this it was.

Ocanindge his Oration.

> Captaine *Smith*, my master is here present in this company, thinking it Captaine *Win*, and not you; and of him, hee intended to haue beene revenged, having never offended him. If hee haue offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the fowles flie, and the very beastes striue to escape the snare and liue: then blame not him being a man. Hee would entreat you remember your being a prisoner [*p.* 16], what paines he tooke to saue your life. If since he hath iniured you, he was compelled to it; but, howsoever, you haue revenged it with our too great losse. We perceiue and well knowe you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enjoy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will haue the worst by our absence. For we can plant any where, though with more labour; and we know you cannot liue if you want our haruest and that reliefe wee bring you. If you promise vs peace, we will beleeue you; if you proceed in reveng[e], we will abandon the Countrie.

Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they should bring in provision. So all departed good friends, and so continued till *Smith* left the Countrie. [1609]

Ariving at *Iames* Towne, complaint was made to the President that the *Chickahaminos*, who al this while continued trade and seemed our friendes, by colour thereof were the only theeues; and amongst other things, a pistol being stolne and the theefe fled, there [**84**] were apprehended 2 proper young fellows that were brothers, knowne to be his confederat[e]s. *A Salvage smothered at Iames Towne, and was recovered.*

Now to regain this pistoll, the one we imprisoned; the other was sent, to returne againe within 12 houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some charcole for fire.

Ere midnight his brother returned with the pistoll: but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoke he had made, and so pittiously burnt that wee found him dead. The other most lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth in such bitter agonies, that the President, to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steal, he wo[u]ld make him aliue againe: but [he] little thought hee could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with aquavitæ and vineger, it pleased God to restore him againe to life: but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not vnderstanding any thing hee spoke or heard; the which as much grieved and tormented the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie, vpon promise of their good behaviour afterward, the President promised to recover him; and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe: who in the morning, hauing well slept, had recovered his perfect senses. [*p.* 470.]

And then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of copper given them; they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that is dead.

These and many other such pretty accidents so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan* and all his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace; [**85**]

[1609] returning many stolne things which wee neither demaunded nor thought of. And after that, those that were taken stealing, both *Powhatan* and his people haue sent them backe to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment; and all the countrie became absolutely as free for vs, as for themselues.

[*p.* 471.]

CHAPTER XI.

What was done in three monthes hauing victuall. The store devoured by rats. How we lived 3 monthes of such naturall fruits as the countrie afforded.

More done in 3 monthes than 3 yeares.

NOW wee so quietly followed our businesse that in 3 monthes, we made 3 or 4 Last of pitch, and tarre, and sope ashes; produced a triall of glasse; made a well in the forte of excellent sweete water, which till then was wanting; built some 20 houses; re-couered our Church; provided nets and weares for fishing; and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues and the Salvages, built a blocke house in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison, to entertaine the Salvages trade, and none to passe or repasse, Salvage nor Christian, without the Presidents order; 30 or 40 acres of ground, we digged and planted; of 3 sowes, in one yeare increased 60 and od[d] pigges; and neere 500 chickens brought vp themselues, without hauing any meate giuen them: but the hogges were transported to Hog Ile, where also [**86**] we built a blocke house, with a garrison, to giue vs notice of any shipping; and for their exercise, they made clapbord, wainscot, and cut downe trees against the ships comming.

We built also a fort for a retreat, neare a convenient river, vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended: but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused a stay.

In searching our casked corne, wee found it halfe rotten·

and the rest so consumed with the many thousand rats, increased first from the ships, that we knewe not how to keepe that little wee had. This did driue vs all to our wits ende; for there was nothing in the countrie but what nature afforded. [1609]

Vntill this time *Kemps* and *Tassore* were fettered prisoners, and daily wrought; and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now, for want of victuall, we set at libertie; but so wel were they vsed, that they little desired it.

And to express their loues, for 16 daies continuance, the Countrie brought vs (when least) 100 a daie of squirrils, Turkies, Deare, and other wilde beastes. But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. [*p.* 472.]

60 or 80 with Ensigne *Laxon* were sent downe the river to liue vpon oysters: and 20 with leiftenant *Percie* to trie for fishing at point Comfort, but in 6 weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their net. *Master West*, with as many, went vp to the falles; but nothing could bee found but a fewe berries and acornes. Of that in the store, every one had their equall proportion.

Till this present, by the hazard and endeavour of some 30 or 40, this whole number had ever been fed. Wee had more Sturgeon then [87] could be devoured by dogge and man; of which, the industrious by drying and pownding, mingled with caviare, sorrel and other wholsome hearbs, would make bread and good meate. Others would gather as much *Tockwough* roots in a day as would make them bread a weeke. So that of those wilde fruites, fish, and berries these lived very well, in regard of such a diet. *The pains of 40 fed 150.*

But such was the most strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced nolens volens perforce to gather and prepare their victuall, they would all haue starved, and haue eaten one another. Of those wild fruites, the Salvages often brought vs: and for that the President would not fulfill the vnreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly gluttons, to sell not only our kettles, howes, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, peeces, and the very ordenance and houses (might they haue prevailed but to haue beene but idle) for those salvage fruits, they would haue imparted all to the Salvages.

[1609] Especially for one basket of corne they heard of to bee at *Powhatans*, 50 myles from our fort: though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours; yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sold their soules, though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thousands were their exclamations, suggestions, and devises to force him to those base inventions, to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Countrie.

Their desire to destroy themselues.

Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one *Dyer* [*p.* 168], a most craftie knaue, and his ancient maligner; whom he worthely punished: and with the rest, he argued the case, in this manner, [88]

[*p.* 473.]

The Presidents speech to the drones.

Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you; or that *Powhatan* at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knewe where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as nowe I see a great many: yet it shall not so much passionate me, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from *Powhatan*; nor that I wil longer forbeare to force you from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you raile. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I haue saued yours; when (might your owne wils haue prevailed) you would haue starved, and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selu[e]s those fruits the earth doth yeeld; you shall not only gather for your selues, but for those that are sicke. As yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you, and all my English extraordinarie provision that I haue [*i.e.*, *his private stock*], you shall see mee devide among the sick.

And this Salvage trash you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes, your stomacks can digest it; and therefore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sicke shal not starue, but equally share of all our labours; and every one that

gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next daie, shall be set beyond the river, and for ever bee banished from the fort: and liue there or starue. [1609]

This order, many murmured, was very cruell. But it caused the most part so well [to] bestir themselues that [89] of 200 men (except they were drowned), there died not past 7 or 8. *But 7 of 200 died in 9 months.*

As for Captaine *Win* and *Master Ley*, they died ere this want happened: and the rest died not for want of such as preserued the rest. [*P.* 474.]

Many were billitted among the Salvages, whereby we knewe all their passages, fieldes, and habitations; how to gather and vse their fruits as well as themselues.

So well those poore Salvages vsed vs, that were thus Billited, as divers of the souldiers ran away, to search *Kemps* our old prisoner. Glad was this Salvage to haue such an occasion to testifie his loue, for insteed of entertaining them and such things as they had stolne, with all the great offers and promises they made them (to revenge their iniuries vpon Captaine *Smith*): First, he made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrymen, by them, how he was vsed; feeding them with this law, who would not worke must not eat, till they were neere starved; continuallie threatning to beate them to death. Neither could they get from him, til perforce he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them; as manie others that intended also to haue followed them, were rather contented to labour at home then adventure to liue Idle among the Salvages: of whom there was more hope to make better christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both. *The Salvages returne our fugitiues.*

For so afeard were all those kings and the better sorte of their people to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that we haue extreamelie hurt and punished for their villanies, would hire vs, that we should not tell it to their kings or countrymen, who would also repunish [90] them, and yet returne them to Iames Towne to content the President, by that testimonie of their loues.

[1609] *Master Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawonock*, but found little hope and lesse certainetie of them [that] were left by Sir *Walter Rawley* [*in* 1587]. So that *Nathaniell Powell* and *Anas Todkill* were also, by the *Quiyough-quohanocks*, conducted to the *Mangoages* to search them there. But nothing could we [*evidently Powell and Todkill are the writers of this part of this Work*] learne but they were all dead.

[*p.* 475.]

Search for them sent by Sir Walter Rawley.

This honest, proper, good promis[e]-keeping king, of all the rest, did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods he was yet very zealous; yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our guns did his bowe and arrowes: often sending our President manie presents to praie to his God for raine, or his corne would perish; for his Gods were angrie all this time.

To reclaime the Dutchmen, and one *Bentley* an other fugitiue, we imploied one *William Volda* (a *Switzer* by birth), with pardons and promises to regaine them. Li[t]tle we then suspected this double villanie of anie villain, who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason. For this wicked hypocrit[e], by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd condition of his cursed countrimen, hauing this opportunitie, by his imploiment to regaine them, conveighed them everie thing they desired to effect their proiect to destroie the colonie.

The Dutchmens proiects.

With much devotion they expected the *Spanyard*, to whom they intended to haue done good service. But to begin with the first op[p]ortunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not onlie destroie our hogs, fire our towne, and betraie [**91**] our Pinnas: but bring to his service and subiection the most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted manie discontents [*discontented*]; and manie were agreed to their divelish practise. But *Thomas Douese* and *Thomas Mallard*, whose christian harts much relenting at such an vnchristian act, voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine *Smith*: who did his best it might be concealed, perswading *Douese* and *Malard* to proceed in the confederacie, onlie to bring the irrecla[i]mable Dutch men and inconstant Sal-

[*p.* 476.]

vages in such a maner amongst his ambuscadoes as he had prepared, as not manie of them shoulde ever haue returned from out [of] our peni[n]sula. [1609]

But this bru[i]te comming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the President to cut of[f] those Dutchmen, as amongst manie that offered to cut their throates before the face of *Powhatan*, *Master Wiffin* and *Iefra Ab*[*b*]*ot* were sent to stab or shoot them. *Two gentlemen sent to kill them.* [*p.* 508.]

But these Dutch men made such excuses, accusing *Volday* (whom they supposed had revealed their project), as *Abbot* would not; yet *Wiffin* would, perceiving it but deceipt.

The king vnderstanding of this their imploiment, sent presentlie his messengers to Captaine *Smith* to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command; nor did he, nor would he maintaine them or anie, to occasion his displeasure.

But ere this busines was brought to a point, God having seene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine *Argall* to fish for Sturgion, with a ship well furnished with wine and bisket; which, though it was not sent vs, such were our occasions we tooke it at a price: but left him sufficient to [**92**] returne for England. Still dissembling *Valdo* his villany; but certainlie hee had not escaped, had the President continued.

By this you may see, for all those crosses, treacheries, and dissentions; howe he wrastled and overcame (without bloud shed) all that hapned: also what good was done, how few died, what food the country naturally affordeth; what small cause there is men should starue, or be murdered by the Salvages, that haue discretion to manage this [*their*] courage and industry. [*p.* 477.] *Note these inconveniences.*

The 2. first years though by his adventures he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authority ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavours. Yet this wrought in him that experience and estimation among the Salvages, as otherwaies it had bin impossible he had ever effected that he did.

Though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures he had long and oft indured as wel in some

[1609] parts of *Africa* and *America*, as in the most partes of *Europe* and *Asia*, by land or sea, had taught him much: yet, in this case, he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience; which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end when hee had but onlie learned how to begin.

And though hee left these vnknowne difficulties (made easie and familiar) to his vnlawfull successors; whoe onlie by living in Iames Towne, presumed to know more then al the world could direct them; though they had all his souldiers, with their triple power, and twise triple better meanes: by what they haue done in his absence, the world doth see; and what they would haue done in his [93] presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions—it doth iustlie approue what cause he had to send them for England.

[p. 478.]

But they haue made it more plaine since their returne: having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunity that his labours had effected. As I [? *A. Todkill*] am sorry their actions haue made it so manifest, so am I vnwilling to say what reason doth compell me to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partial, reasonlesse, or malitious.

CHAPTER XII.

[p. 470.]

The Ar[r]ival of the third supply.

TO redresse those iarres and ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the governement: and devolved the authoritie to the Lord *De-la-ware*. Who for his deputie, sent Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Somers*. [1609]

The alteration of the governement.

With 9 ships and 500 persons, they set saile from England in May 1609. A small catch perished at sea in a *Herycano*. The Admiral [*flagship*], with 150 men, with the two knights and their new commission, their bils of loading with al manner of directions, and the most part of their provision, ar[r]ived not. With the other 7, as Captaines, ar[r]ived *Rat[c]liffe* (whose right name was *Sickelmore*), *Martin*, and *Archer*: who as they had been troublesome at sea, beganne againe to marre all ashore.

[p. 479.]

The loss of Virginia.

[*pp.* xciv, xcviii.]

For though, as is said [*pp.* 105, 107, 408, 411, 444], they were formerly deposed and sent for England: yet now [**94**] returning againe, graced by the title of *Captaines of the passengers*, seeing the admirall [*flagship*] wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strength[e]ned themselues with those newe companies, so railing and exclaiming [to them] against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him ere ever they see his face.

Who vnderstanding by his scouts, the ar[r]ivall of such a fleet, little dreaming of any such supply, supposing them Spaniards, hee so determined and ordered his affaires as wee little feared their ar[r]ivall, nor the successe of our

[1609] incounter: nor were the Salvages any way negligent or vnwilling to aide and assist vs with their best power.

The Salvages offer to fight under our coulors. Had it so beene, wee had beene happy. For we would not haue trus[t]ed them but as our foes; whereas receiving those as our countriemen and friends, they did their best to murder our President [*p.* 166], to surprise the store, the fort, and our lodgings; to vsurp the governement, and make vs all their servants, and slaues to our owne merit.

Mutinie.

[*p.* 480.] To 1000 mischiefes these lewd Captaines [*Ratcliffe, &c.*] led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly gallants packed thether by their friends to escape il destinies: and those would dispose and determine of the governement, sometimes one [way], the next day another, to day the old commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine, they would rule all or ruine all. Yet in charitie, we must endure them thus to destroy vs; or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds censure vpon vs, to haue beene guiltie of their bloods. Happy had we bin had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned and (as we were) left to our fortunes: for on earth was never more confusion or miserie then their factions occasioned. [**95**]

The President seeing the desire those braues had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all and haue returned for England: but seeing there was smal hope this newe commission would ar[r]iue, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed.

It would bee too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practises hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue; the chiefe whereof he quickly laid by the heeles, til his leasure better served to doe them iustice.

[*p.* 481.] *The planting [of] Nansamund.* And to take away al occasions of further mischiefe, *Master Persie* had his request granted, to returne for England: and *Master West* with 120 went to plant at the falles; *Martin* with neare as many to *Nansamund*; with their due proportions of all provisions, according to their numbers.

A plantation at the falles.

Now the Presidents yeare being neere expired, he made *Martin* President: who knowing his own insufficiencie; and the companies scorne, and conceit of his vnworthinesse;

within 3 houres, [he] resigned it againe to Captane *Smith*: [1609]
and at *Nansamund* thus proceeded.

The people being contributers vsed him kindly. Yet such was his iealous feare and cowardize, in the midst of his mirth, hee did surprize this poore naked king, with his monuments, houses, and the Ile he inhabited; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with fear as imboldned the Salvages to assa[u]lt him, kill his men, redeeme their king, gather and carrie away more then 1000 bushels of corne, hee not once daring to intercept them: but sent to the President, then at the Falles, for 30 good shotte, which from *Iames* [**96**] towne immediat[e]ly were sent him. But hee so well imploid them, as they did iust nothing; but returned, complaining of his childishnesse, that with them fled from his company [*the* 120], and so left them to their fortunes. *The breach of peace with the Salvages.*

Master West hauing seated his men at the Falles, presently returned to revisit *Iames* Towne. The President met him by the way, as he followed him to the falles: where he found this company so inconsiderately seated in a place, not only subiect to the rivers invndation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconveniences.

For remedy whereof, he sent presently to *Powhatan*, to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*, and these should be his conditions. *Powhatan sold for copper.*

> [He] with his people, to resigne him the fort and houses and all that countrie for a proportion of copper. That all stealing offenders should bee sent him, there to receiue their punishment. That every house as a custome should pay him a bushell of corne for an inch square of copper, and a proportion of *Pocones* as a yearely tribute to King *Iames* for their protection, as a dutie: what else they could spare, to barter at their best discreation. [*p.* 482.]

But both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kind care, and authoritie. The worst they could to shew their spite, they did. I doe more then wonder to thinke how only with 5 men, he either durst, or would adventure as he did (knowing how greedy they were of his blood) to land *Mutinies.* 5 *suppresse* 120.

[1609] amongst them, and commit to imprisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till by their multitudes, being 120, they forced him to retire. [97] Yet in that retreate, hee surprised one of the boates, wherewith hee returned to their shippe wherein was their provisions, which also hee tooke. And well it chaunced hee found the marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibility he had ever escaped.

Notwithstanding there were many of the best, I meane of the most worthy in Iudgement, reason, or experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old souldiers, and seeing with their eies his actions so wel managed with discretion (as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Web*, Captaine *Mone*, Captaine *Phitz-Iames*, *Master Partridge*, *Master White*, *Master Powell*, and divers others): when they perceived the malice and condition of *Rat[c]liffe*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, left their factions, and ever rested his faithfull friends.

The breach of peace with the Salvages at the Falls.

But the worst was, the poore Salvages that dailie brought in their contribution to the President. That disorderlie company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses, and keeping some prisoners, that they dailie complained to Captaine *Smith* he had [*p.* 483.] brought them for protectors worse enimies then the *Monocans* themselues: which though till then, for his loue, they had indured, they desired pardon, if hereafter they defended themselues, since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much they importuned him to punish their misdemeano[u]res, as they offered, if hee would conduct them, to fight for him against them.

But having spent 9. daies [*Aug.–Sept.* 1609] in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselues [98] with their great guilded hopes of seas, mines, commodities, or victories they so madly conceiued; then, seing nothing would prevaile with them, he set saile for *Iames* Towne.

An assault by the Salvages.

Now no sooner was the ship vnder saile, but the Salvages assaulted those 120 in their fort, finding some strag[g]ling abroad in the woods, they slew manie; and so affrighted

the rest as their prisoners escaped, and they scarse retired, with the swords and cloaks of these they had slaine. [1609]

But ere we [*Pots and Phettiplace were evidently with Smith here*] had sailed a league, our shippe grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parlie. Where we found them all so strangelie amazed with this poore simple assault as they submitted themselues vpon anie tearmes to the Presidents mercie: who presentlie put by the heeles 6 or 7 of the chiefe offenders.

The rest he seated gallantlie at *Powhatan* in their Salvage fort, [which] they [*the Savages had*] built and pretilie fortified with poles and barkes of trees sufficient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in *Virginia*, drie houses for lodgings, 300 acres of grounde readie to plant; and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightful in *Virginia*, for which we called it Nonsuch. *The planting of Nonsuch.*

The Salvages also he presentlie appeased, redelivering to every one their former losses. *New peace concluded.*

Thus al were friends, new officers appointed to command, and the President againe readie to depart. [*p.* 484.

But at that instant arrived *Master West*, whose good nature, with the perswasions [of] and compassion of [*for*] those mutinous prisoners, was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboiles arose. For the rest, being possessed of al their victuall, ammunition and everie thing; they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President [**99**] left them to their fortunes: they returning againe to the open aire at West Fort, abandonir g Nonsuch; and he to *Iames* Towne with his best expedition.

But this hapned him in that Iournie [*about the beginning of September* 1609]. Sleeping in his boat, for the ship was returned 2 daies before, accidentallie one fired his powder bag; which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes 9. or 10. inches square, in a most pittifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloath[e]s, he leaped over board into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him, he was neere drown[e]d. In this estat[e], without either Chirurgeon or chirurgery, he was to go neare 100. miles [*the distance by water from Powhatan to James Town*]. *C. Smith blowne vp with powder.*

Ar[r]iving at *Iames* Towne, causing all things to bee prepared for peace or warres, [and] to obtain provision.

[1609] Whilest those things were providing, *Martin*, *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, and *Archer* being to haue their trials, their guiltie consciences fearing a iust reward for their deserts, seeing the President vnable to stand, and neare bereft of his senses by reason of his torment; they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his h[e]art did faile him [*Coe or Dyer*, *see p.* 168], that should haue given fire to that mercilesse pistol.

A bloody intent.

So, not finding that course to be the best, they ioined togither to vsurp the governement, thereby to escape their punishment, and excuse themselues by accusing him.

The President had notice of their proiects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but [to] permit them to take of[f] their heads that would resist his commaund; yet he would not permit them: but sent for the masters of the ships, and tooke order with them, for his returne for England.

The governement vsurped. [*p.* 485.]

Seeing there was neither chirurgeon nor chirurgery [100] in the fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next daie; his commission to be suppressed, he knew not why; himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded, he knew not how; and a new commission graunted, they knew not to whom, the which so disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies and factions as they did. Besides so grievous were his wounds and so cruell his torment [that] few expected he could liue; nor was hee able to follow his businesse, to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the countries for provision as he intended, and well he knew in those affaires his own actions and presence were as requisit[e] as his experience and directions, which now could not be: he went presently abo[a]rd, resolving there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutine[e]rs and their confederates. Who seeing him gone, perswaded *Master Persie* to stay, and be their President: and within lesse then an howre was this mutation begun and concluded.

[The only legal member of the Council at this time was Smith. It was a revolt against Law.

For when the company vnderstood *Smith* would leaue them, and see the rest in Armes called Presidents and councellors; diuers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him [to] resigne them his commission. Who, after many salt and

bitter repulses, that their confusion should not be attributed to him (for leaving the country without government and authority), having taken order to bee free from danger of their malice, he was not vnwilling they should steale it from him, but never consented to deliver it to any. [1609]

The causes why Smith left the countrie and his Commission.

But had that vnhappy blast not hapned, he would quickly haue quallified the heate of [**101**] those humors and factions, had the ships but once left them and vs to our fortunes; and haue made that provision from among the Salvages as we neither feared Spanyard, Salvage, nor famine: nor would have left *Virginia*, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and paid for it.

What shall I say? but thus we lost him that, in all his proceedings, made Iustice his first guid[e], and experience his second; ever hating basenesse, sloth, pride, and indignitie more then any dangers; that never allowed more for himselfe then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger, would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loved actions more than wordes, and hated falshood and cous[e]nage worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deathes. [*p.* 486.

Leaving vs [4 *Oct.* 1609] thus, with 3 ships, 7 boates, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, 10 weekes provision in the store, 490 and odde persons, 24 peeces of ordinances, 300 muskets snaphanches and fire lockes, shot powder and match sufficient; curats, pikes, swords, and moryons more then men; the Salvages their language and habitations wel knowne to 100 well trained and expert souldiers, nets for fishing, tooles of all sortes to worke, apparell to supply our wants, 6 mares and a horse, 5 or 600 swine, as many hens and chicken, some goates, some sheep. What was brought or bread there remained.

But they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume that we had. [They] tooke care for nothing [**102**], but to perfit some colourable complaints against Captaine *Smith*. For effecting whereof, 3 weekes longer [*i.e.*, 13 *Sept. to* 4 *Oct.* 1609, *see p.* xcviii], they stayed the 6 ships till they

[1609] could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beene spent; but it su[i]ted well with the rest of their discreations.

Their complaints and proofe against him.

Now all those *Smith* had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced, had free power and liberty to say or sweare any thing; and from a whole armefull of their examinations this was concluded.

The mutine[e]rs at the Falles complained he caused the Salvages [to] assa[u]lt them, for that hee would not revenge their losse (they being but 120, and he 5 men and himselfe): and this they proved by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for periurie and pilfering.

The dutchmen that he had appointed to bee stab[be]d for their treacheries, swore he sent to poison them with rats baine.

The prudent Councel that he would not submit himselfe to their stolne authoritie. *Coe* [*p.* 146] and *Dyer* [*pp.* 156, 472] that should haue murdered him [*p.* 166], were highly preferred for swearing they heard one say, he heard *Powhatan* say, that he heard a man say, if the king would not send that corne he had [*p.* 156], he should not long enioy his copper crowne, nor those robes he had sent him: yet those also swore hee might haue had corne for tooles but [he] would not. (The truth was, *Smith* had no such ingins as the King demanded, nor *Powhatan* any corne. Yet this argued he would starue them.)

Others complained hee would not let them rest in the fort (to starue), but forced them to the oyster banks, to liue or starue (as he liued himselfe). For though hee had of his owne private prouisions [**103**] sent from England, sufficient; yet hee gaue it all away to the weake and sicke: causing the most vntoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the vnknowne parts of the rivers and woods, that they lived (though hardly), that otherwaies would haue starved ere they would haue left their beds, or at most the sight of *Iames* Towne, to haue got their own victuall.

Some propheticall spirit calculated [that] hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue

made himselfe a king, by marrying *Pocahontas*, *Powhatans* daughter. (It is true she was the very Nomparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine *Smith*; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected: and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it [*p.* 455]. But her marriage could no way haue intitled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he might. If he would, he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed; for there was none that could haue hindred his determination.) [1609] *Pocahontas Powhatans daughter* [*p.* cxv.]

Some that knewe not any thing to say, the Councel instructed and advised what to sweare. So diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember hee had ever done or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath it was applied to their fittest vse. Yet not past 8 or 9 could say much, and that nothing but circumstances which [**104**] all men did knowe was most false and vntrue.

Many got their passes by promising in England to say much against him.

I haue presumed to say this much in his behalfe, for that I never heard such foule slanders so certainely beleeued and vrged for truthes by many a hundred that doe still [1612] not spare to spread them, say them, and sweare them; that I thinke doe scarse know him though they meet him: nor haue they e[i]ther cause or reason but their wills, or zeale to rumor or opinion.

For the honorable and better sort of our Virginian adventurers, I think they vnderstand it as I haue writ it. For instead of accusing him, I haue never heard any giue him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselues that were sent home only to testifie against him.

Richard Pots, VV. P[*hettiplace*]

[1609-10] WHen the ships departed [*about* 4 *Oct.* 1609], C[aptain] *Davis* arived in a smal Pinnace with some 16 proper men more: to those were added a company from *Iames* Towne vnder the command of Captaine *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, to inhabit Point comfort.

The planting at point Comfort.

[*p.* 497.]

Martin and *Master West* hauing lost their boates, and neere halfe their men amongst the Salvages, were returned to *Iames* Towne; for the Salvages no sooner vnderstood of Captaine *Smiths* losse, but they all revolted, and did murder and spoile all they could incounter.

Now were we all constrained to liue only of that which *Smith* had only for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now haue we 20 Presidents with all their appurtenances; for Master *Persie* was so sicke he could not goe nor stand.

[*p.* 498.

But ere all was consumed, *Master West* and *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, each with a pinnace, and 30 or 40 men wel appointed, sought abroad to trade: how they carried the businesse I knowe not, but *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* and his men were most[ly] slaine by *Powhatan*; those that escaped returned neare starved in the Pinnace. And *Master West* finding little better successe, set saile for England.

Rat[*c*]*liffe slain by Powhatan.*

Now wee all found the want of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, provision, and contribution from the Salvages; wee had nothing but mortal wounds with clubs and arrowes. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived; our commanders and officers did daily consume them: some small proportions (sometimes) we tasted, till all was devoured. Then swords, arrowes, peeces, or any thing we traded to the Salvages; whose bloody fingers were so imbrued in our bloods, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscreation, and the losse of our ships; of 500, within 6 months after [*Oct.* 1609—*May* 1610] there remained not many more then 60. most miserable and poore creatures. It were to[o] vild to say what we endured: but the occasion was only our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and governement; and not the barrennesse and defect of the countrie, as is generally sup-

posed. For till then, in 3 yeares (for the numbers were landed [to] vs) we had never landed sufficient provision for 6 months: such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellowes the marriners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries; that notwithstanding euer swaid and overruled the businesse. Though we did liue as is said, 3 yeares chiefly of what this good countrie naturally affordeth: yet now had we beene in Paradice it selfe (with those governours) it would not haue beene much better with vs: yet was there some amongst vs, who had they had the governement, would surely haue kept vs from those extremities of miseries, that in 10 daies more would haue supplanted vs all by death. [1610]

The fruits of improvidence.

But God that would not it should bee vnplanted, sent Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Sommers*, with a 150 men, most happily perserved by the *Ber[m]ondoes* to preserue vs. Strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserved, in a leaking ship, in those extreme stormes and tempests in such overgrowne seas 3 daies and 3 nights by bayling out water. And having given themselu[e]s to death, how happily when least expected, that worthy Captaine Sir *George Somers* having l[a]ine all that time cuning [*steering*] the ship before those swa[l]lowing waues, discouered those broken Iles: where how plentifully they lived with fish and flesh, what a paradice this is to inhabit, what industrie they vsed to build their 2 ships, how happily they did transport them to Iames Towne in *Virginia* [*where they arrived on* 23 *May* 1610], I refer you to their owne printed relations.

The arivall of Sir *Thomas Gates with* 150.

[*pp.* 499, 635.]

But when those noble knights did see our miseries (being strangers to the country) and could vnderstand no more of the cause but by their coniecture of our clamors and complaints, of accusing or excusing one an other: they imbarked vs with themselues, with the best means they could, and abandoning *Iames* Towne, set saile for England.

Iames Towne abandoned.

But yet God would not so haue it, for ere wee left the river; we met the *Lord de-la-ware*, then governour for the countrie, with 3 ships exceeding well furnished with al necessaries fitting: who againe returned them to the abandoned *Iames* Towne, the 9 of *Iune*, 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, and divers other gentlemen of sort.

The arival of Lord La-ware.

[*p.* 500.]

Sir *George Somers* and Captaine *Argall* he presentlie

[1610-11] dispatcheth to require the *Bermondas* to furnish them with provision: Sir *Thomas Gates* for England to helpe forward their supplies; himselfe neglected not the best [that] was in his power for the furtherance of the busines and regaining what was lost. But even in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an incounter with a scurvy sicknesse, that made him vnable to w[i]eld the state of his bodie, much lesse the affaires of the colonie [*p.* 505], so that after 8. monthes sicknesse, he was forced to saue his life by his returne for England.

[*p.* 639.]

2 Ships sent to the Bermudas.

In this time *Argall* not finding the *Bermondas*, having lost Sir *George Somers* at sea, fell on the coast of *Sagadahock*; where refreshing himselfe, [he] found a convenient fishing for Cod. With a tast[e] whereof, hee returned to *Iames* towne, from whence the Lord *De-la-ware* sent him to trade in the river of *Patawomecke*. Where finding an English boy [*Henry Spelman*, *see pp.* ci–cxiv, 498, 503, 528, 586, 606] those people had preserved from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance, [he] had such good vsage of those kind Salvages, that they fraughted his ship with corne; wherewith he returned to *Iames* Towne: and so for England, with the Lord Governour.

[*p.* 503.]

The arival of Sir Thomas Dale.

Yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent Sir *Thomas Dale* with 3 ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeare: all which arived the 10 of May, 1611.

Againe, to second him with all possible expedition, there was prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates*, 6 tall ships with 300 men, and 100 kyne, with other cattell, with munition and all manner of provision [that] could bee thought needfull, and they arived about the 1 of August next after, safely at *Iames* towne.

Sir George Somers arivall at the Bermondas, and dieth.

Sir *George Somers* all this time was supposed [to be] lost: but thus it hapned. Missing the Bermondas, hee fell also, as did *Argall*, with *Sagadahock*: where being refreshed, [he] would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search; and there safely arived. But overtoiling himselfe, on a surfeit died [*on* 9 *Nov.* 1611].

And this Cedar ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any iron but only one bolt in her keele, yet well endured thus tossed

to and againe in this mightie Ocean, til with his dead bo[die] she arived in England at line [*last*]: and at *Whitchurch* in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with many volies of shot, and the rights of a souldier. [1611-12]

And vpon his Tombe was bestowed this Epitaph [*p.* 640.]

his Epitaph.

Hei mihi Virginia, quod tam cito præterit æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæuiet inde et hyems.
At ver perpetuum nascetur, et Anglia læta,
Decerpit flores, Floryda terra tuos.

Alas *Virginia* Somer so soone past,
Autume succeeds and stormy winters blast,
Yet Englands joyfull spring with Aprill shewres,
O *Floryda*, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

Since, there was a ship fraughted with provision and 40 men, and another since then, with the like number and provision, to stay in the Countrie 12 months with Captaine *Argall*.

The Lord governour himselfe doth confidently determine to goe with the next, or as presently as he may, in his owne person, with sundry other knights and gentlemen, with ships and men so farre as their meanes will extend to furnish.

As for all their particular actions since the returne of Captaine *Smith*; for that they haue beene printed from time to time, and published to the world, I cease farther to trouble you with any repetition of things so well knowne, more then are necessarie.

To conclude the historie, leauing this assurance to all posteritie, howe vnprosperously things may succeed, by what changes or chances soever; the action is honorable and worthie to bee approved, the defect whereof hath only beene in the managing the businesse: which I hope now experience hath taught them to amend, or those examples may make others to beware, for the land is as good as this booke doth report it.

FINIS.

CAptaine *Smith* I returne you the fruit of my labours, as *Master Croshaw* [*that is Rawlegh Crashaw, pp.* 129, 131, 139, 143, 145, 184, *&c.*] requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, and hearing the relations of such which haue walked and observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceaued of the expedition, giue me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict: the land is good: as there is no citties, so no sonnes of *Anak:* al is open for labor of a good and wise inhabitant: and my prayer shall ever be, that so faire a land, may bee inhabited by those that professe and loue the Gospell.

Your friend

VV. S.

A

DESCRIPTION

of *New England:*

OR

THE OBSERVATIONS, AND discoueries, of Captain *Iohn Smith* (Admirall of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year *of our Lord* 1614: *with the successe of sixe Ships, that went the next yeare* 1615; *and the* accidents befell him among the *French men of warre*:

With the proofe of the present benefit this Countrey affoords; whither this present yeare, 1616, *eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall.*

At LONDON
Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and are to be sould at his house called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, ouer against Lincolnes Inne. 1616.

[This Work was, in substance, first addressed to the Privy Council, by Captain SMITH, in August–October 1615, while a prisoner on board the French pirate ship, under the command of Monsieur POYRUNE, *p.* 739, off the Azores : " where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse ; thinking to haue sent it [to] you of his Maiesties Councell, by some ship or other," *pp.* 224, 736. He must therefore have carried the manuscript with him, in his escape in the November following, in the open boat at Ile de Ré, *pp.* 226, 738.

He completed it the next year, and it was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, London :

3° Junij 1616.

Robert Clerke. Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master SANFORD and Master **Lownes** Warden a booke called *A Description of New Englande*, by JOHN SMITHE. . . . . vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iii. 588. London, 1876.

It is clear from the following passage at *p.* 937, that SMITH himself is the author of the name *New England.*

" In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called it *New-England:* but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the eccho of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday*, and *Penaquid* ; till, at my humble su[i]te, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did change [*p.* 232] the barbarous names of their principal Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their Godfather."

The printing of the book was finished on the following 18 June 1616, *p.* 229.

The book and Map must then have been presented to Prince CHARLES, and his new names of places struck off on the now exceedingly rare leaf ; which through the kindness of CHARLES DEANE, Esq., of Cambridge, Massa., U.S.A., we have been enabled to reprint from a photographed copy, at *p.* 232. See also *p.* cxxxiv.

For the bibliography of this Work, see *p.* cxxx.]

TO THE HIGH HOPEFVL CHARLES,

Prince of Great Britaine.

SIR:

SO fauorable was your most renowned and memorable Brother, Prince *Henry*, to all generous designes; that in my discouery of *Virginia*, I presumed to call two nameless Headlands after my Soueraignes heires, *Cape Henry*, and *Cape Charles*. [1616]

Since then, it beeing my chance to range some other parts of *America*, whereof I heere present your Highness the description in a Map; my humble su[i]te is, you would please to change their Barbarous names, for such English, as Posterity may say, Prince *Charles* was their Godfather.

What here in this relation I promise my Countrey, let mee liue or die the slaue of scorne and infamy, if (hauing meanes) I make it not apparent; please God to blesse me but from such accidents as are beyond my power and reason to preuent. For my labours, I desire but such conditions as were promised me out of the gaines; and that your Highnesse would daigne to grace this Work, by your Princely and fauorable respect vnto it, and know mee to be

Your Highnesse true
and faithfull servant,
Iohn Smith.

To the Right Honourable and *worthy Lords, Knights, and Gentle-*men, of his Maiesties Councell, for all Plantations and discoueries; especially, of *New England.*

[1616] *SEeing the deedes of the most iust, and the writings of the most wise, not onely of men, but of God himselfe, haue beene diuersly traduced by variable iudgements of the Times opinionists; what shall such an ignorant as I expect? Yet reposing my selfe on your fauours, I present this rude discourse to the worldes construction; though I am perswaded, that few do think there may be had from* New England, *Staple commodities well worth* 3 *or* 40000 *pound a yeare, with so small charge, and such facilitie, as this discourse will acquaint you.*

But, lest your Honours, that know mee not, should thinke I goe by hearesay or affection; I intreat your pardons to say thus much of my selfe: Neere twice nine yeares [i.e., 1599–1616], *I haue beene taught by lamentable experience, aswell in* Europe *and* Asia, *as* Affrick *and* America, *such honest aduentures as the chance of warre doth cast vpon poore Souldiers. So that, if I bee not able to iudge of what I haue seene, contriued, and done; it is not the fault either of my eyes, or foure quarters. And these nine yeares* [1607–1616], *I haue bent my endeauours to finde a sure foundation to begin these ensuing proiects: which though I neuer so plainely and seriously propound; yet it resteth in God, and you, still to dispose of. Not doubting but your goodnesse will pardon my rudenesse, and ponder errours in the balance of good will.*

No more; but sacring all my best abilities to the good of my Prince and Countrey, and submitting my selfe to the exquisit[*e*] *iudgements of your renowned vertue,*

I euer rest

Your Honours, in
all honest service

I. S.

To the right Worshipfull Aduenturers for the Countrey of *New England*, in the Cities of *London*, *Bristow*, *Exceter*, *Plimouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Bastaple*, *Totneys*, &c. and in all other Cities and Ports, in the Kingdome *of England*

IF the little Ant, and the sillie Bee seek by [1616] their diligence the good of their Commonwealth; much more ought Man. If they punish the drones and sting them [that] steales their labour; then blame not Man. Little hony hath that hiue, where there are more Drones then Bees: and miserable is that Land, where more are idle then well imployed. If the indeauours of those vermin be acceptable, I hope mine may be excuseable; Though I confesse it were more proper for mee, To be doing what I say, then writing what I knowe. Had I returned rich, I could not haue erred: Now hauing onely such fish as came to my net, I must be taxed. But, I would my taxers were as ready to aduenture their purses, as I, purse, life, and all I haue: or as diligent to furnish the charge, as I know they are vigilant to crop the fruits of my labours. Then would I not doubt (did God please I might safely arriue in *New England*, and safely returne) but to performe somewhat more then I haue promised, and approue my words by deeds, according to proportion.

I am not the first [that] hath beene betrayed by Pirat[e]s: And foure men of warre, prouided as they were, had beene sufficient to haue taken *Sampson*,

[1616] *Hercules,* and *Alexander* the great, no other way furnisht then I was. I knowe not what assurance any haue [who] do passe the Seas, Not to bee subiect to casualty as well as my selfe: but least this disaster may hinder my proceedings, or ill will (by rumour) the behoofefull work I pretend; I haue writ this little: which I did thinke to haue concealed from any publike vse, till I had made my returnes speake as much, as my pen now doth.

But because I speake so much of fishing, if any take mee for such a deuote [*devoted*] fisher, as I dreame of nought else, they mistake mee. I know a ring of golde from a graine of barley, aswell as a goldesmith: and nothing is there to bee had which fishing doth hinder, but furder vs to obtaine. Now for that I haue made knowne vnto you a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your Patent and Commission; hauing also receiued meanes, power, and authority by your directions, to plant there a Colony, and make further search, and discouery in those parts there yet vnknowne: Considering, withall, first those of his Maiesties Councell, then those Cities aboue named, and diuerse others that haue beene moued to lend their assistance to so great a worke, doe expect (especially the aduenturers) the true relation or euent of my proceedings which I heare are so abused; I am inforced for all these respects, rather to expose my imbecillitie to contempt, by the testimonie of these rude lines, then all should condemne me for so bad a Factor, as could neither give reason nor account of my actions and designes.

Yours to command

Iohn Smith.

In the deserued Honour of the Au- [p. 491.]
thor, Capaine Iohn Smith,
and his Worke.

DAmn'd Enuie is a sp'rite, that euer haunts [1616]
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or Ingnorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deere WORTH
(Maugre her malice) sets their glorie forth.
If this faire Ouerture, then, take not; It
Is Enuie's *spight (dear friend) in men-of-wit;*
Or Feare, *lest morsels, which our mouthes possesse,*
Might fall from thence; or else, tis Sottishnesse.
If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;
*Thy *Letters are as Letters in thy praise;*
Who, by their vice, improue *(when they* reprooue)
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.
Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any Smith to forge *such* fame.

Io: Dauies, *Heref*:

* Hinderers.

To his worthy Captaine the Author. [p. 492.]

THat which wee call the subiect of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight
Of Enuie; which doth no mans merits right.
My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this; I 'aue said enough before.

Your sometime souldier,

I. Codrinton, now Templer.

[*f* 492.]

To my Worthy friend and Cosen, Captaine Iohn Smith.

[1616]

I *t ouer-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words*
O*f these designes, with deeds I doe compare.*
H*eere is a Booke, such worth truth affords,*
N *one should the due desert thereof impare* ;
S*ith thou, the man, deseruing of these Ages,*
M*uch paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdoms good,*
I*n Climes vnknowne, Mongst* Turks *and Saluages,*
T*'inlarge our bounds* ; *though with thy losse of blood.*
H*ence damn'd Detraction : stand not in our way.*
E*nuie, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay.*

N. Smith.

[*f.* 690.]

To that worthy and generous Gentleman, *my verie good friend*, Captaine Smith.

M*Ay Fate thy Proiect prosper, that thy name*
May be eternised with liuing fame :
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Enuie euer waits vpon desert :
In spight of Pelias, *when his hate lies colde,*
Returne as Iason *with a fleece of Golde.*
Then after-ages shall record thy praise,
That a New England *to this Ile didst raise :*
And when thou dy'st (*as all that liue must die*)
Thy fame liue heere ; *thou, with Eternitie.*

R: Gunnell.

To his friend Cap: Smith, vpon his description of New England.

[*p.* 689.]

[1616]

Sir; your Relations I haue read: which shewe,
Ther's reason I should honour them *and* you:
And if their meaning I haue vnderstood,
I dare to censure, thus: Your Proiect's *good;*
And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine,
With honour, pleasure and a trebble gaine;
Beside the benefit that shall arise
To make more happie our Posterities.
For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more
Then what o're-filles, and surfets vs in store,
To order Nature's *fruitfulnesse a while*
In that rude Garden, *you* New England *stile;*
With present good, ther's hope in after-daies
Thence to repaire what Time *and Pride decaies*
In this rich kingdome. And the spatious West
Beeing still more with English *blood possest,*
The Proud Iberians *shall not rule those Seas,*
To checke our ships from sayling where they please;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become so great to force a bound to Our.
Much good my minde fore-tels would follow hence
With little labour, and with lesse expence.
Thriue therefore thy Designe, *who ere enuie:*
England *may ioy in* England's *Colony,*
Virginia seeke *her Virgine sisters good,*
Be blessed in such happie neighbourhood:
Or, what-soere Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honor'd for first moouing it.

George Wither,
è societate Lincol.

[p. 493.]

In the deserued honour of my honest *and worthie Captaine, Iohn Smith,* and his Worke.

[1616]

Captaine and friend; when I peruse thy booke
(With Iudgements *eyes) into thy* heart *I looke:*
And there I finde (what sometimes Albyon *knew)*
A Souldier, to his Countries-honour, *true.*
Some fight for wealth *; and some for* emptie praise;
But thou alone thy Countries Fame *to raise.*
With due discretion, *and* vnda[u]nted heart,
I (oft) so well haue seene thee act thy Part
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie.
Though men of greater Ranke *and lesse* desert
Would Pish-*away thy* Praise, *it can not start*
From the true Owner: *for, all good-mens tongues*
Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
If, then, Wit, Courage, *and* Successe *should get*
Thee Fame; *the Muse for* that *is in thy* debt:
A part whereof (least able though I bee)
Thus heere I doe disburse, to honor Thee.

Rawly Croshaw

Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace, and *Richard Wiffing,* Gentlemen, and Souldiers under Captaine *Smiths* Command: In his deserued honor for his Worke, and worth.

[p. 493.]

[1616]

WHy may not we in this Worke haue our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and night,
When thou Virginia *foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind;*
And held'st the King of Paspeheh *enchaind.*
Thou all alone this Saluage *sterne didst take.*
Pamunkes *king wee saw thee captiue make*
Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,
To murther thee and vs resolued; when
Fast by the hand thou ledst this Saluage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to gouerne him:
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(Sith their drad Soueraigne thou had'st so distrest)
That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd
Vnto our helplesse ships. *Thou (thus admir'd)*
Didst make proud Powhatan, *his subiects send*
To Iames *his Towne, thy censure to attend:*
And all Virginia's *Lords, and pettie Kings,*
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings
To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene:
And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene;
So, making Valour Vertue, really;
Who hast nought in thee counterfet, or slie;
If in the sleight bee not the truest art,
That makes men famoused for faire desert.

M. Phettiplace.
W Phettiplace.
R. Wiffin.
1616.

[1616] *Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie,*
Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true storie.
If it bee ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is it ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
But, if the first bee well don; it is well,
To say it doth (if so it doth) excell!
Praise is the guerdon of each deere desert,
Making the praised act the praised part
With more alacritie: Honours *Spurre is* Praise;
Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decaies.
And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather,
That future Times may know who was the father
Of this rare Worke (New England) *which may bring*
Praise to thy God, and profit to thy King.

A DESCRIPTION OF

New-England, by Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

IN the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with two Ships from *London*, of a few Marchants, I chanced to arriue in *New-England*, a parte of *Ameryca*; at the Ile of *Monahigan*, in 43½ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge, to make our selues sauers howsoeuer. We found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: they beeing a kinde of Iubartes, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our Golde, it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furres was now our guard: and by our late arriual, and long lingring about the Whale[s], the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceiued it; we thinking that their seasons, serued at all times: [2] but wee found it otherwise; for, by the midst of Iune, the fishing failed. Yet in Iuly and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40000., of Cor fish about 7000.

[1614]

[*p.* 697.] My first voyage to New England.

[*p.* 698.]

[*p.* 936.]

[1614] Whilest the sailers fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them [that] might best bee spared; Ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Beuer skinnes, 100 Martins [skins], and neer as many Otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues.

We ranged the Coast both East and West much furder; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better: and right against vs in the Main [*the mainland*] was a Ship of Sir *Frances Popphames*, that had there such acquaintance, hauing many yeares vsed onely that porte, that the most parte there, was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade; during the time we tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Saluages habitation.

With these Furres, the Traine [*train oil*], and Cor-fish, I returned for *England* in the Bark: where within six monthes after our departure from the *Downes*, we safe arriued back. The best of this fish was solde for fiue pound the hundreth, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings.

The other Ship staied to fit herselfe for *Spaine* with the dry fish; which was sould, by the Sailers reporte that returned, at forty ryalls [20*s*.] the quintall, each hundred [weight] weighing two quintalls and a halfe. [**3**]

[*p.* 702.] The situation of New England.

New England is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea opposite to *Noua Albyon* [*California*] in the South Sea, discouered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled *New England*, beeing in the same latitude. *New France*, off it, is Northward: Southwardes is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning Continent, with *New Granado*, *New Spain*, *New Andolosia*, and the *West Indies*.

Now because I haue beene so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long vnknown, or not possessed by the *Spaniard*, and many such like demands; I intreat

your pardons, if I chance to bee too plaine, or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction. [1614]

Notes of Florida. *Florida* is the next adioyning to the *Ind[i]es*, which vnprosperously was attempted to bee planted by the *French*. A Country farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian but by the wonderful ende[a]uours of *Ferdinando de Soto*, a valiant *Spaniard*: whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

[*f.* 703.] Notes of Virginia. *Virginia* is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*; whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof without offence to any Christian inhabitant. For from the degrees of 30. to 45. his Maiestie hath granted his Letters patents, the Coast extending South-west and North-east aboute 1500 [4] miles; but to follow it aboard, the shore may well be 2000. at the least: of which, 20 miles is the most [that] giues entrance into the Bay of *Chisapeak*, where is the *London* plantation: within which [entrance] is a Country (as you may perceiue by the description in a Booke and Map printed in my name of that little I there discouered) [that] may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit.

And Southward adioyneth that part discouered at the charge of Sir *Walter Rawley*, by Sir *Ralph Lane*, and that learned Mathematician Master *Thomas Heryot*.

Northward six or seauen degrees is the Riuer *Sadagahock*, where was planted the Westerne Colony, by that Honourable Patrone of vertue, Sir *Iohn Poppham*, Lord chief Iustice of *England*.

Ther[e] is also a relation printed by Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnould*, of *Elizabeths Isles*: and an other by Captaine *Waymouth*, of *Pemmaquid*.

From all these diligent obseruers, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for diuers others that, long before and since, haue ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place, some in another, I must entreat them [to] pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or [were] neuer well obserued, or died with the Authors: so that the Coast is yet [1616] still but euen as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscouered.

[1614] I haue had six or seauen seuerall plots of those Northern parts, so vnlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did [**5**] mee no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best; but least others may be deceiued as I was, or thro[u]gh dangerous ignorance hazard themselues as I did, I haue drawen a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-marks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to be obserued which the haste of other affaires did cause me [to] omit. For being sent more to get present commodities then knowledge by discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would: yet it will serue to direct any [that] should goe that waies, to safe Harbours and the Saluages habitations. What [*A.* 704.] marchandize and commodities for their labour they may finde, this following discourse shall plainely demonstrate.

Thus you may see, of this 2000. miles more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose: no, not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discouered. As for the goodness and true substances of the Land, wee are for [the] most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it bee those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack*, and *Sagadahock*: but onely here and there wee touched or haue seene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themselues into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles; whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France* can describe the Harbors [**6**] and dangers, by landing here or there in some Riuer or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substances of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria* and the rest. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that think euery one which hath bin at *Virginia*, vnderstandeth or knowes what *Virginia* is: Or that the *Spaniards* know one halfe quarter of those Territories they possesse; no, not so much as the true circumference of *Terra Incognita*, whose large dominions may equalize the greatnesse and goodnes of *America*, for any thing yet known. It is strange with what small

power hee hath raigned in the *East Ind[i]es*; and few will vnderstand the truth of his strength in *America*: where he hauing so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they neede not greatly feare his furie in the *Bermudas*, *Virginia*, *New France*, or *New England*. Beyond whose bounds, *America* doth stretch many thousand miles: into the frozen partes whereof, one Master *Hutson* [*Hudson*], an English Mariner, did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I know of, where he vnfortunately died. For *Affrica*, had not the industrious Portugales ranged her vnknowne parts, who would haue sought for wealth among those fryed Regions of blacke brutish Negers; where notwithstanding all the wealth and admirable aduentures and endeauours more then 140 years [1476–1616], they knowe not one third of those blacke habitations. [1614] [p. 705.]

But it is not a worke for euery one, to manage such an affaire as makes a discouerie, and plants a Colony. It requires all the best parts of [7] Art, Iudgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence, and Industrie, to doe but neere well. Some are more proper for one thing then another; and therein are to be imployed: and nothing breedes more confusion then misplacing and misimploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus*, *Cortez*, *Pitzara*, *Soto*, *Magellanes*, and the rest serued more than a prentiship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West Ind[i]es*: which to the wonder of all ages succesfully they effected, when many hundreds of others, farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, beeing instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous, and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keep vs back from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits that aduanced themselues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruites of their labours, his greatest glory, power, and renowne. [p. 964–5.]

[1614]
[*p.* 706.]
The description of New England.

That part wee call *New England* is betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45; but that parte this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, some 75 leagues by a right line distant each from other: within which bounds I haue seene at least 40. seuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coast, and sounded about 25 excellent good Harbours; [**8**] in many whereof there is anc[h]orage for 500. sayle of ships of any burden; in some of them for 5000. And more than 200 Iles ouergrowne with good timber, of diuers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as requireth a longer time then I had, to be well discouered.

The particular Countries or Gouernements.

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobscot*. Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers we found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Kenebeck*, *Sagadahock*, and *Aumoughcawgen*; And to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshoquen*, *Wakcogo*, *Passharanack*, *&c.* To these are allied the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticus*, *Passataquack*, *Aggawom*, and *Naemkeck*: All these, I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment: though most be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

[*p.* 707.]

The next I can remember by name are *Mattahunts*; two pleasant Iles of groues, gardens, and corne fields, a league in the Sea from the Mayne. Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Pocapawmet*, *Quonahassit*, *Sagoquas*, *Nahapassumkeck*, *Topeent*, *Seccasaw*, *Totheet*, *Nasnocomacack*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*; Then *Cape Cod* by which is *Pawmet* and the Isle *Nawset*, of the language and alliance of them of *Chawum*: The others are called *Massachusets*; of another language, humor, and condition.

For their trade and marchandize; to each of their habitations they haue [**9**] diuerse Townes and people belonging; and by their relations and descriptions, more then 20 seuerall Habitations and Riuers that stretch themselues farre vp into the Countrey, euen to the borders of diuerse great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Beuers and Otters.

From *Pennobscot* to *Sagadahock* this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but ouergrowen with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks, or shippes; with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowle, and sundry sorts of good fruites for mans vse. [1614]

Betwixt *Sagadahock* and *Sawocatuck* there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and *Cape Cod* very many: especial[l]y the Coast of the *Massachusets* is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, and then tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as, Free stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Fornaces and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conueniently to melt in them. But the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Deuonshire*, I think most of the cliffes would make such lime stone. If they be not of these qualities, they are so like, they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine. All which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good iron and steele in those parts, as I know it is within the bounds of [**10**] the Countrey, I dare engage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building [and] the rigging of shippes of any proportion, and good marchandize for the fraught, within a square of 10 or 14 leagues: and were it for a good rewarde, I would not feare to prooue it in a lesse limitation.

The mixture of an excellent soyle.

[*p.* 951.]

[*pp.*708,950.]

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffes and cliffes of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the fish, and the moderate temper of the ayre (for of twentie fiue, not any was sicke but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall [*chance*] diet): who can but approoue this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the foure parts of the world that I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather liue here then any

A proofe of an excellent temper.

A proofe of health.

[1614] where: and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

Staple commodities present. The maine Staple, from hence to bee extracted for the present to produce the rest, is fish; which howeuer it may seeme a mean and a base commoditie: yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see what great [**11**] aduentures the hopes of setting forth [*pp.* 893, 945.] men of war [*privateers*] to rob the industrious innocent, would procure; or such massie promises in grosse: though more are choked then well fedde with such hastie hopes.

The Hollanders fishing. But who doth not know that the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious? and by the venting this poore commodity to the Easterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rosin, Cordage, and such like (which they exchange againe, to the French, Spaniards, Portugales, and English, &c., for what they want) are made so mighty, strong and rich, as no State but *Venice*, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that aboundance of shipping and all sorts of marchandize, as well of Golde, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, Pretious stones, Silkes, Veluets, [*p.* 709.] and Cloth of golde; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse commodities? What Voyages and Discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land, haue they long maintained in despite of one of the greatest Princes of the world? And neuer could the Spaniard will all his Mynes of golde and Siluer pay his debts, his friends, and army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders stil haue done by this contemptible trade of fish. Diuers (I know) may alledge, many other assistances. But this is their Myne; and the Sea the [**12**] source of those siluered streames of all their vertue; which hath made them now the very miracle of industrie, the pattern of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum mobile* that turnes all their *Spheres* to this height of plentie, strength, honour and admiration.

[1614]

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicities, such as it is, and from which (few would thinke it) they yearly draw at least one million and a halfe of pounds starling; yet it is most certaine (if records be true): and in this faculty they are so naturalized, and of their vents [*sales*] so certainely acquainted, as there is no likelihood they will euer be paralleld, hauing 2 or 3000 Busses, Flat bottomes, Sword pinks, To[a]des, and such like, that breedes them Saylers, Mariners, Souldiers and Marchants, neuer to be wrought out of that trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they, that will vse it: though not so certainely, nor so much in quantity; for want of experience. And this Herring they take vpon the Coast of *Scotland* and *England*; their Cod and Ling, vpon the Coast of *Izeland* and in the North Seas.

Which is fifteen hundred thousand pound.

Hamborough and the *East Countries*, for Sturgion and Cauiare, gets many thousands of pounds from *England*, and the *Straites*: *Portugale*, the *Biskaines*, and the *Spaniards*, make 40 or 50 Saile yearely to *Cape-blank*, to hooke for Porgos, Mullet, and [to] make *Puttardo*: and *New found Land*, doth yearely fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane [**13**] skinny Poore-Iohn, and Corfish; which at least yearely amounts to 3 or 400000 pound.

If from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of fish, and by them [that] hath neither meate, drinke, nor clothes; wood, iron nor steele; pitch, tarre, nets, leades, salt, hookes, nor lines; for shipping, fishing, nor prouision, but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many seuerall parts of the world ere they come together to be vsed in this voyage. If these I say can gaine, and the Saylers liue going for shares, [on] lesse then the third part of their labours, and yet spend as much time in going and comming as in staying there, so short is the season of fishing: why should wee more doubt then *Holland*, *Portugale*, *Spaniard*, *French*, or other, but to doe much better then they, where there is victuall to feede vs, wood of all sorts to build Boats, Ships, or Barks; the fish at our doores; pitch, tarre, masts, yards, and most of other necessaries onely for making? And here are no hard Landlords to racke vs

[p. 710.]

[1614] with high rents, or extorted fines to consume vs; no tedious pleas in law to consume vs with their many years disputations for Iustice; no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders, as in popular States. So freely hath God and his Maiesty bestowed those blessings on them that will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master and owner of his owne labour and land; or the greatest part in a small time. If hee haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp this trade; and by industrie [**14**] quickly grow rich; spending but halfe that time wel, which in *England* we abuse in idlenes, worse or as ill.

Examples of altitude com paratiuely.

Here is ground also as good as any lyeth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c., which is as temperate and as fruitfull as any other paralell in the world.

As for example, on this side the line West of it in the South Sea, is *Noua Albion*, discouered as is said [*p.* 188] by Sir *Francis Drake*. East from it, is the most temperate part of *Portugale*, the ancient kingdomes of *Galazia* [*Galicia*], *Biskey*, *Nauarre*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, *Castilia* the olde, and the most moderatest of *Castilia* the new, and *Valentia*, which is the greatest part of *Spain*: which if the *Spanish* Histories bee true, in the *Romanes* time abounded no lesse with gold and siluer Mines, then now the *West Indies*; the *Romanes* then vsing the *Spaniards* to work in those Mines, as now the *Spaniard* doth the *Indians*.

In *France*, the Prouinces of *Gasconie*, *Langadock*, *Auignon*, *Prouince*, *Dolphine* [*Dauphigny*], *Pyamont* [*Piedmont*], and *Turyne*, are in the same paralel: which are the best and richest parts of *France*.

In *Italy*, the prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous State of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bolognia*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the great Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slauonia*, *Istrya*, and [*p.* 711.] *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Grecia*, that famous Kingdome of *Macedonia*, *Bulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated [**15**] the most pleasant and plentifull citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople*.

In *Asia* also, in the same latitude, are the temperatest

parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, and *China*; besides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in these most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia*. [1614]

Southward, in the same height, is the richest of gold Mynes, *Chily* and *Baldiuia*, and the mouth of the great Riuer of *Plate*, &c: for all the rest of the world in that height is yet vnknown.

Besides these reasons, mine owne eyes that haue seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes, as well as it [*New England*] can finde no aduantage they haue in nature, but this, They are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and Art. This is onely as God made it, when he created the worlde.

Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intralls of those Regions were sought: if their Land were cultured, planted and manured by men of industrie, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what neede they doubt, hauing those aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of those famous Kingdomes, in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions? seeing euen the very edges doe naturally afford vs such plenty, as no ship need returne away empty: and onely vse but the season of the Sea, fish will returne an honest gaine, besides all other aduantages; her treasures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originalls wasted, consumed, nor abused.

And whereas it is said, the *Hollanders* serue the *Easterlings* themselues, and other parts that want, [**16**] with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod; The *Easterlings* [serve] a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Cauiare; *Capeblanke*, *Spaine*, *Portugale*, and the *Leuant*, [serve] with Mullet and Puttargo; *New found Land*, [serve] all *Europe* with a thin Poore Iohn: yet all is so ouerlaide with fishers as the fishing decayeth, and many are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway* and *Polonia*, [producing] Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Yardes; *Sweathland* and *Russia*, Iron and Ropes; *France* and *Spaine*, Canuas, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oyle; *Italy* and *Greece*, Silks and Fruites: I dare boldly say (because I haue seen naturally growing, or breeding in those parts, the same materialls that all those are made of), they may as well be had there, or the most [*pp.* 238, 254.]

The particular staple commodities that may be had. [*pp.* 240, 255

[*p.* 712.]

[1614] part of them, within the distance of 70 leagues, for some few ages, as from all those parts; vsing but the same meanes to haue them that they doe, and with all those aduantages.

The nature of ground approoued.

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionless it is capable of producing any Grain, Fruits, or Seeds you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions afore named: but it may be, not euery kinde to that perfection of delicacy; or some tender plants may miscarie, because the Summer is not so hot, and the winter is more colde in those parts wee haue yet tryed neere the Sea side, then we finde in the same height, in *Europe* or *Asia*. Yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rockie Ile in 43½, 4 leagues from the Main, in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for sallets in Iune and Iuly.

All sorts [**17**] of cattell may here be bred and fed in the Iles, or *Peninsulaes*, securely for nothing. In the *Interim*, till they encrease, if need be (obseruing the seasons) I durst vndertake to haue corne enough from the Saluages for 300 men, for a few trifles. And if they [*the Savages*] should bee vntoward (as it is most certaine they are) thirty or forty good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this prouision; if they vnderstand what they doe: 200 whereof may, nine monethes in the yeare, be imployed in making marchandable fish, till the rest prouide other necessaries fit to furnish vs with other commodities.

The seasons for fishing approoued.

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, here is Cod in abundance; in May, Iune, Iuly, and August, Mullet and Sturgion, whose roes doe make Cauiare and Puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I haue taken many out of the

p. 713. bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the Saluages compare their store in the Sea, to the haires of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you haue Cod againe, to make Cor fish, or Poore Iohn: and each hundred [fish] is as good as two or three hundred in the *Newfound Land*: so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting, and turning is saued. And you may haue your fish at what Market you will, before they can haue any in *New-found Land*; where their fishing is chiefly but in Iune and Iuly: whereas it is heere in March, Aprill, May,

September, October, and [**18**] Nouember, as is said. So that by reason of this plantation, the Marchants may haue fraught both out and home: which yeelds an aduantage worth consideration. [1614]

Your Cor-fish, you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serue the Ports in *Portugale* (as *Lisbon*, *Auera*, *Porta port*, and diuers others) or what market you please, before your *Ilanders* [*i.e.*, *Icelanders*] returne. They being tyed to the season in the open Sea; you hauing a double season: and fishing before your doors, may euery night sleep quietly a shore with good cheare and what fires you will: or when you please [fish], with your wiues and familie; they onely [in] their ships in the maine Ocean.

The Mullets heere are in that abundance, you may take them with nets, sometimes by hundreds; where at *Cape blank*, they hooke them: yet those but one foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I haue measured. Much Salmon some haue found vp the Riuers as they haue passed: and heer the ayre is so temperate as all these at any time may well be preserued.

Imployment for poore people and fatherlesse children.

Now, young boyes and girles, Saluages or any other, be they neuer such idlers, may turne, carry, and return fish, without either shame, or any great paine: hee is very idle that is past twelue yeares of age and cannot doe so much; and she is very olde, that cannot spin a thre[a]d to make engines to catch them.

[*p.* 714.] The facility of the plantation.

For their transportation, the ships that go there to fish may transport the first; who for their passage [**19**] will spare the charge of double manning their ships; which they must doe in the *New-found Land*, to get their fraught: but one third part of that companie are onely but proper to serue a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor Iohn; notwithstanding, they must haue meate, drinke, clothes, and passage as well as the rest.

Now all I desire is but this. That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choise they can, or accept such as are presented to them, to serue them at that rate; and their ships returning, leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding and apparell, salt, hookes, nets, lines, and

[1614] such like, as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne, may keepe their boates, and doe them many other profitable offices. Prouided I haue men of ability to teach them their functions: and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon an occasion, because of the abuses which haue beene offered the poore Saluages, and the liberty both French or any that will, hath to deale with them as they please; whose disorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worse.

Now such order, with facilitie might be taken, with euery port Towne or Citie, to obserue but this order; with free power to conuert the benefits of their fraughts to what aduantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion: who euer as they are able to subsist of themselues, may beginne the new Townes in [**20**] *New England* in memory of their olde; which freedome being confined but to the necessity of the generall good, the euent (with Gods help) might produce an honest, a noble, and profitable emulation.

Present commodities.

Salt vpon salt may assuredly be made; if not at the first in ponds, yet till they bee prouided this may be vsed. Then the Ships may transport Kine, Horses, Goates, course Cloath, and such commodities as we want; by [*against*] whose arriuall may be made that prouision of fish to fraught the Ships that they stay not; and then if the [*p.* 715] sailors goe [*serve*] for wages, it matters not. It is hard if this returne defray not the charge; but care must be had, they arriue in the Spring, or else prouision be made for them against the Winter.

Of certaine red berries called Alkermes which is worth ten shillings a pound, but of these hath been sould for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yearely be gathered a good quantitie.

Of the Musk Rat may be well raised gaines well worth their labour, that will endeuor to make tryall of their goodnesse.

Of Beuers, Otters, Martins, Blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yearely be had 6 or 7000: and if the trade of the *French* were preuented, many more. 25000 this yeare [1614] were brought from those Northren parts into *France*; of which trade, we may haue as good part as the *French*, if we take good courses.

Of Mynes of Golde and Siluer, Copper, and [**21**] probabilities of Lead, Christall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances. It is true indeed, I made many trials, according to those instructions I had, which doe perswade mee I need not despaire, but there are metalls in the Countrey: but I am no Alchymist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, Who will vndertake the rectifying of an Iron forge, if those that buy meate, drinke, coals, ore, and all necessaries at a dear rate gaine; where all these things are to be had for the taking vp, in my opinion cannot lose. [1614]

Of woods seeing there is such plenty of all sorts; if those that build ships and boates, buy wood at so great a price as it is in *England*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Holland*, and all other prouisions for the nourishing of mans life, liue well by their trade: when labour is all [that is] required to take those necessaries, without any other tax; what hazard will be here, but doe much better? And what commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood? For the goodnesse of the ground, let vs take it fertill, or barren, or as it is: seeing it is certaine it beares fruites, to nourish and feed man and beast, as well as *England*; and the Sea those seuerall sorts of fish I haue related.

Thus seeing all good prouisions for mans sustenance, may with this facility be had by a little extraordinarie labour, till that transported be increased; and all necessaries for shipping, onely for labour: to which may bee added the assistance of the Saluages, which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their [**22**] kindes; towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods. [*b*. 716.]

What gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses, dwelling there; you may serue all *Europe* better and farre cheaper, then can the *Izeland* fishers, or the *Hollanders*, *Cape-blank*, or *Newfound Land*: who must be at as much more charge then you) may easily be coniectured by this example.

An example of the gains vpon euery yeare or six monethes returne.

2000. pound will fit out a ship of 200. and 1 [ship] of a 100 tuns. If the dry fish they both make, [they] fraught that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintal [40 *lbs*] (but commonly it giueth fifteen or twentie, espe-

[1614] cially when it commeth first, which [*at* 50 *Quintals to the Ton,*=£37 10*s. or* £50 *a Ton; therefore* 80 *Tons of fish*] amounts to 3 or 4000 pound; but say but tenne, which is the lowest), allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate, to 2000 pound; which is the whole charge of your two ships, and their equipage. Then the returne [*by* [*p.* 781.] *exchange*] of the money, and the fraught of the ship for the vintage [*homeward from Spain*] or any other voyage, is cleere gaine, [together] with your shippe of a 100 tuns of Train and oyle, besides the beuers and other commodities; and that you haue at home within six monethes, if God please but to send an ordinarie passage.

Then sauing halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victual, ouerplus of men and wages; with her fraught thither of things necessarie for the planters, the salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time: if nothing were to bee expected but this, it might in time equalize your *Hollanders* gaines, if not exceed them. They returning but [**23**] wood, pitch, tarre, and such grosse commodities; you, wines, oyles, fruits, silkes, and such *Straits* commodities as you please to prouide by your Factors, against such times as your shippes arriue with them.

This would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so employ and encourage a great part of our idlers and others that want imployments fitting their qualities at home (where they shame [*are ashamed*] to doe that they would doe abroad), that could they but once taste the sweet fruites of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be aduised by good discipline, to take more pleasure in honest industrie, then in their humours of dissolute idlenesse.

[*p.* 717.] A description of the Countries in particular, and their situations.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Ayre, the Land, the Fruites, the Rocks, the People, the Gouernment, Religion, Territories and Limitations, Friends and Foes: but [simply] as I gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language, to my vnderstanding, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c.

The most Northern part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions [that] I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuer ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people; but they were from their habitations, either fishing [**24**] among the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods, for Deer and Beuers. The Bay is full of great Ilands, of one, two, six, eight, or ten miles in length; which diuides it into many faire and excellent good harbours. [1614]

On the East of it, are the *Tarrantines*, their mortall enemies [*i.e.*, *of Pennobscot*]; where inhabit the *French*, as they report, that liue with those people as one nation or family. And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high mountaine (a kind of fortresse against the *Tarrantines*) adioyning to the high mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea: but ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them, sixteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next; then *Nusconcus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*.

Vp this Riuer [at *Sagadahock*], where was the Westerne plantation, are *Aumuckcawgen*, *Kinnebeck*, and diuers others; where there is planted some corne fields. Along this Riuer 40 or 50 miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffes of barren Rocks, ouergrowne with wood: but where the Saluages dwelt, there the ground is exceeding fat and fertill.

Westward of this Riuer is the Countrey *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good harbours.

Sowocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large sandy Bay; which hath many Rocks and Iles: but few good harbours but for Barks, I yet know. [*p.* 718.]

But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre I could see Eastward of it, is nothing but such high craggy Cliffy Rocks and stony [**25**] Iles that I wondered such great trees could growe vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrie rather to affright, then delight one. And how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more

[1614] barren, I knowe not. Yet the Sea there is the strangest fishpond I euer saw; and those barren Iles so furnished with good woods, springs, fruits, fish, and foule, that it makes mee thinke, though the Coast be rockie, and thus affrightable; the Vallies, Plaines, and interior parts may well (notwithstanding) be very fertile. But there is no kingdome so fertile [that] hath not some part barren: and *New England* is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited.

As you passe the Coast still Westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient harbors for small barks; and a good Countrie, within their craggie cliffs.

Angoam is the next. This place might content a right curious iudgement: but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbour; and the worst is, it is inbayed too farre from the deepe Sea. Heere are many rising hilles; and on their tops and descents, many corne fields and delightful groues. On the East, is an Ile of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plaine morish grasse fit for pasture, with many faire high groues of mulberie trees gardens: and there is also Okes, Pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, beeing a good and safe harbor.

Naimkeck though it be more rockie ground (for *Angoam* is sandie) [is] not much inferior; neither for the [**26**] harbor, nor any thing [that] I could perceiue, but the multitude of people.

[*pp.* 206, 232, 276, 718, 720, 853, 855, 866.] From thence doth stretch into the Sea, the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, fronted with three Iles called the [*pp.* 720, 838.] three *Turks heads*: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields. They report a great Riuer, and at least thirtie [*p.* 719.] habitations, doe possesse this Countrie. But because the *French* had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it.

The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the Countrie of the *Massachusets*, which is the Paradise of all those parts. For, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens, and good harbours: the Coast is for the most

part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the *French*, hauing remained heere neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles, and that the River doth pearce many daies iourneies the intralles of that Countrey. [1614]

We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in their furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell we had with one of them, hee onely with three others, crossed the harbor of *Quonahassit* to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe; and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger.

Then come you to *Accomack*, an excellent good [**27**] harbor, good land; and no want of any thing but industrious people. After much kindnesse; vpon a small occasion, wee fought also with fortie or fiftie of those: though some were hurt, and some slaine; yet within an hour after, they became friendes.

Cape Cod is the next [that] presents it selfe, which is onely a headland of high hils of sand ouergrowne with shrubbie pines, hurts, and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This *Cape* is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a sickle; on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet:* and in the bottome of the Bay, the people of *Chawum.* [*pp.* 719, 749.]

Towards the South and Southwest of this *Cape*, is found a long and dangerous shoale of sands and rocks. But so farre as I incircled it, I found thirtie fadom [of] water aboard the shore, and a strong current; which makes mee thinke there is a Channell about this shoale: where is the best and greatest fish to be had, Winter and Summer, in all that Countrie. But the Saluages say there is no Channell; but that the shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet*, to the Ile of *Nausit*; and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea. [*p.* 720.]

The next to this, is *Capawack*, and those abounding Countries of copper, corne, people, mineralls: which I went to discouer this last yeare [1615]; but because I miscarried [*pp.* 218, 732.]

[1614] by the way, I will leaue them, till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

A good Countrie. The *Massachusets*, they report, sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobskot*; and are not [**28**] alwaies friends with them of *Chawun* and their alliants: but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other, so farre as they haue societie on each others frontiers. For they [*the Bashabes*] make no such voiages as from *Pennobskot* to *Cape Cod*, seldom to *Massachewset*.

In the North (as I haue said) they begunne to plant corne, whereof the South part hath such plentie as they haue what they will from them of the North; and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and foule: but both Winter and Summer hath it in the one part or other all the yeare; being the meane and most indifferent temper betwixt heat and colde, of all the regions betwixt the Lyne and the Pole: but the furs Northward are much better, and in much more plentie, then Southward.

Land markes. The remarkeablest Iles and mountains for Landmarkes are these. The highest Ile is *Sorico*, in the Bay of *Pennobskot*: but the three Iles and a rock of *Matinnack* are much furder in the Sea. *Metinicus* is also three plaine Iles and a rock, betwixt it and *Monahigan*. *Monahigan* is a rounde high Ile, and close by it [is] *Monanis*; betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride [*rode.*] In *Damerils* Iles is such another. *Sagadahock* is knowne by *Satquin* and foure or fiue Iles in the mouth. *Smyths* Iles are a heape together, [with] none neere them, against [*pp.* 718, 838.] *Accominticus*. The Three Turks Heads are three Iles [*pp.* 204, 232, 276, 718, 720, 853, 855, 866.] seen far to Sea-ward in regard of the headland.

The cheefe headlands are onely *Cape Tragabigzanda* and *Cape Cod*. [**29**]

[*p.* 721.] The cheefe mountaines, [are] them of *Pennobscot*; the twinkling mountaine of *Aucociso*; the greate mountaine of *Sasanou*; and the high mountaine of *Massachusit*: each of which you shall finde in the Mappe; their places, formes, and altitude.

The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrals of rockie mountaines.

Hearbs. The hearbes and fruits are of many sorts and kindes: as alkermes, curran[t]s, or a fruit like curran[t]s, mulberries,

vines, respices, goosberries, plummes, walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts, &c., pumpions, gourds, strawberries, beans, pease, and mayze; a kinde or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines, and ropes both small and great, verie strong for their quantities [*substance*]. [1614]

Oke is the chiefe wood; of which there is great difference in regard of the soyle where it groweth: firre, pyne, walnut, ches[t]nut, birch, ash, elme, cypresse, ceder, mulberrie, plum tree, hazell, saxefrage, and many other sorts. Woods.

Eagles, Gripes, diuers sorts of Haukes, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Guls, Turkies, Diue-doppers, and many other sorts, whose names I knowe not. Birds.

Whales, Grampus, Porkpisces, Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddock, Cole, Cusk or small Ling, Shark, Mackerell, Herring, Mullet, Bas[s]e, Pinacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eels, Crabs, Lobsters, Muskles, Wilkes, Oysters, and diuerse others, &c. Fishes.

Moos[e], a beast bigger then a Stagge; deere, red and Fallow; Beuers, Wolues, Foxes both blacke and other; Aroughconds, Wild-cats, Beares, Otters, [**30**] Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diuerse sorts of vermine, whose names I know not. Beasts.

All these and diuerse other good things do heere, for want of vse, still increase, and decrease with little diminution; whereby they growe to that abundance [that] you shall scarce finde any Baye, shallow shore, or Coue of sand, where you may not take many Clampes, or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure; and in many places lode your boat if you please: nor Iles where you finde not fruits, birds, crabs, and muskles, or all of them for [the] taking, at a lowe water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boye might take of Cunners and Pinacks and such delicate fish, at the ships sterne, more then sixe or tenne can eate in a daie; but with a casting net, thousands when wee pleased: and scarce any place, but Cod, Cuske, Holybut, Mackerell, Scate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And in diuers sandy Baies, a man may draw with a net great store of Mullets, [*p.* 72a.] Ba[s]ses, and diuers other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his Net can drawe on shore. [There is] no

[1614] Riuer where there is not plentie of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both: all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons. But if a man will goe at Christmasse to gather Cherries in *Kent*, he may be deceiued, though there be plentie in Summer: so heere, these plenties haue each their seasons, as I haue expressed.

We for the most part had little but bread and vinegar: and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decaied, they wrought all day, laie abroade in the Iles [**31**] all night, and liued on what they found, yet were [they] not sicke. But I would wish none [to] put himself long to such plunges, except necessitie constraine it. Yet worthy is that person to starue that heere cannot liue; if he haue sense, strength, and health: for, there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their prouisions for a day; and hee that hath experience to mannage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corne, fish, and flesh, as the earth hath of those kindes, and yet make that labor but their pleasure: prouided that they haue engin[e]s that be proper for their purposes.

A note for men that haue great spirits, and smal meanes.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to aduance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he haue but the taste of virtue and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without preiudice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any: or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely su[i]tes with honour and honestie, [**32**] as the discouering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the [*p.* 123.] ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching virtue; and

gaine to our Natiue mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her: finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? [1616]

Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the *Chaldeans*, the *Syrians*, the *Grecians*, and *Romanes*, but this one rule; What was it they would not doe, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mother-citie? For example: *Rome*, What made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroade? and the iustice and iudgement out of their experience, when they grewe aged. What was their ruine and hurt, but this; The excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their vndeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealo[u]sies, their politicke incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pain and vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the vse of Armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; [**33**] the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would liue at home idly (or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue) onely to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily? Or by vsing that miserably, that maintained vertue honestly? Or for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or (to maintaine a silly shewe of brauery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely; by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceiue thy friends, by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with [*p.* 724.]

[1616] excesse, burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea euen thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates? though thou seest what honours, and rewards, the world yet hath for them [who] will seeke them and worthily deserue them.

I would be sor[r]y to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage, through their pride in [**34**] their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life.

And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne miserie, and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most neede of their imployment? drawing by all manner of inuentions, from the Prince and his honest subiects, euen the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges, or Bragges, were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the onely baite, to cause vs not to be onely assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne security, ere we well perceiue it.

An example of secure coueteousness.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walles, riches, and pleasures [at] last taken by the *Turke* (which are but a bit, in comparison of their now mightines) remember vs of the effects of priuate couetousness? at which time the good *Emperour* held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacie and prodigalitie. His pouertie when the *Turke* besieged, the citizens (whose marchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth, little conceiuing the desperate resolution of a valiant expert enemy) left the Emp[erour] so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented Souldiers; that sodainly he, they, and their citie were all a prey to the deuouring *Turke*. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their [**35**] enemies to torment them, their friends, and countrey, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeues in the world to robbe you) not [to] grudge to lend some proportion, to breed them that

[*A.* 725.]

haue little, yet [are] willing to learne how to defend you: for, it is too late when the deede is a-doing. [1616]

The *Romanes* estate hath beene worse then this: for, the meere couetousnesse and extortion of a few of them, so mooued the rest, that not hauing any imployment but contemplation; their great iudgements grew to so great malice, as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselues by faction: Let this mooue you to embrace imployment for those whose educations, spirits, and iudgements want but your purses; not onely to preuent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue.

And you fathers, that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couteous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonness, till they grow your masters; or become so basely vnkinde, as they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts grow dissolute: and although you would wish them any where to escape the gallowes, and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound[s] a yeer; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduenture with them, to obtaine an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your [36] prouidence, might be better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you, [that] any place yet vnknowne can afford such fortunes; you would not beleeue him, no more then *Columbus* was beleeued there was any such Land as is now the well knowne abounding *America*; much lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Affrica*, and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita*; where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more suiting their qualities, then begging from their Princes generous disposition, the labours of his subiects, and the very marrow of his maintenance.

The Authors conditions.

I haue not beene so ill bred, but I haue tasted of *Plenty* and *Pleasure*, as well as *Want* and *Miserie*: nor doth necessitie yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeauors: nor am I ignorant what small thanke I shall haue for my paines; or that many would haue the Worlde imagine them to be of great iudgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty obiections and

[1616] detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds, will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want imployment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne [p. 726.] senselessnesse, and incredulity; Hoping that gaine will make them affect that, which Religion, Charity, and the Common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in me, To deceiue my selfe; much more the King, State, my Friends and Countrey, with these inducements: which, seeing his Maiestie hath giuen [**37**] permission, I wish all sorts of worthie, honest, industrious spirits, would vnderstand: and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to giue it: Not to perswade them to goe onely; but goe with them: Not leaue them there; but liue with them there.

I will not say, but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses may be taken, [that] may make us miserable enough: But if I may haue the execution of what I haue proiected; if they want to eate, let them eate or neuer digest Me. If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines [which] may su[i]te my paines, quality, and condition. And if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeares end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne. I feare not want of companie sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of those Countries; and by the proofe of that wealth I hope yearely to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents, as are beyond my power in reason to preuent: For, I am not so [p. 928.] simple to thinke, that euer any other motiue then wealth, will euer erect there a Commonweale; or draw companie from their ease and humours at home, to stay in *New England* to effect my purposes.

The planters pleasures, and profits.

And lest any should think the toile might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labour, and diligence: I assure my selfe there are who delight extreamly in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England*, to enioy it, then I should doe heere [*New England*] to gaine wealth sufficient: [**38**] and yet I thinke they should not haue halfe such sweet content: for, our pleasure here is still gaines; in *England* charges and losse. Heer nature and liberty affords vs that freely, which in *England* we want,

or it costeth vs dearely. What pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occasion a-shore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Hearbs, in contriuing their owne Grounds, to the pleasure of their owne mindes, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other works, &c.) to recreate themselues before their owne doores, in their owne boates vpon the Sea; where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling, may take diuerse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull vp two pence, six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you can ha[u]le and veare a line? He is a very bad fisher [that] cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line, one, two, or three hundred Cods: which dressed and dried, if they be sould there for ten shillings the hundred, though in England they will giue more than twentie, may not both the seruant, the master, and marchant, be well content with this gaine? If a man worke but three dayes in seauen, he may get more then hee can spend, vnlesse he will be excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer, Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they eate in a weeke? or if they will not eate it, because there is so much better [39] choice; yet sell it, or change it, with the fisher men, or marchants, for any thing they want. And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt or charge then angling with a hooke; and crossing the sweete ayre from Ile to Ile, ouer the silent streames of a calme Sea? Wherein the most curious may finde pleasure, profit, and content. [1616] [*p.* 727.]

Thus, though all men be not fishers: yet all men, whatsoeuer, may in other matters doe as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a Commonwealth, and each in their seuerall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

Imployments for gentlemen.

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them, then ranging dayly those vnknowne parts, vsing fowling and fishing, for hunting and hawking? and yet you shall see the wilde-haukes giue you some pleasure, in seeing them stoope (six or seauen after one another) an houre or two together, at the skuls of fish in the faire harbours, as

[1616] those a-shore at a foule; and neuer trouble nor torment yourselues, with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them: nor kill horse and man with running and crying, *See you not a hawk?* For hunting also: the woods, lakes, and riuers affoord not onely chase sufficient, for any that delights in that kinde of toyle, or pleasure; but such [*p.* 728.] beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich, as may well recompence thy dayly labour, with a Captains pay. [**40**]

Employments for labourers. For labourers, if those that sowe hemp, rape, turnups, parsnips, carrats, cabidge, and such like; giue 20, 30, 40, 50 shillings yearely for an acre of ground, and meat drinke and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich; when better, or at least as good ground, may be had, and cost nothing but labour; it seems strange to me, any such should there grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents; men from their wiues; nor seruants from their masters: onely, such as with free consent may be spared: But that each parish, or village, in Citie or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children, of thirteene or fourteen years of age, or young mar[r]ied people, that haue small wealth to liue on; heere by their labour may liue exceeding well: prouided alwaies that first there bee a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defend them, and meet prouisions for them; for, any place may bee ouerlain: and it is most necessarie to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as, Carpenters, Masons, Fishers, Fowlers, Gardiners, Husbandmen, Sawyers, Smiths, Spinsters, Taylors, Weauers, and such like) to take ten, twelue, or twentie, or as ther is occasion, for Apprentises. The Masters by this may quicklie growe rich; these may learne their trades themselues, to doe the like; to a generall and an incredible benefit, for King, and Countrey, Master, and Seruant. [**41**]

Example of the Spanyards. It would bee an historie of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spanyards*, and *Portugals*, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such incomparable honour and constant resolution,

so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured [1616]
in their discoueries and plantations, as may well condemne vs, of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence: yet the Authors of those new inuentions, were held as ridiculous, for a long time, as now are others, that doe but seek to imitate their vnparalleled vertues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprong from the plants of their generous indeuours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that wee either ignorantly beleeue nothing, or so curiously contest to [*p.* 729.] preuent wee knowe not what future euents; that wee either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire sand, rather then rough rockes, iudge that wee knowe not, gouerne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their willes to be idle or as ill. And who is he [that] hath iudgement, courage, and any industrie or qualitie with vnderstanding, will leaue his Countrie, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweete *England* doth afford to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by inioying his deserts? whose prosperitie once appearing will incourage others: but it must be cherished [**42**] as a childe, till it be able to goe, and vnderstand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed aboue it[s] strength, ere it knowe wherefore.

A child can neither performe the office, nor deedes of a man of strength, nor indure that affliction He is able; nor can an Apprentice at the first performe the part of a Maister. And if twentie yeeres bee required to make a child a man, seuen yeares limited [to] an apprentice for his trade, if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet: If perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must bee practice, as well as theorick: Let no man much condemne this paradox opinion, to say, that halfe seauen yeeres is scarce sufficient, for a good capacitie, to learne in these affaires, how to carrie himselfe: and who euer shall trie in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the ende of seauen yeares occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and, in

[1616] the *Interim* all the content, rewardes, gaines, and hopes will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning, till it bee able to creepe, to stand, and goe, yet time enough to keepe it from running: for there is no feare it wil grow too fast, or euer to any thing; excepte libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the planters of those affaires, in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude and such double dealing, as bindes freemen to become slaues, and honest men [to] turne knaues: which hath euer bin the ruine of the most popular [43] common-weales; and is verie vnlikelie euer well to begin in a new.

[*p.* 730.]

The blisse of Spaine.

Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spanyard*, but these new conclusions, in searching those vnknowne parts of the vnknowne world? By which meanes hee diues euen into the verie secrets of all his Neighbours, and the most part of the world: and when the *Portugale* and *Spanyard* had found the *East* and *West Indies*; how many did condemn themselues, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*? who, vpon our neglect, brought them to it, perswading our selues the world had no such places as they had found: and yet euer since wee finde, they still (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and trades, and still daily dooe finde both in *Asia*, *Africa*, *Terra Incognita*, and *America*; so that there is neither Soldier nor Mechanick, from the Lord to the beggar, but those parts afforde them all imploiment; and discharge their Natiue soile, of so many thousands of all sorts, that else, by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* it selfe.

Now he knowes little, that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries. And seeing, for all they haue, they cease not still to search for that they haue not, and know not; It is strange we should be so dull, as not [to] maintaine that which wee haue, and pursue that wee [44] know.

Surely I am sure many would taste it ill, to bee abridged of the titles and honours of their predecessors: when if but truly they would iudge themselues; looke how inferior they

are to their noble vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honours and liuings: which neuer were ordained for showes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by heroycall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it, they would not doe both in purse and person, for the good of the Commonwealth? which might moue them presently to set out their spare kindred in these generous designes. [1616]

Religion, aboue all things, should moue vs (especially the Clergie) if wee were religious, to shewe our faith by our workes; in conuerting those poore saluages, to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spanyards* take to bring them to their adulterated faith. Honor might moue the Gentrie, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all; if wee were that we would seeme, and be accounted. Or be we so far inferior to other nations, or our spirits so far deiected, from our auncient predecessors, or our mindes so [set] vpon spoile, piracie, and such villany, as to serue the *Portugall*, *Spanyard*, *Dutch*, *French*, or *Turke*, (as to the cost of *Europe*, too many dooe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selues? excusing our idlenesse, and our base complaints, by want of imploiement; when heere is such choise of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting [**45**] and discouering these North parts of *America*. [*p.* 731.]

My second voyage to New England.

Now to make my words more apparent by my deeds; I was, the last yeare, 1615. to haue staied in the Countrie, to make a more ample triall of those conclusions with sixteene men; whose names were

Thomas Dirmir. *Edward Stalings.* *Daniel Cage.* *Francis Abbot.* *Iohn Gosling.*	Gent.	*Iohn Partridge.* *and two boies.*	Souldiers. [*p.* 732.] [*pp.*223,258, 732,736,74⁶, 747.]
William Ingram. *Robert Miter.* *Dauid Cooper.*	Souldiers.	*Thomas Digbie.* *Daniel Baker.* *Adam Smith.* *Thomas Watson.* *Walter Chissick.* *Iohn Hall.*	[*pp.* 221, 734.] Sailers.

[1615] I confesse, I could haue wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions bin in like proportion: nor would I haue had so fewe, could I haue had meanes for more: yet (would God haue pleased wee had safely arriued) I neuer had the like authoritie, freedom, and prouision, to doe so well. The maine assistance next God, I had to this small number, was my acquaintance among the Saluages; especially, with *Dohannida*, one of their greatest Lords; who had liued long in *England*. By the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue gotte that credit with the rest of his friends and alliants, to haue had as many of them, as I desired, in any designe I intended; and that trade also they had, by such a kind of exchange [**46**] of their Countrie commodities; which both with ease and securitie in their seasons may be vsed.

[*p.* 205.] With him and diuerse others, I had concluded to inhabit, and defend them against the *Terentynes*; with a better power then the *French* did them; whose tyranny did inforce them to imbrace my offer, with no small deuotion.

And though many may thinke me more bolde then wise, in regard to their power, dexteritie, treacherie, and incon-
[*pp.* 697, 701.] stancie; hauing so desperately assaulted and betraied many others: I say but this (because with so many, I haue many times done much more in *Virginia*, then I intended heere, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught me) that to mee it seemes no daunger more then ordinarie. And though I know my selfe [to be] the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiue inspection can pearce beyond the boundes of my habilities, into the hidden things of Nature,
[*p.* 733.] Art, and Reason; yet I intreate such [to] giue me leaue to excuse my selfe of so much imbecilitie, as to say, that in these eight yeares [1606–1614] which I haue been conuersant with these affaires, I haue not learned there is a great difference, betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall coniecture of variable relation: wherein rumor, humor, or misprision haue such power that oft times one is enough to beguile twenty; but twentie not sufficient to keep one from being deceiued. Therefore I know no reason but to beleeue my own eies before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the

conceits of my owne proiects, and indeauours. [47] But I honor, with all affection, the counsell and instructions of iudiciall directions, or any other honest aduertisement; so farre to obserue, as they tie mee not to the crueltie of vnknowne euents. [1614]

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imployments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures. Wherein, though I haue had many discouragements by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friendes, the trechery of cowards, and slownesse of aduenturers: but chiefly by one *Hunt*, who was Master of the ship, with whom oft arguing these proiects for a plantation, howeuer hee seemed well in words to like it, yet he practiced to haue robbed mee of my plots [*maps*], and obseruations, and so to leaue me alone in a desolate Ile, to the fury of famine, and all other extreamities (lest I should haue acquainted Sir *Thomas Smith*, my Honourable good friend, and the Councell of *Virginia*); to the end, he and his associates might secretly ingrosse it, ere it were knowne to the State. [*pp.* 220, 698, 754.]

Yet that God that alway hath kept me from the worst of such practices, deliuered me from the worst of his dissimulations.

Notwithstanding after my departure, hee abused the Saluages where hee came, and betrayed twenty seauen of these poore innocent soules, which he sould in *Spaine* for slaues; to mooue their hate against our Nation, as well as to cause my proceedings to be so much the more difficult.

Now, returning in the Bark, in the fift of August [1614], [*pp.* 700, 733.] [48] I arriued at Plimouth: where imparting there my purposes to my honourable friend Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and some others; I was so incouraged, and assured to haue the managing their authoritie in those parts, during my life, that I ingaged myselfe to vndertake it for them.

Arriuing at London, I found also many promise me such assistance, that I entertained *Michaell Cooper* the Master, who returned with mee, and others of the company. How hee dealt with others, or others with him, I know not: But my publike proceeding gaue such incouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some fewe of the Southren

[1615] Company, as these proiects were liked, and he furnished from London with foure ships at Sea, before they at Plimouth had made any prouision at all, but onely a ship cheefely set out [*p.* 701.] by Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*; which, vpon *Hunts* late trecherie among the Saluages, returned as she went, and did little or nothing, but lost her time.

I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with *Cooper*; in that they offered mee that imploiment if I would accept it: and I finde, my refusall hath incurred some of their displeasures, whose fauor and loue I exceedingly desire, if I may honestly inioy it. And though they doe censure me as opposite to their proceedings; they shall yet still in all my words and deedes finde, it is their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike. For hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrie; I had beene verie dishonest to haue [**49**] broke my promise; nor will I spend more time in discouerie or fishing, till I may goe with a companie for plantation: for, I know my grounds. Yet euery one that reades this booke can not put it in practice; though it may helpe any that haue seene those parts. And though they endeauour to worke me euen out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but, I would bee sory, their intruding ignorance should, by their defailements, bring those certainties to doubtfulnesse. So that the businesse prosper, I haue my desire; be it by *Londoner*, *Scot*, *Welch*, or *English*, that are true subiects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I seeke; and there is more then enough for all, if they could bee content but to proceed.

The occasion of my returne.

At last it pleased Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and Master Doctor *Sut*[*c*]*liffe*, Deane of *Exceter*, to conceiue so well of these proiects, and my former imployments, as induced them to make a new aduenture with me in those parts, whither they haue so often sent to their continuall losse. By whose example, many inhabitants of the West Country, made promises of much more then was looked for, but their priuate emulations quickly qualified that heat in the greater number; so that the burden lay principally on them, and some few Gentlemen, my friends, in *London*.

In the end I was furnished with a Ship of 200. and another of 50 [tons]. But ere I had sayled 120 leagues, shee broke all her masts; pumping each watch 5 or 6000 strokes: onely her spret saile [**50**] remayned to spoon before the wind, till we had reaccommodated her a Iury mast, and the rest, to returne for *Plimouth*. [1615] [*p.* 734]

My Vice-admirall beeing lost [*i.e.*, *lost sight of*], not knowing of this, proceeded [on] her voyage.

My reimbarkment, incounters with pyrats and imprisonment by the French.

Now with the remainder of those prouisions, I got out again in a small Barke of 60 tuns with 30 men (for this of 200, and prouision for 70); which were the 16 before named [*p.* 217], and 14 other saylors for the ship.

With those I set saile againe the 24 of Iune [1615]: where what befell me (because my *actions* and *writings* are so publicke to the world, enuy still seeking to scandalize my indeauours, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens mindes) lest my owne relations of those hard euents, might by some constructors, be made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukley* a worthie Knight, and Vice-admirall of Deuonshire; which were as followeth.

The examination of Daniel Baker, *late Steward to Captaine* Iohn Smith *in the returne of* Plimouth; *taken before Sir* Lewis Stukley *Knight, the eight of December* 1615.

Captaine Fry his ship 140 tuns, 36 cast peeces and murderers, 80 men; of which 40, or 50. were master gunners.

WHo saith, being chased two dayes by one *Fry*, an English Pirate, that could not board vs, by reason of foule weather, *Edmund Chambers* the Master, *Iohn Minter* his mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pilot, and others importuned his saide Captaine to yeeld; houlding it vnpossible hee should defend [**51**] himselfe: and that the saide Captaine should send them his boat, in that they had none: which at last he concluded vpon these conditions, That *Fry* the Pyrate should vow not to take any thing from Captaine *Smith*, that might

[1615] overthrowe his voyage, nor send more Pirats into his ship then hee liked off; otherwaies, he would make sure of them he had, and defend himselfe against the rest as hee could.

More: he confesseth that the quarter-masters and *Chambers* receiued golde of those Pirats; but how much, he knoweth not: Nor would his Captain come out of his Caben to entertaine them; although a great many of them had beene his saylers, and for his loue would haue wafted vs to the Iles of *Flowers*.

[A. 735.] The one of 200, the other 20 [tuns].

At *Fyall*, wee were chased by two French Pyrats, who commanded vs Amaine. *Chambers*, *Minter*, *Digby* and others, importuned againe the Captaine to yeeld; alledging they were *Turks*, and would make them all slaues: or *Frenchmen*, and would throw them all ouer board if they shot but a peece; and that they were entertained to fish, and not to fight; vntill the Captaine vowed to fire the powder and split the ship, if they would not stand to their defence; whereby at last wee went cleere of them, for all their shot.

The Admirall 140 tuns, 12 peeces, 12 murderers, 90 men, with long pistols, pocket pistols, musket[s], sword[s] and poniard[s]; the Vice-admirall, 100 tuns; the Rere-admiral 60; the other 80 [tuns]: all had 250 men most[ly] armed as is said.

At *Flowers*, wee were chased by foure French men of warre; all with their close fights afore and after. And this examinants Captaine hauing provided for our defence, *Chambers*, *Minter*, *Digby*, [**52**] and some others, againe importuned him to yeeld to the fauour of those, against whom there was nothing but ruine by fighting: But if he would goe aboard them, in that hee could speak *French*, by curtesie hee might goe cleere; seeing they offered him such faire quarter, and vowed they were Protestants, and all of *Rochell*, and had the Kings commission onely to take *Spaniards*, *Portugales*, and Pyrats; which at last hee did; but they kept this examinates Captaine and some other of his company with him.

The next day the French men of warre went aboard vs, and tooke what they listed, and diuided the company into their seuerall ships, and manned this examinates ship with the Frenchmen, and chased with her all the shippes they saw: vntill about fiue or sixe dayes after, vpon better consideration, they surrendered the ship and victualls, with the most part of our prouision, but not our weapons.

More: he confesseth that his Captaine exhorted them

to performe their voyage, or goe for *New found Land* to returne fraughted with fish, where hee would finde meanes to proceed in his plantation: but *Chambers* and *Minter* grew vpon tearms they would not; vntill those that were Souldiers concluded with their Captaines resolution, they would; seeing they had clothes, victualls, salt, nets, and lines sufficient, and expected their armes, and such other things as they wanted, [which] the French men promised to restore. [1615]

The gentlemen and souldiers were euer willing to fight.

Which the Captaine the next day went to seeke, and sent them about loading of [**53**] commodities, as powder, match, hookes, instruments, his sword and dagger, bedding, aqua vitæ, his commission, apparell, and many other things; the particulars he remembreth not: But, as for the cloath, canuas, and the Captaines cloathes, *Chambers*, and his associats diuided it amongst themselues, and to whom they best liked; his Captaine not hauing any thing, to his knowledge, but his wastecoat and breeches.

And in this manner going from ship to ship, to regaine our armes and the rest, they seeing a sayle, gaue chase vntill night.

The next day, being very foule weather, this examinate came so neere with the ship vnto the French men of warre, that they split the maine sayle on the others spret sayle yard. *Chambers* willed the Captaine come aboard, or he would leaue him: whereupon the Captaine commanded *Chambers* to send his boate for him. *Chambers* replyed she was split (which was false), telling him hee might come if he would in the Admiralls boat.

The Captaines answer was, he could not command her, nor come when hee would; so this examinate fell on sterne; and that night left his said Captaine alone amongst the French men, in this maner, by the command of *Chambers*, *Minter*, and others.

Daniel Cage, *Edward Stalings*, Gentlemen; *Walter Chissell*, *Dauid Cooper*, *Robert Miller*, and *Iohn Partridge*, beeing examined, doe acknowledge and confesse, that *Daniel Baker* his examination aboue written is true. [**54**] [*pp.* 258, 732, 736, 746].

[1615] [*p.* 736.] A double treachery.

NOw the cause why the French detayned me againe, was the suspicion, this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them that I would reuenge my selfe, vpon the Bank, or in *New found Land*, of all the *French* I could there incounter; and how I would haue fired the ship, had they not ouerperswaded mee: and many other such like tricks to catch but opportunie in this maner to leaue me. And thus they returned to *Plimouth*, and perforce with the French I proceeded.

A fleet of nine French men of war and fights with the Spaniards.

Being a Fleet of eight or nine sayle, we watched for the *West Indies* fleet, till ill weather separated vs from the other 8. Still we spent our time about the Iles neere *Fyall*: where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse; thinking to haue sent it [to] you of his Maiesties Councell, by some ship or other: for I saw their purpose was to take all they could.

At last we were chased by one Captain *Barra* an *English* Pyrat, in a small ship with some twelue peeces of ordinance, about thirty men, and neer all starued. They sought by curtesie releefe of vs; who gaue them such faire promises, as at last wee betrayed Captaine *Wolliston* (his Lieftenant) and foure or fiue of their men aboard vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce.

Now my part was to be prisoner in the gun roum, and not to speake to any of them vpon my life. Yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing wel these *French* [*p* 737.] intents, made ready to fight; and *Wolliston* as resolutely regarded not their threats: [**55**] which caused vs [to] demurre vpon the matter longer, som[e] sixteene houres; and then returned their prisoners, and some victualls also, vpon a small composition.

The next wee tooke was a small *English* man of *Poole* from *New found Land*. The great caben, at this present, was my prison; from whence I could see them pillage those poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish: when hee was gone, they sould his poore cloathes at the maine mast, by an outcry, which scarce gaue each man seauen pence a peece.

Not long after, we tooke a *Scot* fraught from *Saint*

Michaels to *Bristol*: he had better fortune then the other. [1615] For, hauing but taken a boats loading of sugar, marmelade, suckets, and such like: we discried foure sayle, after whom we stood; who forling [*furling*] their maine sayles attended vs to fight. But our *French* spirits were content onely to perceiue they were *English* red crosses.

Within a very small time after, wee chased foure *Spanish* shippes [that] came from the *Indies*: we fought with them foure or fiue houres, tore their sayles and sides: yet not daring to board them, lost them.

A poore Caruell of *Brasile*, was the next we chased: and after a small fight, thirteene or fourteen of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe; we took her, with 370 chests of sugar. A prize worth 16000 crownes.

The next was a *West Indies* man, of 160 tuns, with 1200 hides, 50 chests of cutchanell, 14 coffers of wedges of siluer, 8000 ryalls of 8, and six coffers of the King of *Spaines* treasure; besides the pillage and rich coffers of many rich passengers. A prize worth 200000 crownes. [*p.* 738

Two [**56**] monethes [*Aug.–Oct.* 1615] they kept me in this manner, to manage their fights against the *Spaniards*, and be a prisoner when they tooke any *English*. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me a-shore on the Iles [*Azores*], or the next ship he tooke: yet at last, he was intreated [*persuaded*] I should goe for *France* in the Caruell of sugar; himself [being] resolued still to keepe the Seas.

Within two dayes after, we were ha[i]led by two *West Indy* men: but when they saw vs waue them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot through our mayne mast, and so left vs.

Hauing liued thus, neer three moneths [*Aug.-Nov.* 1615] among those French men of warre; with much adoe, we arriued at the *Gulion*, not far from *Rochel*; where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction, and full content, they kept me fiue or sixe daies prisoner in the Caruell: accusing me to bee him that burnt their Colony in *New France*; to force mee giue them a discharge before the Iudge of the Admiralty, and so stand to their curtesie for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischiefe.

[1615] To preuent this choise, in the end of such a storme that beat them all vnder Hatches, I watched my opportunity to get a-shore in their boat; where-into, in the darke night, I secretly got: and with a halfe pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat Ile*: but the Current was so strong, and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea, till it pleased God the winde so turned with the tide, that although I was, all this fearefull night of gusts and raine, in the Sea, the space of 12 [**57**] houres, when many ships were driuen a shore, and diuerse split (and being with sculling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke mee) at last I arriued in an oazie Ile by *Charowne*; where certaine fowlers found mee neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, colde, and hunger.

My escape from the French men. [*p.* 739.]

By those, I found meanes to gette to *Rochell*; where I vnderstoode the man of warre which we left at Sea, and the rich prize was split; the Captaine drowned, and halfe his companie the same night, within seauen leagues of that place, from whence I escaped alone, in the little boate, by the mercy of God; far beyond all mens reason, or my expectation.

Arriuing *at Rochell*, vpon my complaint to the Iudge of the Admiraltie, I founde many good words and faire promises; and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, tolde mee the newes they heard of my owne death: these I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held proofe sufficient.

All which being performed according to the order of iustice, from vnder the iudges hand; I presented it to the English Ambassador then at *Burdeaux*: where it was my chance to see the arriuall [21 *Nov.* 1615] of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*.

Sir Thomas Edmunds.

Of the wrack of the rich prize some 36000. crownes worth of goods came a shore and was saued with the Caruell, which I did my best to arrest: the Iudge did promise me I shold haue iustice; what will bee the conclusion as yet [*June* 1616], I know not. But vnder the colour to take Pirats and West-Indie men (because the *Spanyards* will not [**58**] suffer the *French* trade in the West-Indies) any goods from thence, tho[u]gh they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine*, are lawfull prize; or from any of his territories ou of the limits of Europe.

They betraied mee hauing the broad seale of England: and neere twentie sayle of English more; besides them concealed, in like maner were betrayed that year. [*p.* 740.]

Leauing thus my businesse in *France*, I returned [*Dec.* 1615] to Plimouth, to find them that had thus buried me amongst the *French*: and not onely buried mee, but with so much infamy as such treacherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villanies. But my clothes, bookes, instruments, Armes, and what I had, they shared amongst them, and what they liked; fayning, the French had all [that] was wanting: and had throwne them into the Sea, taken their ship, and all; had they not runne away and left me as they did. [1615-6]

My returne for England 1615.

The cheeftaines of this mutinie that I could finde, I laied by the heeles; the rest, like themselues, confessed the truth as you haue heard [*p.* 221].

Now how I haue or could preuent these accidents, I rest at your censures. But to the matter.

Newfound-land at the first, I haue heard, was held as desperate a fishing, as this I proiect in *New England*; *Placentia*, and the *Banke*, were also as doubtful to the *French*: But, for all disasters [that have] happened [to] mee, the businesse is the same as it was: and the fiue ships (whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes) went forward; and found fish so much, that neither Izeland-men, nor Newfoundland-men, [that] I could heare of hath beene there, will goe any more to either place, if they may goe thither.

So, that vpon the returne of my Viceadmirall that proceeded on her voyage when I spent my [**59**] masts [*p.* 221]; from Plimouth this yeare [1616] are gone foure or fiue saile: and from London as many; onely to make voyages of profit: where[as] the Englishmen haue yet beene, all their returnes together (except Sir *Fr. Popphames*) would scarce make one a sauer of neere a douzen I could nominate; though there

The succesee of my vice-Admirall and the foure ships of London, from New England. [*p.* 741.]

[1616] be fish sufficient, as I perswade my selfe, to fraught yearely foure or fiue hundred sayle, or as many as will goe.

For this fishing stretcheth along the Coast from *Cape Cod* to *Newfound-land*, which is seauen or eight hundered miles at the least; and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yeare long; keeping their ha[u]nts and feedings as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But, all men are not such as they should bee, that haue vndertaken those voiages: and a man that hath but heard of an instrument, can hardly vse it so well as hee that by vse hath contriued to make it. All the *Romanes* were not *Scipioes*: nor all the *Geneweses*, *Columbuses*: nor all *Spanyards*, *Corteses*: had they diued no deeper in the secrets of their discoueries then wee, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidentall chances; they had neuer beene remembered as they are; yet had they no such certainties to begin as wee.

But, to conclude, *Adam* and *Eue* did first beginne this innocent worke, To plant the earth to remaine to posteritie,
[*p.* 934.] but not without labour, trouble, and industrie. *Noe*, and his family, beganne againe the second plantation; and their seede as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one countrie another: and so the world to that estate it is. But [**60**] not without much hazard, trauell, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthie Fathers, and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for vs now in these Ages, then wee are to plant that yet vnplanted, for the after liuers: Had the seede of *Abraham*, our Sauiour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselues to no more daungers to teach the Gospell, and the will of God then wee; Euen wee our selues, had at this present beene as Saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage yet vnciuilized.

The *Hebrewes*, and *Lacedœmonians*, the *Goths*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the rest, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Territories, enrich their subiects, resist their enemies? Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no siluered idle golden *Pharises*, but industrious iron-steeled *Publicans*:
[*p.* 742.] They regarded more prouisions, and necessaries for their

people, then iewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselues. [1616]
Riches were their seruants, not their Maisters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tyrantes) their people as children, not as slaues; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances. And what haue euer beene the workes of the greatest Princes of the earth, but planting of countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations, to ciuilitie and humanitie? whose eternall actions, fill our histories. Lastly, the *Portugales* and *Spanyards:* whose euerliuing actions, before our eyes will [**61**] testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrie; and want of charity to these poore saluages, whose Countrie wee challenge, vse and possesse; excepte wee bee but made to vse, and marre what our Fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme ourselues too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them, to prouide that doth maintaine vs? and basenesse for vs to doe the like for others? Surely no.

Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: Seeing our [*p.* 936.] good deedes, or our badde, by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death, to haue an honourable memorie of our life: and seeing by noe meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities and glories of our Predecessors; let vs imitate their vertues to bee worthily their successors.

FINIS.

At London *printed the* 18. *of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord* 1616.

[*p.* 691.]

To his worthy Captaine, the Author.

[1616]

Ft thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere
In bloodie wars, where thousands haue bin slaine.
Then giue mee leaue, in this some part to beare;
And as thy seruant, heere to read my name.
Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene
In the fierce wars of Transiluania:
Long ere that thou America *hadst seene,*
Or led wast captiued in Virginia;
Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,
And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause mee thinke
That thou I'aue seene so oft approu'd in dangers
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valor still hath freed)
Art yet preserued, to conuert those strangers:
By God thy guide; I trust it is decreed.
For mee: I not commend, but much admire
Thy England yet vnknowne to passers by-her.
For it will praise it selfe in spight of me;
Thou it, it thou, to all posteritie

Your true friend,
and souldier,
Ed. Robinson.

[Ensign *Carlton* and Sergeant *Robinson*, both of Captain *Smith*'s own escaped alive from the battle of Rottenton [*the Pass of Rothenthurm*, Nov. 1602; see *pp.* 851–2.]

To my honest Captaine, the Author.

[*p.* 692.]

[1616]

MAlignant Times! What can be said or don,
But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some!
This worthy Work, which thou hast bought so dear,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors neede to fear.
Thy words by deedes so long thou hast approu'd,
Of thousands knowe thee not thou art belou'd.
And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and beleu'd, than ere thou wert before.
I neuer knew a Warryer yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
I call thee Warrier *: and I make the bolder;*
For, many a Captaine *now, was neuer Souldier.*
Some such may swell at this : but (to their praise)
When they haue don like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend,
somtimes your soldier,
THO. CARLTON.

Company of Cavalry, were the only two Englishmen, out of twelve, who *in Transylvania; about* 15 *miles south of Hermannstadt*] on the 18th

[The additional page only found in some copies.]

[p. 699.]

Becauſe the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highneſſe had altered the names, I intreate the Reader, peruſe this ſchedule; which will plainely ſhew him the correſpondence of the old names to the new.

[Compare with List at pp. 699-700.]

The old names.	The new.	The old names.	The new.
Cape Cod	*Cape Iames*	*Sowocatuck*	*Ipſwitch*
[*Cape Cod Harbour*]	*Milford hauen*	*Bahana*	*Dartmouth*
Chawum	*Barwick*		*Sandwich*
Accomack	*Plimouth*	*Ancociſco's Mount*	*Shooters hill*
Sagoquas	*Oxford*	*Ancociſco*	*The Baſe*
Maſſachuſets Mount	*Cheuit hill*	*Anmoughcawgen*	*Cambridge*
Maſſachuſets Riuer	*Charles Riuer*	*Kinebeck*	*Edenborough*
Totant	*Fawmouth*	*Sagadahock*	*Leeth*
A Country not diſcouera	*Briſtow*	*Pemmaquid*	*S. Iohns towne*
[pp. 204, 206, 232, 276, 718, 720, 853, 855, 866.] *Naemkeck*	*Baſtable*	*Monahigan*	[*] *Barties Iles*
Cape Trabigzanda	*Cape Anne*	*Segocket*	*Norwich*
Aggawom	*Southhampton*	*Matinnack*	[*] *Willowby's Iles*
Smith's Iles	*Smith's Iles*	*Metinnicus*	[*] *Hoghton's Iles*
Paſſataquack	*Hull*	*Mecadacut*	*Dunbarton*
Accominticus	*Boſton*	*Pennobſcot*	*Aborden*
Saſſanowes Mount	*Sno[w]don hill*	*Nusket*	*Lowmonds*

[* These three named by Captain *J. Smith*, and not by Prince *Charles*: see p. 700.]

NEW
ENGLANDS
TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 26. Ships employed thither within these sixe yeares: *with the benefit of that Countrey by sea and* land: and how to build threescore sayle *of good Ships, to make a little* Navie Royall.

Written by Captaine
Iohn Smith.

LONDON,
Printed by *VVilliam Iones.*
1620.
15*a*

[It is evident from SMITH's letter &c. printed at *p.* cxxi, that the substance of this tract was written so early as 1618.

It was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall:

11 Decembris [1620]

William Jones Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of Master Doctor GOADE and Master **Lownes** warden, A booke Called *Newe Englands tryall*, by IOHN SMITH. . . . . vjd

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 43., 1877.

For the bibliography of this tract, see *p.* cxxx.

It was, in the first instance, written to the Peers of the realm. "I present this vnto your Lordship, and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping (by your gracious good liking and approbation) to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble City, and all the cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider it." *p.* 247.

Other copies were afterwards struck off with the dedication to the Fishmongers Company at *p.* 236.

Our Author says, in 1624:

"Now all these proofes and this relation I now call *New-Englands* triall. I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed: one thousand with a great many Maps both of *Virginia* and *New-England*, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in *London* at their Halls desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it . . .

"Neere a yeere [1621] I spent to vnderstand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment than to haue been in *New-England* about my businesse but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge as all the rest," *p.* 748.

And again, in 1630.

"Yet for all this, in all this time [1616–1621], though I had divulged to my great labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in *London*, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels; so fresh were the living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Iles in their memories," *p.* 941.

Within four months of the publication of this tract, our indefatigable Author had already planned out the *General History*, see *p.* cxxv.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE, in the Preface to his fifty-copy reprint of this tract, in 1873, states—

"On my first visit to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in 1866, the first book I asked to look at was HARIOT's *Virginia*, 1588; and the second was the first edition of Captain JOHN SMITH's *New England Trials*, 1620; both of which I had understood to be in that library. These books are of exceeding rarity; and though the British Museum also has a copy of each, I am not aware that either can be found in this country [*the United States*]."]

[*Dedicatory Epistle* in the Bodleian copy.]

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND

Worthy aduenters to all discoueries and Plantations, espetially to New England.

TO *the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present these sixe yeares continued trials from New England: if you please to peruse them, and make vse of them, I am richly rewarded. The subiect deserueth a farre better habit, but it is as good as the father can giue it. Let not therefore a souldiers plainnesse cause you refuse to accept it, how euer you please to dispose of him, that humbly sacreth himselfe and best abilities to his Countries good, and the exquisite iudgement of your renowned perfections.* [1620]

Yours to command,

Iohn Smith.

[*Dedicatory Epistle* in British Museum copy, C. 33 c. 15.]

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFVL THE Maister, the Wardens, and the Companie of the Fish-mongers.

[1620] *TO the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present these sixe yeares continued trials from New England: if you please to peruse them, and make vse of them, I am richly rewarded. The subiect deserueth a farre better habit, but it is as good as the father can giue it. Let not therefore a souldiers plainnesse cause you refuse to accept it, how euer you please to dispose of him, that humbly sacreth himselfe and best abilities to his Countries good, and the exquisite iudgement of your renowned perfections.*

Yours to command,
Iohn Smith.

NEVV ENGLANDS Trials.

NEw *England* is a part of *America* betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line. [1614] [*pp.*192, 253, 706, 938.]

From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe close to the shoare; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible aboundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber.

From 43. to 41. and halfe, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand, and clay: much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate ayre, and therein all things necessarie for the building [of] ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraughts; within a square of twelue leagues 25. harbours I sounded, thirtie seuerall Lordships I sawe, and so neare as I could imagine, three thousand men. I was vp one riuer fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great Lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people, who trade with those of New *England*, and them of *Cannada*.

[1577–1614]

The benefite of Fishing, as that famous Philosopher Master Dee *reporteth in his Brittish Monarchie* [1577 A.D.]

[*pp.* 254, 743.] He saith, that more then forty foure yeares agoe [*i.e., by* 1577], the Herring Busses out of the Low-countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fiue hundred, besides one hundred Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemings.

The coasts of *Wales* and Lankashire was vsed by three hundred sayle of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yerely three hundred sayle of Spaniards, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castell, because of the straite, to haue tribute for fishing.

Black Rocke was yearely fished by three or foure hundred sayle of Spaniards, Portugalls, and Biskiners.

Master [Tobias] Gentleman [*of Yarmouth*] *and many Fisher-men and Fishmongers, with whom I haue conferred, report*:

[*p.* 197.] The Hollanders raise yearely [*i.e., in* 1620] by Herrings, Cod, and Ling, 3000000 pounds [*i.e., sterling*].

English and French, by Salt-fish, poore John, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000. pounds.

[*p* 744.] *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke, Tunny and Mullit by the Biskiners and Spaniards, 30000. pounds.

But diuers other learned experienced Obseruers say, though it may seeme incredible:

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearely tribute, of the Fishers of *Tunny*, *Mullit*, and *Purgos*, more than 10000. pounds.

Lubeck hath seuen hundred shippes: *Hambrough* sixe hundred: *Embden* [but] lately a fisher towne, 1400: whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Ze*[*a*]*land*, not much greater then *Yorkeshire*, hath thirty walled townes, 400. villages, and 20000. sayle of ships and hoyes; 3600 [*i.e., vessels*] are fishermen,

whereof 100 are Dog[g]ers, 700. Pinckes and Welbotes, 700. frand botes, 400. Enaces, 400. Galbotes, Britters and To[a]debotes, with 1300. Busses; besides three hundred that yearely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold; and 15. years agoe [*in* 1605] they had more then 116000 Sea-faring men. [1620]

These fishing ships do take yearely 200000. Last of fish, 12. barrells to a Last; which amounteth to 3000000. pounds [*i.e.*, *sterling*] by the Fishermens price, that 14. yeres agoe [1606] did pay for their tenths 300000. pound; which venting in *Pomerland*, *Sprusland*, *Denmarke*, *Lefland*, *Russia*, *Suethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000. pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build shippes, nor merchandize to set them foorth, yet they as much encrease as other Nations decay [p. 255]

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine:

That the coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the north Sea, with *Island*, and the Sound, New-found land, and Cape Blancke, doe serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Portes; and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, *viz.* [p. 745]

Herring.
Salt-fish.
poore Iohn.
Sturgion.
Mullit.
Tunny.
Porgos.
Caviare.
Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boates and houses; and the nourishment of man: the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neare the habitations wee may there make, that New *England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all *Europe* farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea, nothing but what they carry in their shippes, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But New *Englands* fishings [are] neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowles, corne, or other refresh-

[1614-5] ings needefull; and the *Terceras*, *Mederas*, *Canaries*, *Spaine*,
[*p.* 197.] *Portugall*, *Prouance*, *Sauoy*, *Sicilia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caviare, and Buttargo, as *Norway*, *Swethland*, *Littuania*, or *Germany*, for their *Herring* (which is here also in aboundance, for taking): They returning but wood,
[*p.* 256.] pitch, tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities. We, wines, oyles, sugars, silkes, and such merchandizes as the Straites [*i.e.*, *of Gibraltar*] affoord, whereby our profites may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners.

And for proofe hereof.

Proofe 1. 1614. [*pp.* 187, 256, 697, 891, 936.] *With two shippes I went from the Downes, the third of March* [1614], *and arriued in New* England, *the last of Aprill. I had but fortie fiue men and boyes; we built seuen boates*, 37. *did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants, eleuen hundred beuer skinnes, one hundred Martins, and as many Otters* [i.e., skins]; *fortie thousand of dry fish we sent for* Spaine; *with the salt-fish, treine oyle and furres, I returned for* England *the* 18. *of Iuly, and arriued safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in sixe moneths I made my voyage, out and home* [i.e., made a successful voyage], *and by the labour of* 45. *got neare the valew of fifteene hundred pounds in those grosse commodities.*

This yeare also one went from Plimmouth, *spent his victuall, and returned with nothing.*

Proofe 2. 1615. [*pp.* 219, 731, 733.] *The Londoners, vpon this, sent foure good shippes, and because I would not vndertake it for them, hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained* [engaged] *the men that came home with me. They set sayle in Ianuary* [1615], *and arriued there in March: they found fish enough vntill halfe Iune, fraughted a shippe of three hundred Tunnes; [which] went for* Spaine *with drie fish, which was taken by the Turkes: one went to* Virginia, *to relieue that Collony; and two came for* England, *with the greene fish, treine oyle, and furres, within sixe moneths.*

Proofe 3. 1615. [*pp.* 220, 257, 731.] *With a labyrinth of trouble I went from* Plimmouth, *with a shippe of two hundred Tunnes, and one of fiftie: but ill-*

weather breaking all my mastes, I was forced to returne to Plimmouth: *where re-imbarking my selfe in a ship of three score tunnes, how I escaped the English Pirats, and the French, and was betrayed by foure Frenchmen of warre, I referre you to the Description of New* England [*pp.* 217–227]; *but my Vice-Admirall* [the second ship], *notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March* [1615] (*the Londoners in Ianuary*) *she arriued in May* (*they in March,*) *yet came home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within fiue moneths* [*and*] *odde dayes.* [1615-8] [*pp.*733, 745, 937.] [*p.* 227.]

The Londoners, ere I returned from France [Dec. 1615], *for all their losse by the Turkes* (*which was valewed about foure thousand pounds*), *sent two more in Iuly* [1615]; *but such courses they tooke by the* Canaries *to the* west Indies, *it was ten months ere they arriued in New* England [May 1616], *wasting in that time, their seasons, victuall, and healths: yet there they found meanes to refresh themselues; and the one returned neere fraught with fish and traine* [*oil*], *within two moneths after* [July 1616]. Proofe 4. 1616. [*p.* 937.]

From Plimmouth *went foure ships, onely to fish and trade, some in February, some in March: one, of two hundred tunnes, got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for* Spaine; *the rest returned to* Plimouth *well fraught, and their men well, within* 5 *months* [*and*] *odde daies.* Proofe 5. 1616.

From London *went two more, one of* 220. *tunnes, got thither in sixe weekes; and within sixe weekes after, with fortie foure men and boyes, was full fraught, and returned againe into* England *within fiue months and a few dayes: the other went to the* Canaries *with dry fish, which they solde at a great rate, for royalls of eight, and* (*as I heard*) *turned Pirates.* Proofe 6. 1616.

I being at Plimouth, *prouided with three good ships, was wind-bound three months, as was many a hundred sayle more; so that the season being past, the shippes went for* New-found-land: *whereby my desseigne was frustrate; which was to me and my friends, no small losse.* Proofe 7. 1617. [*p.* 940.]

There was foure good shippes prepared at Plimouth; *but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward: the one, being two hundred tunnes, returned well fraught to* Plimouth, *and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other, of foure score* [*tuns*], *went for* Bilbow *with dry fish, and made a good returne.* Proofe 8. 1618. [*pp.*258, 746.] [*p.* 941.]

[1619-20] *This year againe, diuers shippes intending to go from* Plimmouth, *so disagreed, as there went but one of* 200. *tuns: who stayed in the Countrey about six weekes, with thirty-eight men and boyes; had her fra[u]ght, which she sold at the first penny for* 2100. *pounds, besides the furres; so that euery poore Sayler, that had but a single share, had his charges, and sixteene pound ten shillings for his seuen moneths worke: but some of the company say, for sixe months in the* Hercules, *they receeued seuenteene pound two shillings a share.*

Proofe 9. 1619. [*p.* 747.]

Proofe 10. 1620. [*p.* 259.]

For to make triall this yeare, there is gone six or seuen sayle from the west Countrey, onely to fish, three of which are returned; and (as I am certainly informed) haue made so good a voyage, that euery Sayler for a single share had twenty pounds for his seuen moneths worke, which is more then in twenty moneths he should haue gotten, had he gone for wages any where.

[*pp.* 748, 941.]

For this next yeare 1621. *it is reported* 12. *or* 20. *saile is a preparing.*

Now though all the former ships haue not made such good v[o]yages as they expected, by sending opiniated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence, to saue that they tooke, nor take that there was; which now patience and practise both brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection, in despite of all Detractors and Calumniations, the Countrey yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath beene in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe, nor me.

[*p.* 266.]

[*pp.* 771, 41.]

Heere I entreate your Honourable leaues to answer some obiections. Many do thinke it strange, if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, and rest so long without employment. And I thinke it more strange they should tax me before they haue tried what I haue done, both by Sea and Land, as well in *Asia*, and *Affrica*, as *Europe* and *America*.

These fourteene yeres [1606–1620] I haue spared neither pains nor money, according to my abilitie, in the discouery of *Norumbega*; where with some thirty seauen men and boyes, the remainder of an hundred and fiue, against the fury of the Saluages, I began that plantation now in *Virginia*; which beginning (here and there) cost me neare fiue yeares worke, and more then fiue hundred pound of my owne estate; beside all the dangers, miseries

and incomberances and losse of other imployments I endured *gratis*. From which blessed Virgin, where I stayed till I left fiue hundred English, better prouided then euer I was (ere I returned), sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*. [1620] [p. 771.] Burmudos.

This Virgins sister (called *New England*, *An.* 1616, at my humble suite, by our most gracious Prince *Charles*) hath bene neare as chargeable to mee and my friends; from all which, although I neuer got [a] shilling, but it cost mee a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happy to see their prosperities. [p. 267.] [pp. 177, 232.]

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceede vppon these certainties, what thinke you I vndertooke, when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast Land? I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing (though more hath bene spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse) but in such a penurious and miserable maner, as if I had gone a begging to builde an Vniversity; where, had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses, as to crop the fruites of my Labours, thousands ere this, had bene bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spurre of Desire, and the bridle of Reason, I am neare ridden to death in a ring of Despaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I entreate you to ease mee: and those blame mee (beleeue) this little may haue taught me, not to be so forward againe at euery motion, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a shippe, that, when I went first, would not aduenture a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmasse. But to the purpose. [p. 772.]

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or sixe moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainely approoued; and it is certaine from *Cannada* and *New England* hath come neare twenty thousand Beuer Skinnes, within these fiue yeares [1615–1620]. Now, had each of those shippes transported but sixe, or three pigs; as many goates and hens; fruits, plants, and seeds as I proiected: by this time there might haue beene victuall for a thousand men. But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the indeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding his priuate,

[1620] that it is hard to effect any publique good, and impossible
[*p.* 268.] to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both Authoritie and Mony assist experiences: it is not a worke for euery one to plant a Colonie (but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it.) This requireth
[*pp.* 191 268, 705, 964.] all the best par[t]s of art, iudgement, courage, honestie, constancy, diligence and experience to doe but neare well: and there is a great difference betwixt Saying and Doing.

But to conclude, the fishing will go forward if you plant it or no; whereby you may transport a colony for no great charge, that in a short time, might prouide such fraughts, to buy of vs their dwelling, as I would hope no ship could goe or come emptie from *New England.*

The charge of this is onely salt, nettes, hookes, lines, kniues, Irish rugges, course cloth, beads, hatchets, glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Saluages, besides our own necessarie prouisions, whose indeuours will quickely defray all this charge; and the Saluages haue intreated me to inhabit where I will.

[*p.* 773.] Now all those ships haue bin fished [*fishing*] within a square of two leagues; and not one ship of all these, would yet aduenture further, where questionlesse 500. saile may haue their fraught, better then in *Island*, *Newfound land*, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships. Because *New England* fishing beginneth in mid-February, the other not till mid-Maie, the progression heereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia*, and the *Bermudas:* and will be a good friend in time of need to the Inhabitants in *New-found-land.*

[*pp.* 268, 781, 801.] The returnes made by the Westerne shippes are commonly divided into 3. parts; one for the owners of the shippe, another for the maister and his company, the third for his victulers; which course being still permitted, will be no hinderance to the plantation, goe there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearely for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a Ship can gaine, twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred, nay neare three hundred for 100. in seuen moneths, as you see they haue doone, spending twice so much time
[*p.* 269.] in going and coming as in staying there; were I there

planted, seeing the varietie of the fishings in their seasons, [1620]
serueth the most part of the yeare; and with a little labour we might make all the salt we neede vse, I can conceiue no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two months in a yeare: and if those [who] do giue twenty, thirty, or forty shillings for an acre of land; or ship Carpenters, Forgers of yron &c. that buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich, when they may haue as good [*pp.* 201, 715.] of all needfull necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore; and no commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Maister *Dee* recordeth in his *British Monarchie*, that King *Edgar* had a nauie of foure thousand saile, with which hee yearely made his progresse about this famous Monarchy of Great *Brittany*, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon it seems he proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of three score saile, he called a little Nauy Royall; immi- [*p.* 774.] tating the admired *Pericles*, prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea.

At this none neede wonder, for who knowes not, her Royal Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royal Nauy and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men; notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and re-conquering *Ireland*; yet all the world, by Sea or Land, both feared, loued and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiesty and his kingdomes considerations.

That if the Tenths of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea: the Kings highwayes are common to passe, but not to digge for mines or anie thing; so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish, but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiestie of *Spaine*, permits none to passe the Popes

[1620] order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission,
[p. 270.] or at their perills. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her owne, as strangers doe; that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owners of those Liberties any thing, whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintaine his little Nauy Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine peace with all forrainers, and allow them more curtesie, than any Nation in the world affords to *England*.

It were a shame to alledge, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we; as they can our wooll, and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy he saith, Who would not spare the hundred penny of his Rents, and the 500 penny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 33.s. 4.d. wages, 4 pence, and euery forrainer seuen yeares of age,
[p. 775.] 4. pence yearely for 7. yeares; not any of these but yearely they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse or some superfluity. And doe any men loue the securitie of their estates, that are true subjects, [who] would not of themselves be humble su[i]ters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, so it may be as honestly and truly imployed as it is proiected, the poorest mechanicke in this kingdome will gaine by it.

If this be too much, would the honorable Aduenturers be pleased to moue his Maiestie, that but the 200. penny of Rents, and the thousandth pen[n]y of Goodes might bee thus collected, to plant New *England*, and but the tenth fish there taken, leauing strangers as they are. You might build ships of any burden and numbers you please, fiue time cheaper then you can doe heere, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthening and reliefe of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any: To the terror of Pirates, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing [of] mer-

chants, and so much increase of Nauigation, to make [1620]
Englands Trade and Shipping as much as any Nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subiects, and would cause thousands yet [p. 271.] vnborne [to] blesse the time, and all them that first put it in practise.

Now, lest it should be obscured, as it hath bene, to priuate ends, or so weakely vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilst we contend for New *Englands* goods, but not *Englands* good; I present this vnto your Lordship, and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping (by your gracious good liking and approbation) to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble City, and all the cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider it, since I can find them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall, both with honour, profite, and content, and inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel: which with my life and what I haue I will endeuour to effect, if God please, and you permit.

As for them whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleepe [p. 776.] in a Cradle of slouthfull carelesnesse; would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the Earth haue bene brought to confusion: or but remember the late lamentable experience of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities, Townes, and Provinces in the faire rich kingdomes of *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, and *Wallachi*[*a*]; and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, and Merchants, haue, in one day, lost goods, liues, and honours; or [been] solde for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children, and seruants slain, or wandering they knew not whither, dying, or liuing in all extremities of extreame [p. 272.] miseries and calamities. Surely, they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and libertie at home; or but adventure their persons abroade, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honor-

[1620] able and fauourable constructions and pardons if anything be amisse.

[*pp.* 272, 784.] If any desire to bee further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia* and *New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Mappes: what defect you finde in them, they shall finde supplied in mee or in my Authors, that thus freely haue throwne my selfe with my Mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God wil stirre vp some noble spirits, to consider and examine if worthy *Collumbus* could giue the *Spaniards* such certainties for his dessigne, when Queene *Isabell* of *Spayne* set him forth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no mines of gold, yet the warrelike *Hollanders* let vs immitate, but not hate; whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing.

Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word Fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tu*[*m*]*batu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie: and so I humbly rest.

FINIS.

NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 80 Ships
employed thither within these eight yeares;
and the benefit of that Countrey by Sea and Land.

With the present estate of that happie Plantation, begun but by 60 weake men
in the yeare 1620.

And how to build a Fleete of good Shippes
to make a little Nauie Royall.

Written by Captain *Iohn Smith*, sometimes Gouernour of *Virginia*, and Admirall of *New England.*

The second Edition.

LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM IONES.
1622.
16 *a*

[It was not usual to register second and later editions of a Work at Stationers' Hall: therefore this impression does not appear in the *Registers* of the Company.

It was however written in October 1622, before the 16th of that month; as the allusion, at *p.* 264, to the intended departure of the *Paragon* with reinforcements for the Pilgrim Fathers, clearly shows.

WILLIAM HILTON's letter from New Plymouth, at *p.* 260, is the third earliest account in print, from that Colony; the two former ones, of this same year 1622, being

[R. CUSHMAN] *A Sermon preached at Plymouth &c.*
[G. MOURT?] *Relation or Iournal &c.*

See p. cxxxiii.

Though a very rare tract, this is not so very scarce as the earlier 1620 edition. If a guess might be hazarded as to the reason, it might have arisen that SMITH gave away so many copies of the first tract, in the year 1621, see *p.* 234; and that what had thus cost little, was little thought of, and therefore not preserved.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see *p.* cxxxi.]

TO THE MOST HIGH AND excellent Prince *Charles*, Prince of *VVales*; Duke of *Cornewall*, *Yorke*, and *Albanie*; Marquis of *Ormond*, and *Rothsey*; and Earle Palatine of *Chester*; Heire of *Great Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c.

SIR,

WHen scarce any would beleeue mee there was any such matter, your Highnesse did not disdaine to accept my description, and called that *New England* [*pp.* 177, 232], whose barbarous names you changed for such English, that none can denie but Prince *Charles* is the Godfather. Whereby I am bound in all reason and dutie to giue you the best account I can how your child doth prosper: and although as yet it is not much vnlike the Father in fortune, onely vsed as an instrument for other mens ends; yet the grace you bestowed on it by your Princely fauour, hath drawn so many iudgments now to behold it, that I hope shall find, it will giue content to your Highnesse, satisfaction to them, and so increase the number of well-willers, [that] *New England* will be able to reiect her maligners, and attend Prince *Charles* with her dutifull obedience, with a trophie of honour, and a kingdome for a Prince. Therefore the great worke contained in this little booke, humbly desires your Princely patronage. [1622]

No more, but sacring all my best abilities to the exquisite iudgement of your renowmed vertues, I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Your Highnesse true and
faithfull seruant,
Io. Smith.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND RIGHT WORTHY ADVENTURERS, to all Plantations and Discoueries, their friends and well-willers, especially of *Virginia* and *New England.*

* *
*

Right Ho.

[1622] *I Confesse it were more proper for me to be doing what I say, then writing what I know: but that it is not my fault, there is many a hundreth can testifie, if they please to remember what paines I haue taken both particularly and generally to make this worke knowne, and procure meanes to put it in practise. What calumniations, doubts, or other mispritions hath opposed my endeuors, I had rather forget then remember; but still to expresse my forwardnesse, to the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present this short discourse of the proceedings and present estate of* New England: *if you please to peruse it, and make vse of it, I am richly rewarded, though they be but the collections and obseruations of a plaine souldier, yet if you please to grace them with your countenance and good acceptance, I shall therein thinke my selfe happie, and hope that those labours may in time returne you such fruites as hereafter may perswade you to pardon this boldnesse, and accept them to be your honest seruants.*

Yours to command,

Io. Smith.

NEW ENGLANDS
Trials, and Present Estate.

CONcerning the description of this Country, six yeares ago [1616], I writ so largely, as in briefe I hope this may suffice you to remember, that *New England* is a part of *America*, betwixt the Degrees 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line. [1577-1614] [*pp.* 192, 237 706, 938.]

From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren, and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe, close to the shore; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber.

From 43. to 41. and a half, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand and clay, much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate aire, and therein all things necessary for the building [of] ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraught: within a square of 12 leagues, 25 harbours I sounded; 30 seuerall Lordships I saw, and so neare as I could imagine, 3000 men. I was vp one riuer fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people who trade with those of *New England*, and them of *Cannada*.

The benefit of fishing as Master Dee *reporteth in his Brittish Monarchie* [1577]. [*p.* 238.]

He saith that it is more then 44 yeares ago [*by* 1577], [*p.* 743.]

[1577–1620] and it is more then 40 yeares since he writ it [*i.e.*, *in* 1577], that the Herring Busses out of the Low-Countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were 500. besides 100 Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemmings.

The coasts of *Wales* and Lancashire was vsed by 300 saile of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yearely 300 saile of Spaniards; where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the strait, to haue tribute for fishing.

Blacke Rocke was yearely fished by three or foure hundred saile of Spaniards, Portugals, and Biskiners.

Master [*Tobias*] *Gentleman and many Fisher-men and Fish-mongers with whom I haue conferred, report,*

[*p.* 197.] The Hollanders raise yearely [*in* 1620 *see p.* 238] by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000 pounds.

English and French by Salt-fish, poore Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000 pounds.

[*p.* 744.] *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters, and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke for Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards 30000 pounds.

But diuers other learned experienced Obseruers say, though it may seeme incredible.

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearely tribute of the fishers for Tunny, Mullit, and Purgos, more then 10000 pounds.

Lubeck hath 700 ships: *Hambrough* 600: *Embden* [but] lately a fisher towne, 1400.: whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Ze*[*a*]*land*, not much greater then *Yorkshire*, hath thirtie walled townes, 400 villages, and 20000 saile [*p.* 239.] of shippes and hoyes; 3600 [vessels] are fishermen, whereof 100 are Doggers, 700 Pinckes and Welbotes, 700 Frand botes, Britters and To[a]debotes, with 1300 Busses: besides three hundred that yearely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold; and fifteene yeares ago, [1605, *see p.* 239] they had more then 116000 sea-faring men.

These fishing ships do take yearely 200000 Last of fish, twelue barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000 pounds by the Fishermens price, that 14 yeares ago [1606, *see p.* 239] did pay for their tenths 300000 pound; which venting in *Pumerland*, *Sprussia*, *Denmarke*, *Lefland*, *Russia*, *Swethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000 pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build ships, nor merchandize to set them foorth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other nations decay. [1620]

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine,

That the coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the North Sea, with *Ireland* and the Sound, New-found land and Cape Blanke, do serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz.

Herring.
Salt-fish.
poore Iohn.
Sturgion.
Mullit. [*p.* 745.]
Tunny.
Porgos.
Caviare.
Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boats, and houses, and the nourishment of man; the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neare the habitations we may there make, that *New England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all Europe farre cheaper then they can who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But *New Englands* fishings is neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowles, corne, or other refreshings needfull; and the *Terceras*, *Mederas*, *Canaries*, *Spaine*, *Portugale*, *Prouance*, *Sauoy*, *Sicilia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare, and Buttargo, as *Norway*, *Swethland*, *Littuania* or *Germany*, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking; they returning but wood, pitch, [*pp.* 197, 240.]

[1614-5] tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities: we, wines, oyles, sugars, silks, and such merchandize as the Straits [*i.e., of Gibraltar*] affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners.

And for proofe hereof:

Proofe 1. 1614. [*pp.* 187, 240, 607, 891, 936.] *With two ships sent out at the charge of Captain* Marmaduke Roydon, *Captain* George Langam, Master Iohn Buley *and* W. Skelton, *I went from the Downes the third of March* [1614], *and ar*[*r*]*iued in New* England *the last of April, where I was to haue stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large territories, had the Whales proued, as curious information had assured me and my aduenture*[*r*]*s, (but those things failed.) So hauing but fortie fiue men and boyes, we built seuen boates: 37 did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants;* 1100 *Beuer skins,* 100 *Martins, and as many Otters.* 40000 *of drie fish we sent for* Spaine*: with the salt fish, traine oile, and Furres, I returned for* England, *the* 18 *of Iuly, and ar*[*r*]*iued safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in six moneths I made my voyage out and home; and by the labour of* 45, *got neare the value of* 1500 *pounds in those grosse commodities.*

This yeare also one went from Plimmoth, *set out by diuers of the Isle of Wight and the West country, by the directions and instructions of Sir* Ferdinando Gorge, [*they*] *spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.*

Proofe 2. 1615. [*pp.* 219, 240 731, 733.] *The* Virginia *Company, vpon this, sent* 4 *good ships; and because I would not vndertake it for them, hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained* [engaged] *the men that came home with me. They set saile in Ianuary* [1615], *and arriued there in March; they found fish enough vntill halfe Iune, fraughted a ship of* 300 *Tuns,* [*which*] *went for* Spaine, *which was taken by the Turks; one went to* Virginia *to relieue that Colonie, and two came for* England *with greene fish, traine oile and Furres within six moneths.*

Proofe 3. 1615. [*pp.* 220, 240, 731.] *In Ianuary* [1615] *with* 200 *pounds in cash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen wel furnished, I went from* London *to the foure shippes* [*that*] *was promised, prepared for me in the West country; but I found no such matter: notwithstanding at the*

last with a labyrinth of trouble I went from Plimmoth *with a ship of* 200 *Tuns, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done, onely with* 15 *I was to stay in the country.* [1615-7]

But ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to returne to Plimmoth *; where rather then lose all, reimbarking myselfe in a Bark of* 60 *Tuns: how I escaped the English pyrates and the French, and was betrayed by foure French men of warre, I referre you to the Description of* New England [*pp.* 217–227]: *but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March* [1615], *the Londoners in Ianuary, she ariued in May, they in March; yet come home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within* 5 *months, odde days.* [*p.* 241.] [*p.* 937.] [*p.* 227.]

The Londoners ere I returned from France [Dec. 1615], *for all their losse by the Turks, which was valued about* 4000 *pounds, sent two more in Iuly* [1615]; *but such courses they took by the* Canaries *to the West* Indies, *it was ten moneths ere they ariued in* New England [May 1616], *wasting in that time their seasons, victuall and healths, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselues: and the one returned, neare fraught with fish and traine, within* 2 *moneths after* [July 1616]. Proofe 4. 1616. [*p.* 937.]

From Plimmoth *went* 4 *ships, onely to fish and trade, some in Februarie, some in March; one of* 200 *Tuns got thither in a month, and went full fraught for* Spain; *but the rest returned to* Plimmoth *well fraught, and their men well, within fiue moneths, odde dayes.* Proofe 5. 1616.

From London *went two more: one of* 200 *Tuns, got thither in six weeks, and within six weeks after with* 44 *men and boyes was full fraught, and returned again into* England *within fiue moneths and a few daies; the other went to the* Canaries *with drie fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of* 8, *and as I heard turned pirats.* Proofe 6. 1616.

I being at Plimmoth *prouided with* 3 *good ships, yet but fifteene men to stay with me in the country, was Windbound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, the ships went for* Newfound land, *whereby my designe was frustrate: which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters pattents so to be nominated, halfe the fruits of our* Proofe 7. 1617. [*p.* 940.] [*p.* 746.]

[1617-9] *endeuours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would vvillingly forget me; but I am not the first they haue deceiued.*

Proofe 8. 1618. *There vvas foure good ships prepared at* Plimmoth, *but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely* 2 [*p.* 941.] *went forward, the one being of* 200 *Tuns, returned vvell fraught for* Plimmoth, *and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other of* 80 *Tuns, went for* Bilbow *with drie fish, and made a good returne.*

[*pp.* 217, 223, 732, 736.] *In this voyage* Edward Rowcraft, *alias* Stallings, *a valiant souldier, that had bin vvith me in* Virginia, *and seuen yeares after vvent vvith me from* Plimoth *towards* New England, *with* Thomas Dirmer *an vnderstanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it; all vvhose names vvith our proceedings you may reade at large in my description of* New England [*p.* 217], *vpon triall before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, how vvhen vve had past the vvorst, for pure cowardize the Maister and sailers ran away vvith the ship and all I had, and left me alone among* 8 *or* 9 *French men of Warre in the yeare* 1615. *This* Stallings *vvent now againe in those ships, and hauing some vvrong offered him in* New England *by a French man, he tooke him* [*i.e.*, his ship]; *and as he vvrit to me, he vvent vvith her to* Virginia *vvith fish, to trade vvith them for such commodities as they might spare; he knew both the countries vvell, yet he promised me the next Spring to meet me in* New England; *but the ship and he perished in* Virginia.

Proofe 9. 1619. *This yeare againe, diuers ships intending to go from* Plimmoth, *so disagreed, as there vvent but one of* 200 *Tuns, vvho* [*pp.* 242, 747] *stayed in the country about* 6 *vveeks, vvith* 38 *men and boyes, had her fraught, vvhich she sold at the first penie, for* 2100 *pounds, besides the Furres; so that euery poore sailer that had but a single share, had his charges, and* 16*l.* 10*s. for his seuen moneths vvorke.*

[*pp.* 542, 747, 770.] Master Thomas Dirmer *hauing liued about a yeare in* New-found-land *returning to* Plimmoth, *vvent for* New England *in this ship, and not only confirmes vvhat I haue vvrit, but so much more approued of it, that he stayed there vvith fiue or six men in a little boate; finding* 2 *or* 3 *Frenchmen among the sauages, vvho had lost their ship,* [*they*] *augmented his companie, vvith vvhom he ranged the coast to* Virginia, *vvhere he vvas kindly vvelcomed, and vvell refreshed* [Nov. 1619]; *thence*

returned to New England *again, vvhere hauing bin a yeare, in his back-returne to* Virginia, *he vvas so vvounded by the sauages, he died vpon it, them* [*who*] *escaped vvere relieued at* Virginia. [1619-20]

Let not men attribute their great aduentures and vntimely deaths to vnfortunatenesse, but rather vvonder how God did so long preserue them, vvith so small meanes to do so much, leauing the fruits of their labours to be an encouragement to those our poore vndertakings; and this for aduantage as they vvrit vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by cruell vvarres, and a mortall disease; for vvhere I had seene 100 *or* 200 *people* [in 1614], *there is scarce ten to be found. From* Pembrocks *bay to* Harrintons *bay there is not* 20; *from thence to* Cape An, *some* 30; *from* Taulbuts *bay to the Riuer* Charles, *about* 40, *and not any of them touched vvith any sicknes but one poore Frenchman that died.*

For to make triall this yeare, there is gone 6 *or* 7 *saile from the West country, onely to fish: three of vvhom are returned, and as I vvas certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that euery sailer for a single share had* 20 *pounds for his* 7 *moneths vvork, vvhich is more then in* 20 *moneths he should haue gotten had he gone for vvages any vvhere.* Proofe 10. 1620. [*p.* 242.] [*pp.* 748, 9.]

Now though all the former ships haue not made such good voyages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there vvas; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kind of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me.

A plantation in New England.

Vpon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of *London* and other places prouided two ships, the one of 160 Tunnes, the other of 70; they left the coast of *England* the 23 of August, with about 120 persons: but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimmoth*: where discharging Proofe 11. 1620. [*p.* 749.]

[1620-22] her and 20 passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of Nouember [1620] fell with *Cape Iames*; but being pestred nine weeks in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their cabbins, most of them grew [*pp.*749,943.] very weake, and weary of the sea; then for want of experience ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture in the extremitie of Winter; fortie of them died: and 60 were left in very weake estate at the ships coming away, about the fift of April [1621] following, and ariued in England the sixt of May [1621].

Proofe 12. 1620. [*p.* 757.] Immediately after her ariuall, from London they sent another of 55 Tunnes to supply them, with 37 persons. They set saile in the beginning of Iuly [1621], but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimmoth*, and ariued at *New Plimmoth*, in *New England* the eleuenth of Nouember [1621], where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lustie and in good health, except six that died.

Within a moneth they returned here for *England*, laded with clapboord, wainscot and walnut; with about three hogsheads of Beuer skins and some Saxefras, the 13 of December [1621]; and drawing neare our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of *Cera* Gouernour of Ile *D*[*i*]*eu* on the coast of *Poyton*: where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and companie, took from them to the value of about 500 pounds; and after 14 days sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquis and his hungry seruants. They ariued at London the 14 of Februarie [1622], leauing all them they found and caried to *New England* well and in health, with victuall and corne sufficient till the next haruest.

The copie of [a] Letter sent by this ship.

A Letter from New Plimmoth.

Louing cousin, at our ar[*r*]*iuall at* New Plimmoth *in* New England, *we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about vs peaceable and friendly*

the country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally of [1621-22]
it self great store of fruites, as vines of diuers sorts in great abundance. There is likewise walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts and plums, with much varietie of flowers, rootes, and herbs, no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more goose-berries and straw-berries, nor better. Timber of all [*the*] *sorts you haue in* England, *doth couer the Land, that affoords beasts of diuers sorts, and great flocks of Turkies, Quailes, Pigeons, and Partriges: many great lakes abounding with fish, fowle, Beuers, and Otters. The sea affoords vs as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the riuers and Iles doth varietie of wilde fowle of most vsefull sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie we know. Better grain cannot be then the Indian corne, if we will plant it vpon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble vs; and all those good blessings we haue, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our companie are for most part very religious honest people; the word of God sincerely taught vs euery Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I haue in England, and so I rest*

[The probable date of this letter is about 13 Dec. 1621.]

Your louing kinsman
William Hilton.

From the West country, went ten or twelue ships to fish, Proofe 13. 1621. [*p.* 760.]
which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow
made 17 *pounds a single share, besides Beuer, Otters and Martins skins: but some of the rest that came to the same ports that were already furnished, so glutted the market, their price was abated; yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to go againe.*

There is gone from the West of England *onely to fish* 35 For this yeare 1622.
ships, and about the last of April [1622] *two more from* London, [*pp.*760,941]
the one of 100 *Tuns, the other of* 30, *with some* 60 *passengers to supply the plantation* [of T. Weston] *with all necessary prouisions.*

Now though the Turke and French hath bin somewhat too busie, would all the Christian princes but be truly at vnitie, as his royal Maiestie our Soueraigne Lord and King desireth, 70 *saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his coasts*

[1622] *in the* Leuant, *and make such a guard in the straits of* Hellespont, *as would make the great Turke himselfe more afraid in* Constantinople, *then the smallest red crosse,* [*that*] *crosses the seas, would be, either of any* French Piccaroun, *or the pirats of* Argere.

An abstract of Letters sent from the Collony in New England, July 16, 1622.

Since the newes of the massacre in Virginia [22 Mar. 1622], *though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are we more wary of them then before; for their hands hath bin embrued in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.*

[*p.* 242.] Here I must intreate a little your fauours to digresse. They did not kill the English because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beate them out of their dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, or discourage any either in *Virginia* or *New England*? No: for I haue tried them both.

For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weeks; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine *George Percie* and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechankanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted

made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. [1622]
When their owne wants was such, I haue giuen them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I haue caused *Powhatam* send his owne men to *Iames* Towne to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuer me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution; hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six months came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia* [*pp.* 170, 498].

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more [to] run away then went. But after the ice was broken, came many braue voluntaries: notwithstanding [*p.* 761.] since I came from thence, the honorable Company haue bin humble suiters to his Maiestie to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now su[i]ters to go, then euer hath bin constrained knaues; and it is not vnknown to most men of vnderstanding, how happie many of those Collumners doe thinke themselues, that they might be admitted, and yet pay for their passage to go now to *Virginia*: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would go, I might haue choise of 10000 that would gladly be in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by vngrateful base minds.

[1622] To range this countrey of *New England* in like maner
[*p.* 761.] I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruite conditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked; when your West country men were many of them wounded and much tormented with the sauages that assaulted their ship, as they did say themselues, in the first yeare I was there 1614; and though Master *Hunt*, then Master with me, did most basely
[*pp.* 698, 701, 720, 732.] in stealing some sauages from that coast to sel, when he was directed to haue gone for Spaine: yet that place [*Patuxet, afterwards called New Plymouth, p.* 754] was so remote from *Capawuck*, where *Epenew* should haue fraughted them with gold ore, his fault could be no cause of their bad successe, howeuer it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vainglory, as it may be some gleaners, or some [that] was neuer there may censure me: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those sauages are, that thus strangely doe murder and betray our countrey men. But to the purpose.

What is already writ of the healthfulnesse of the aire, the richnesse of the soile, the goodnes of the woods, the abundance of fruits, fish, and fowle in their season, they stil affirm that haue bin there [at New Plymouth] *now neare* 2 *yeares, and at one draught they haue taken* 1000 *basses, and in one night twelue hogsheads of herring. They are building a strong fort,* [*which*] *they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are wel prouided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neare* 60 *acres of ground well planted with corne, besides their gardens well replenished with vseful fruits; and if their Aduenture*[*r*]*s would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly be supplied.*

To supply them this 16 *of October* [This fixes the month in
[*pp.* 766, 767, 941.] which this Second Edition was written] *is going the* Paragon *with* 67 *persons, and all this is done by priuat mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they haue found, they thinke they should not be beleeued.*

For the 26 *saile of ships, the most I can yet vnderstand is,* Master Ambrose Iennens *of* London, *and* Master Abraham

Iennens *of* Plimmoth *sent* (*their* Abraham) *a ship of* 220 *Tuns, and the* Nightingale *of* Porchmouth *of* 100.*; whose fish at the first penie came to* 3150 *pounds*: *in all they were* 35 *saile*: *and where in* Newfound land *they shared six or seuen pounds for a common man, in* New England *they shared* 14 *pounds; besides, six Dutch and French ships made wonderfull returnes in furres.* [1622] 1622.

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which has bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children; for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first. Not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell me he hath gone from *Billings* gate and discouered *Greenwich, Grauesend, Tilbery, Quinborow, Lee, and Margit*; which to those [who] did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might be made seem some rare secrets and great countries vnknowne: except the relations of Master *Dirmer*. [*pp.* 769.] [*p.* 770.] [*pp.* 217, 258, 542, 732, 747, 770.]

In *England* some are held great trauelers that haue seene *Venice* and *Rome, Madrill* and *Algere, Prague* or *Ragousa, Constantinople* or *Ierusalem*, and the Piramides of Egypt; that thinke it nothing to go to the *Summer Iles* or *Virginia*: which is as farre as any of them, and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney. As for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to go thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and

[1622] not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and so oft hath preserued.

What here I haue writ by relation, if it be not right, I humbly intreate your pardons; but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue bin actors or sharers in those voyages: in some particulars they might deceiue me, but in the substances they could not, for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished. But seeing all those [that] haue liued there, do confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies [*p.* 771.] with these new begun examples of plantation, will moue [*pp.* 242, 746, 941.] both Citie and Country freely to aduenture with me and my partners more then promises, seeing I haue from his Maiestie Letters Pattents, such honest, free, and large conditions assured me from his Commissioners, as I hope will satisfie any honest vnderstanding.

But because some fortune tellers saith, I am vnfortunate, had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad account of their actions; and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those objectors, that think it strange if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, rests so long without emploiment, and hath no more reward nor preferment: to which I say:

[*p.* 242.] I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America*; where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, n[or] could I euer learne to beg: what there I got, I haue thus spent:

These sixteen yeares [1606–1622] I haue spared neither paines nor money according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares [1604–1609] worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne [*p.* 243.] estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis: where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided then euer I was; from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*.

This Virgins sister, now called *New England, an.* 1616. [1622]
at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince *Charles*,
hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends: for all [*pp.* 746, 748.]
which I neuer got shilling, but it cost me many a pound,
yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities.

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what think you I vndertook when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast land. I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing, though more hath bin spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse; but in such a penurious and miserable manner as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuersitie: where had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses and performe the conditions they promised me, as to crop the fruites of my labours, thousands ere this had bin bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of Desire and the bridle of Reason I am neare ridden to death in a ring of despaire; the raines are in your hands, therefore I intreate you to ease me: and those that think I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause and know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warning enough, not to be so forward again at euery [*p.* 772.]
motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first, would not aduenture a groate, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas: which makes me remember Master *Hacklu[y]ts*; oh incredulitie! the wit of fooles, that slouenly do spit at all things faire; a sluggards cradle, a cowards costle, how easie it is to be an infidell. But to the purpose.

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or six moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainly approued: and it is certain, from *Cannada* and *New England* within these six yeares [1615–1620] hath come neare 20000 Beuer skins. Now had each of those ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing beasts, fowles, plants, and seeds, as I proiected; by this time their increase might haue bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gain (in many) is so violent, and the endeuors of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that [*p.* 244.]

[1622] it is hard to effect any publick good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both authoritie and mony assist experiences. It is not a worke [*pp.* 191, 268, 705, 964.] for euery one to plant a Colonie; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honestie, constancie, diligence, and experience to do but neare well: your home bred ingrossing proiectors shall finde there [is] a great difference betwixt saying and doing.

But to conclude, the fishing wil go forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might prouide such fraughts to buy of vs there dwelling, as I would hope no ship should go or come empty from *New England.*

The charge of this is onely salt, nets, hookes, lines, kniues, Irish rugs, course cloth, beades, glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the sauages, beside our owne necessary prouisions, whose endeuours wil quickly defray all this charge; and the sauages haue intreated me to inhabite where I will.

[*p.* 773.] Now all these ships, till this last yeare [1621], haue bin fished [*fishing*] within a square of two or 3 leagues, and not one of them all would aduenture any further: where questionlesse 500 saile may haue their fraught better then in *Island, Newfoundland,* or else where, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships, because *New Englands* fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and the *Bermudas,* whose emptie ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of need to the inhabitants of *New foundland.*

[*p.* 201.] The returnes made by the Westerne ships, are commonly deuided into three parts, one for the owner of the ship, another for the Master and his companie, the third for the victuallers: which course being still permitted, wil be no hindrance to the plantation, go there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearly for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a ship can gaine twentie, thirtie, fiftie in the 100, nay 300 for 100. in 7 moneths, as you see they haue done; spending twise so much time in going and coming as in

staying there: were I there planted, seeing the varietie [1622]
of the fishings in their seasons serueth the most part of [p. 245.]
the yeare, and with a little labour we might make all the salt we need vse. I can conceiue no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two moneths in a yeare: and if those do giue 20. 30. or 40. Shillings for an acre of land, or ship carpenters, forgers of iron, &c, that buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich; when they may haue as good of all needful necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore, and no commodity in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Master *Dee* recordeth in his *Brittish Monarchie* [1577], that King *Edgar* had a nauie of 4000 saile, with which he yearely made his progresse about his famous Monarchie of *Great Brittaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof: whereupon it seemes he proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of 60 saile, he called a little Nauie Royall; imitating the admired *Pericles* [p. 774.] Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captain of the Sea.

At this none need wonder; for who knowes not, her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant souldiers and sea-men, notwithstanding all trecheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*, yet all the world by sea or land both feared, loued, and admired good Queen *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his kingdomes consideration:

That if the Tenths of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea: the Kings high wayes are common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing: so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission, [p. 246.]

[1622] or at their perils. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her own shores as strangers do, that pay to their own Lord, the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of; whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintain this little Nauie Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine peace with all forreiners, and allow them more courtesie, then any nation in the world affoords to *England*.

It were a shame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the 100 peny of his Rents, and the 500 peny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 40. s. wages 4. d.; and euery forreiner of 7 yeares of age 4.d. for 7 yeares;
[*p.* 775.] not any of these but they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse, or some superfluitie. And do any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not be humble su[i]ters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but one halfe of this, (or some such other course as I haue propounded to diuers of the Companies) free from any constraint, taxe, lottery, or imposition, so it may be as honestly and truly employed as it is proiected, the poorest mechanick in this kingdom would gaine by it.

You might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, fiue times cheaper then you can do here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthening and reliefe of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any; to the terror of pyrats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the
[*p.* 247.] securing of Merchants, and so much increase of Nauigation to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all good subiects, and would cause

thousands yet vnborn [to] blesse the time and all them that first put it in practise. [1622]

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath bin to priuate ends, or so weakly vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilest we contend for *New Englands* good[s], but not *Englands* good; I present this to your Highnes and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping by your gracious good liking and approbation to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble Citie, and all the Cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider of it, since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facilitie they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall, both with honour, profit, and content, and inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel: which with my life and what I haue I wil endeuour to effect, if God please, and you permit.

But no man wil go from hence, to haue lesse freedome there then here; nor aduenture all they haue, to prepare the way for them that know it not: and it is too well [*p.* 776.] knowne there hath bin so many vndertakers of Patents and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performances. In the interim, you see the *Dutch* and *French* already frequent it: and God forbid them in *Virginia* or any of his Maiesties subiects should not haue as free libertie as they. To conclude, were it not for Master *Pierce* and a few priuate Aduenturers with him [*i.e.*, *the Pilgrim Fathers*], what haue we there for all these inducements?

This yeare [1622] 3 ships went from London, set out by Maister *John Farar* and his partners. *The Bona noua* 200 *tunns. The Hopwell* 70. *The Darling* 40.

As for them, whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleep in a cradle of slothfull carelesnes, would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue bin brought to confusion; or but remember the late lamentable experience of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities, Townes, and Prouinces in the faire rich kingdoms of *Hungaria, Transiluania, Wallachia* and *Moldauia*; and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others, haue in one day lost goods, liues, and honors, or sold for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children, and seruants slaine or wandring they knew not whither, dying, or liuing in all extremities of

[1622] extreame miseries and calamities. Surely they would not onely do this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and libertie at home ; or but aduenture their persons abroad, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

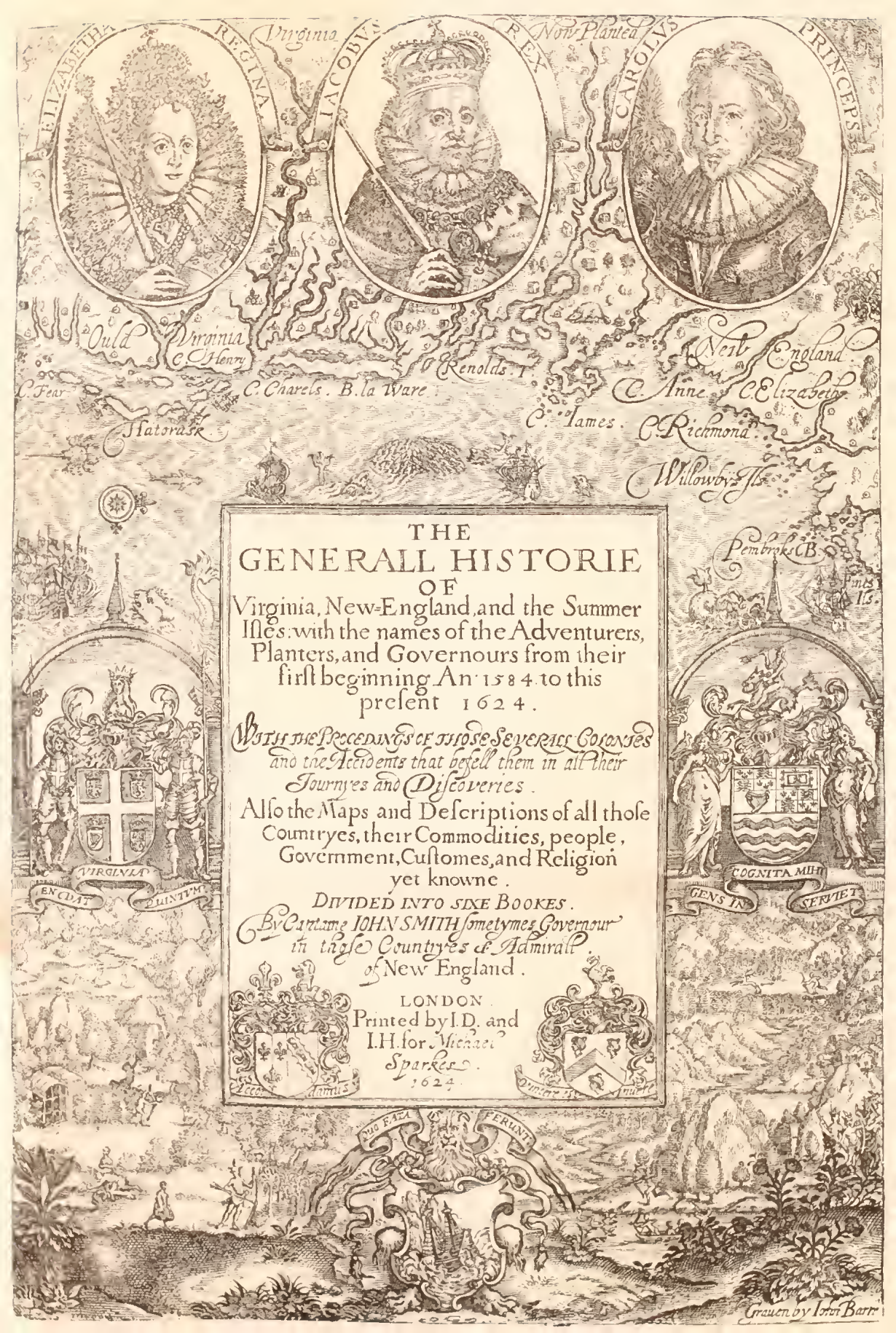
Though the true condition of war is onely to suppresse the proud, and defend the innocent and humble, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus Bathor* Prince of those countries, against them, whom vnder the colour of iustice and pietie, to maintaine their superfluitie of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and vndoe them, or keepe them from abilitie to do anything that would not admire and adore their honors, fortunes, couetousnes, falshood, bribery, crueltie, extortion, and ingratitude, which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all maner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesse.

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honour-
[*p.* 248.] able and fauourable constructions and pardons if any thing be amisse.

[*p.* 784.] If any desire to be further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia* and *New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Maps : what defect you finde in them, they shall find supplied in me or my authors, that thus freely hath throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stir vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Collumbus* could giue the *Spaniards* any such certainties for his designe, when Queene *Isabel* of *Spaine* set him foorth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike *Hollanders* let vs imitate, but not hate : whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing.

Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word *Fish* distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tumbatu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie ; and so I humbly rest.

FINIS.



THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF

Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from their first beginning An: 1584. to this present 1624.

With the Proceedings of those Severall Colonies and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journyes and Discoveries.

Also the Maps and Descriptions of all those Countryes, their Commodities, people, Government, Customes, and Religion yet knowne.

Divided into sixe Bookes.

By Captaine IOHN SMITH *sometymes Governour in those Countryes & Admirall of* New England.

LONDON
Printed by I.D. and I.H. for *Michael Sparkes*.
1624.

Graven by John Barra

[*No printed Title page.*]

[It will be seen from *p.* cxxv, that this *General History* was projected as early as 12 April 1621 ; or within four months of the publication of the first edition of *New Englands Trials* in 1620. The earlier portion of it, as the passage at *p.* 331 shews, was evidently compiled by 1622.

It is clear from the *Prospectus*, the material part of which is printed at *p.* cxxv, that our Author had worked out the general scheme of the *General History*, and was ready to go to press with the bulk of it, in 1623 ; which, according to the popular way of reckoning, would mean any time between 25 March 1623 and 24 March 1624. At that time however he only contemplated three maps at a cost of £100 [= £300 now], and not the six that actually appeared in the book.

Our Author tells the Duchess of RICHMOND, at *p.* 277 :

"If therefore your *Grace* shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your own *Bountie* (without which it had dyed in the wombe)." It is clear therefore that the Duchess contributed liberally, in answer to our Author's *Prospectus*.

He thus refers to the *General History*, at *p.* 622 :

"Thus far I haue trauelled in this Wildernesse of *Virginia*, not being ignorant [that] for all my paines, this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaues [*The first four Books of this* General History, *occupy* 84 *leaves*] ; that I haue writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like obiections.

"To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any haue concealed their approued experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me : as for euery fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leaue them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome?"

It was probably eventually hurried through the press to counteract the disastrous effect of the bankruptcy, and dissolution in June 1624, of the London Virginia Company : being thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall :

12° Julij 1624

Michael Sparkes Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor GOAD and master **Lownes** warden *The History of Virginia The Summer Ilands and newe England* by JOHN SMITH. . . vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 121, 1877.

For the bibliography of this work, see *p.* cxxxi.

It is constantly said that Sheet O, being pages **97** to **104**, see *pp.* 494, 497, was suppressed in all copies. The fact is, as Mr. HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A., has pointed out with his usual wonderful acuteness in bibliographical matters, they were never printed. See further on this point, as proved by the variations in the style of printing, at *p.* 490.

For the inserted Sectional Title pages, see *pp.* 301, 341, 383, 489, 495, 623, and 6 3.]

TO THE ILLVSTRIOVS AND MOST NOBLE PRINCESSE, the Lady FRANCIS, Duchesse of RICHMOND and LENOX.

May it please your Grace, [1624]

This History, as for the raritie and varietie of the subiect, so much more for the judicious *Eyes* it is like to vndergoe, and most of all for that great *Name*, whereof it dareth implore Protection, might and ought to haue beene clad in better robes then my rude military hand can cut out in Paper Ornaments. But because, of the most things therein, I am no Compiler by hearsay, but haue beene a reall Actor; I take my selfe to haue a propertie in them: and therefore haue beene bold to challenge them to come vnder the reach of my owne rough Pen. That, which hath beene

[1624] indured and passed through with hardship and danger, is thereby sweetned to the *Actor*, when he becometh the *Relator*. I haue deeply hazarded my selfe in doing and suffering, and why should I sticke to hazard my reputation in Recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withall if he come short, or fayle in one of them. Where shall we looke to finde a *Iulius Cæsar*, whose atchieu[e]ments shine as cleare in his owne Commentaries, as they did in the field? I confesse, my hand, though able to weild a weapon among the Barbarous, yet well may tremble in handling a Pen among so many *Iudicious*: especially when I am so bold as to call so piercing, and so glorious an *Eye*, as your *Grace*, to view these poore ragged lines.

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous *Ladies*, and comparable but amongst themselues, haue offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in forraine parts, I haue felt reliefe from that sex. The beauteous Lady [*pp.* 853, 866.] *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a slaue to the *Turkes*, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the *Bashaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable [*p.* 867.] Lady *Callamata* supplyed my necessities. In the [*pp.* cxv, 400, 401, 455.] vtmost of many extremities, that blessed *Pokahontas*, the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft saved my life. When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small

Boat at Sea, and driven ashore in *France*, the good [1624]
Lady *Madam Chanoyes*, bountifully assisted me. [*pp.* 226, 739.]

And so verily these my adventures haue tasted the same *influence* from your *Gratious hand*, which hath given birth to the publication of this *Narration*. If therefore your *Grace* shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your owne *Bountie* (without which it had dyed in the wombe) then my *imperfections*, which haue no helpe but the shrine of your *glorious Name* to be sheltered from censorious condemnation. Vouchsafe some glimpse of your honorable *aspect*, to accept these my labours; to protect them vnder the shadow of your excellent *Name*: which will inable them to be presented to the *Kings royall Maiestie*, the most admired Prince *Charles*, and the *Queene of Bohemia*: your sweet Recommendations will make it the worthier of their good countenances. And as all my endevours are their due tribute: so this Page shall record to posteritie, that my service shall be to pray to *God*, that you may still continue the renowned of your sexe, the most honored of men, and the highly blessed of *God*.

Your Graces *faithfull*
and devoted servant,
IOHN SMITH.

¶ A Preface of foure Poynts.

[1624] I. *THis plaine History humbly sheweth the truth; that our most royall King* Iames *hath place and opportunitie to inlarge his ancient* Dominions *without wronging any; (which is a condition most agreeable to his most iust and pious resolutions:) and the Prince his* Highness *may see where to plant new Colonies. The gaining Prouinces addeth to the Kings Crown: but the reducing Heathen people to ciuilitie and true Religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heauen. If his Princely wisedome and powerfull hand, renowned through the world for admirable government, please but to set these new Estates into order; their composure will be singular: the counsell of divers is confused; the generall Stocke is consumed; nothing but the touch of the Kings sacred hand can erect a Monarchy.*

II. *Most noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your* Honors *that haue imployed great paines and large expence in laying the foundation of this State, wherein much hath beene buried vnder ground, yet some thing hath sprung vp, and giuen you a taste of your aduentures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your Country: and the issue may well reimburse you your summes expended. Our practices haue hitherto beene but assayes, and are still to*

be amended. Let your bountie supply the necessities of weake beginnings, and your excellent iudgements rectifie the proceedings; the returne cannot choose in the end but bring you good Commodities, and good contentments, by your aduancing shipping and fishing so vsefull vnto our Nation. [1624]

III. *Yee valiant and generous spirits, personall possessors of these new-found Territories, banish from among you Cowardise, covetousnes, iealousies, and idlenes, enemies to the raising your honours and fortunes; vertue, industry, and amitie, will make you good and great, and your merits liue to ensuing Ages. You that in contempt of necessities, hazard your liues and estates, imploying your studies and labours in these faire endevours, liue and prosper as I desire my soule should prosper.*

IIII. *For my selfe let emulation and enuie cease, I ever intended my actions should be vpright: now my care hath beene that my Relations should giue every man they concerne, their due. But had I not discovered and liued in the most of those parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall truth from such a number of variable Relations, that would haue made a Volume at least of a thousand sheets* [=4,000 folio pages]. *Though the beginning may seeme harsh in regard of the Antiquities, breuitie, and names; a pleasanter Discourse ensues. The stile of a Souldier is not eloquent, but honest and iustifiable; so I desire all my friends and well-wishers to excuse and accept it; and if any be so noble as to respect it, he that brought* New England *to light, though long since brought in obscuritie, he is againe to be found a true servant to all good designes.*

So I ever rest yours to command,

IOHN SMITH.

A Gentleman desirous to be vnknowne, yet a great Benefactor to *Virginia*, his loue to the Author, the Company, and History.

[1624]

Tay, reade, behold, skill, covrage, knowledge, Arts;
Wonder of Nature: Mirror *of our Clime.*
Mars, Vulcan, Neptune *striue to haue their parts,*
Rare Ornaments, rich honours of our time.

From far fetcht Indies, *and* Virginia's *soyle,*
Here Smith *is come to shew his Art and skill:*
He was the Smith *that hammered famins foyle,*
And on Powhatan's *Emperour had his will.*

Though first Columbus, Indies *true* Christofer;
Cabots, *braue* Florida, *much admirer;*
Meta Incognita, *rare* Martin Frobisher;
Gilberts *braue* Humphery, Neptunes *deuourer;*

Captaine Amadis, Raleighs *discouerer;*
Sir Richard Grenvill, Zealands *braue coaster:*
Drake, *doomes, drowne, death,* Spaines *scorner;*
Gosnolds *Relates,* Pring *prime observer.*

Though these be gone, and left behinde a name,
Yet Smith *is here to Anvile out a peece*
To after Ages, and eternall Fame,
That we may haue the golden Iasons *fleece.*

He Vulcan *like did forge a true Plantation,*
And chain'd their Kings, to his immortall glory;
Restoring peace and plentie to the Nation,
Regaining honour to this worthy Story.

By him the Infidels *had due correction,*
He blew the bellowes still of peace and plentie:
He made the Indians *bow vnto subiection,*
And Planters ne're return'd to Albion *empty.*

The Colonies pin'd, staru'd, staring, bones so feeble, [1624]
By his braue proiects, proued strong againe:
The Souldiers' lowance he did seeke to treble,
And made the Salvage *in vncouth place remaine.*

He left the Countrey in prosperous happie state,
And plenty stood with peace at each mans doore:
Regarding not the Salvage *loue nor hate:*
Themselues grew well, the Indians *wondrous poore.*

This there he did and now is home return'd,
To shew vs all that never thither goe:
That in his heart, he deepely oft hath mourn'd,
Because the Action goeth on so slow.

Wise, Rich,
graue, prize
Braue, Benefactors,
Replant, want, continue still good Actors.

finde,
and bring
kinde, eyes
Be to blind;
By Gods great might, giue Indians *light.*

Bloud,
to
money, doe
Spend that good,
That may giue Indians *heav'nly food.*

no lesse,
God you
still
And shall blesse;
Both you and yours the Lands possesse.

S. M.

See here behold as in a Glasse,
All that is, or is and was.

T. T. 1624.

Samuel Purchas of his friend Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his *Virginia.*

[1624]

LOe here SMITHS *Forge, where Forgery 's Roague-*
branded,
True Pegasus *is shoo'd, fetters are forged*
For Silke-sotts, Milk-sops, base Sloth, farre hence
landed, [*charged,*
(*Soile-chang'd,* Soule-soil'd still*) Englands *dregs, dis-*
To plant (*supplant!*) Virginia, *home-disgorged:*
Where vertues praise frames good men Stories armour
'Gainst Time, Achilles-*like, with best Arts charged;*
Pallas, *all-arm'd, all-learn'd, can teach Sword-Grammer,*
Can Pens of Pikes; Armes t' Arts; to Scholar, Souldier
hammer:

* *Cælum non animum mutant*

Can Pilgrim *make a* Maker; *all so well*
Hath taught Smith *scoure my rustie out-worne* Muse,
And so coniur'd her in Virginian *Cell,*
That things vnlearned long by want of vse,
Shee fresh areeds me read, without abuse

By fabling. Arthurs *great Acts little made*
By greater lies she saith; seales Faith excuse
[a]*T'* Island, Groonland, Estotiland *to wade*
After lie-legends; Malgo, Brandon, *are Wares braide.*

The Fryer of Linne[b] *frights her with his black Art;*
Nor Brittish Bards *can tell where* Madoc[c] *planted.*
Cabots, Thorns, Elyots *truth haue wonne her heart,*
Eldest discov'rers of New Worlds Cont'nent (granted
So had iust Fates.) Colon *and* Vespuce *panted;*
This got the name[d]*, last, least of Three; the Other*
New Worlds Isles found first: Cabot *is most chanted*
In Three-Mens-song; did more New World discover
Then both, then any; an hundred degrees coasted over.

Haile Sir Sebastian, Englands *Northern Pole,*
Virginia's *finder*; *Virgin* Eliza *nam'd it,*
Gaue 't Raleigh. (Rut, Prat, Hore, *I not enrole*)
Amadas *rites to* English *right first fram'd it.*
Lane *planted, return'd, nor had* English *tam'd it:*
Greenviles *and* Whites *men all slaine; New Plantation*
IAMES *founds, Sloth confounds, feare, pride, faction sham'd it:*
Smiths *Forge mends all, makes chaines for* Savage *Nation,*
Frees, feeds the rest; the rest reade in his Bookes Relation.

[a] These are said a thousand yeares agoe to haue beene in the North parts of *America.*

[b] He is said to discover the Pole 1360.

[c] *Madoc ap Owen* Planted some remote Western parts. 1170.

[d] *America* named of *Americus Vesputius*; which discovered les then *Colon* or Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, and the Continent later. *Colon* first found the Isles 1492. the Continent 1498. Aboue a yeare after *Cabot* had don it. He was set forth by *Henry* 7. and after by *Hen.* 8. Knighted, and made grand Pilot of *England* by *Ed.* 6 Vnder whom he procured the sending of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, and discovery of *Greenland* and *Russia*: having by himself discovered on *America* from 67 North lat. to neere 40 South.

Thomas Macarnesse to his worthy friend and Countryman, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

[1624]

WHo loues *to* liue *at home, yet* looke *abroad,*
And know *both* passen *and* vnpassen *road,*
The prime Plantation of an vnknowne shore,
The men, *the* manners, fruitfulnesse, *and* store:
Read but this little Booke, and then confesse,
The lesse *thou* lik'st *and* lou'st, *thou* liu'st *the* lesse.

He writ it with great labour, for thy good,
Twice over, now in paper, *'fore in* blood;
It cost him deare, both paines, without an ayme
Of private *profit, for thy* publicke *gaine.*
That thou mightst read *and* know *and safely* see,
What he by practice, *thou by* Theoree.

Commend *him for his loyall loving heart,*
Or else come mend *him, and take thou his part.*

To his friend Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

I Know not how Desert more great can rise,
Then out of Danger t' ane for good mens Good;
Nor who doth better winne th' Olympian *prize,*
Than he whose Countryes Honor stirres his bloud;
Private respects haue private expectation,
Publicke designes, should publish reputation.

This Gentleman whose Volumne heere is stoard [1624]
With strange discoverie of G O D S strangest Creatures,
Giues vs full view, how he hath Sayl'd, and Oar'd,
And Marcht, full many myles, whose rough defeatures,
Hath beene as bold, as puissant, vp to binde
Their barbarous strength's, to follow him dog-linde.

But wit, nor valour, now adayes payes scores
For estimation; all goes now by wealth,
Or friends; tush! thrust the beggar out of dores
That is not Purse-lyn'd; those which liue by stealth
Shall haue their haunts; no matter what's the guest
In many places; monies well come best.

But those who well discerne, esteeme not so:
Nor I of thee braue Smith, *that hast beat out*
Thy Iron thus; though I but little know
To what t'hast seene; yet I in this am stout:
My thoughts, maps to my minde some accidents,
That makes mee see thy greater presidents.

Io: Done.

To my worthy friend Captaine
Iohn Smith.

How great a part of knowledge had wee lost,
Both of Virginia *and the* Summer Isles,
Had not thy carefull diligence and cost
Inform'd vs thus, with thy industrious stile!
Like Cæsar *now thou writ'st what thou hast done,*
These acts, this Booke will liue while ther's a Sunne.

Edw: Worseley.

To his much respected Friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

[1624]

ENvie *avant. For* Smith, *whose* Anvill *was* Experience,
Could take his heat, *knew how and when to* Strike,
Wrought well this Peece; *till* After-negligence
Mistaking temper, *Cold, or* Scorch'd; *or like*
Vnskilfull workmen, that can never Fyle
Nor Pollish *it, that takes in* Forge *such toyle*:
Heere *Noble* Smith, *thou shewest the* Temper *true,*
*Which other Tampring-*Tempres *never knew.*

Ro: Norton.

To his loving friend Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

WHere *actions speake the praises of a man,*
There, Pennes that vse to flatter silent be,
Or if they speake, it is to scorne or scanne;
For such with vertue seldome doe agree.

When I looke backe on all thy labours past,
Thy travels, perils, losses oft sustaind
By Sea and Land; and (which is worst and last)
Neglect *or* small reward, *so dearely gaind.*

I doe admire thy still vndanted spirit;
vnwearied yet to worke thy Countries good.
This be thy praise then, due vnto thy merit;
For it th'hast venter'd life; and lost thy blood.

1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.
Truth, travayle, and Neglect, pure, painefull, most vnkinde,
1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.
Doth proue, consume, dismay, the soule, the corps, the minde.

Edw: Ingham.

To my deare friend by true Vertue ennobled Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

[1624]

More then enough I cannot thee commend :
Whose both abilities and Loue doe tend
So to advance the good of that Estate,
By English *charge, and Planters propagate*
Through heapes of painfull hazards ; in the first
Of which, that Colony *thy Care hath nurst.*
And often that effected but with ten
That after thee, and now, three hundred men
Haue faild in, 'mong the Salvages ; *who shake*
At bruit of Thee, as Spaine *at Name of* Drake.
Which well appeares ; considering the while
Thou governedst, nor force of theirs, ne guile
Lessend a man of thine ; but since (I rue)
In Brittish *blood they deeply did imbrue*
Their Heathen hands. And (truth to say) we see,
Our selues wee lost, vntimely leaving Thee.
Nor yet perceiue I any got betweene
Thee and thy merit ; which hath better beene
In prayse ; or profit much ; if counted iust ;
Free from the Weales abuse, or wronged trust.
Some few particulars *perhaps haue sped ;*
But wherein hath the publicke *prospered ?*
Or is there more of those Vast Countries knowne,
Then by thy Labours and Relations showne
First, best ? And shall wee loue Thee now the lesse ?
Farre be it ! fit condignely to expresse
Thankes, by new Charge, or recompence ; by whom,
Such past good hath, such future good may come.

David Wiffin.

Noble Captaine *Smith*, my worthy Friend

[1624]

NOt like the Age wherein thou liu'st, to lie
Buried in basenesse, sloth, or Ribaldrie
(For most doe thus) hast thou thy selfe applide;
But, in faire Actions, Merits height descride:
Which (like foure Theaters to set thee forth)
The worlds foure Quarters testifie thy worth.
The last whereof (America) *best showes*
Thy paines, and prayse; and what to thee shee owes,
(Although thy Sommer shone on th' Elder Three,
In as great Deeds as great varietie)
For opening to Her Selfe Her Selfe, in Two *
Of Her *large Members; Now* Ours, *to our view.*
Thereby endearing vs to thy desart,
That doubly dost them to our hands impart;
There *by thy* Worke, Heere *by thy* Workes; *By each*
Maist thou Fames lasting Wreath (for guerdon) reach.
And so become, in after Times t' ensue,
A President for others, So *to doe.*

William Grent.

* *Virginia* now inhabited, and *New-England.*

To his worthily affected Friend, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

AMongst so many that by learned skill,
Haue given iust prayse to thee, and to thy Booke,
Deare friend receiue this pledge of my good will,
Whereon, if thou with acceptation looke,
And thinke it worthie, ranke amongst the rest:
Vse thy discretion, I haue done my best.

Αγώγυμὸς.

The Contents of the generall History, divided into six Books.

The first Booke.

1170 THE *first voyage to the new World, by* Madock *Prince of Wales. The next by* Hanno *Prince of Carthage, and how it was offred K.* Hen. 7. *by*
1488 Chr. Cullumbus, *that vndertooke it for the*
1492 Spanyards. 1492. ... ... [*p.* 303]
How Iohn Cabot *was imployed by King*
1497 Hen. *the* 7. *and found the Continent before* Cul-
1576 lumbus. *Also Sir* Martin Frobisher, *and Sir*
1583 Humphrey Gilbert *ranged towards the North.*
1584 *And how Captaine* Amidas *was sent to discover the coast of* Florida *by Sir* Walter Raleigh *and his associates. And the Country* Wingandacoa *was called* Virginia *by Queene* Elizabeth. *Page* 1—4. ... ... [*p.* 304]
1585 *Sir* Richard Greenvill *sent thither with* 108. *he left for a plantation. The discovery of the Rivers* Chawonok *and* Moratoc. *The trechery of their King, who with eight more were slaine; and they all returned to* England *againe the same yeare with Sir* Francis Drake. *pag.* 5—9. [*p.* 310]
The Observations of Master Heriot. *Of their commodities, victuall, fruits, beasts, fishes, and foules. Their Religion, and beliefe of God, of the Creation of the world, and man; the immortalitie of the soule; the subtiltie of their Priests;*

the peoples simplicitie, and desire of salvation; and other Accidents. pag. 9—12. ... ... [*p.* 319]
1586 *Sir* Rich: Greenvill *sent to supply them. Not finding them, left fiftie. Their successe. page* 13. [*p.* 325]
1587 *Master* White *sent to relieue them, found they were all slaine, yet left* 115. *more, and departed.* [*p.* 326]
1589 *Returning the second time, he could not heare of them; his Observations and Accidents. pag.* 14—16. ... ... [*p.* 329]
1602 *A discovery by Captaine* Gosnoll *of* Elizabeths *Isles; his Observations, Relations, and returne. pag.* 17. 18. ... ... [*p.* 332]
The voyage of Captaine Pring *to the same Coast.* ... ... [*p.* 336]
1603 *The discovery of Captaine* Waymouth; *his Observations, Relations, and returne. pag.* 18—20. ... ... [*p.* 337]
1605 *A Map of the old* Virginia, *with the figures of the* Salvages. ... ... [To face *p.* 342]

The second Booke.

Of *Virginia* now planted, discovered by Captaine Smith.

1606 THe *Latitude, Temperature, and Capes; a description of* Chisapeack *Bay, and seaven navigable Rivers that fall into it, with their severall Inhabitants, and diversitie of Language. pag.* 21—25. ... ... [*p.* 343]
Of things growing Naturally, as woods, fruits, gummes, berries, herbs, roots; also of beasts, birds, and fishes; how they divide the yeare, prepare their ground, plant their corne, and vse it and other victuail. pag. 25—29. ... ... [*p.* 352]
What commodities may be had by industry.

[1607-9] *The description of the people, their numbers, constitutions, dispositions, attyre, buildings, lodgings and gardens, their vsage of children, striking of fire, making their Bowes and Arrowes, kniues, swords, targets, and boats: how they spinne, make fish-hooks, and ginnes, and their order of hunting. Consultations and order in Warres. pag.* 29—33. ... ... [*p.* 359]

Their musicke, entertainment, trade, Physicke, Chirurgery and Charmes. Their Religion, God, burials ordinary and extraordinary, Temples, Priests, Ornaments, solemnities, Coniurations, Altars, sacrifices, black boyes, and resurrection. pag. 34—36. ... ... [*p.* 368]

The manner of their government, their Emperor; his attendants, watch, treasury, wiues, successors and authority: tenure of their lands, and manner of punishment, with some words of their Language Englished. pag. 37—40. ... [*p.* 375]

And a Mappe of the Countrey of Virginia *now planted.* ... ... [To face *p.* 384]

The third Booke.

Of the Accidents and Proceedings of the *English.*

1606 *Their orders of government, Accidents in going, first landing and governe*

ment setled. pag. 41. 42. ... ... [*p.* 385]

1607 *The* Salvages *assault the Fort, the ships returne, their names [who] were left, occasion of sicknes, plenty vnexpected, the building of* Iames *Towne, the beginning of Trade, two proiects to abandon the Country. pag.* 43—46. ... ... [*p.* 388]

Their first attempts vpon the Salvages. *Cap-*

[1607] *taine* Smith *taken prisoner; their order of Triumph, and how he should haue beene executed, was preserved, saved* Iames *towne from being surprised, how they Coniured him.* Powhatan *entertained him, would haue slaine him; how* Pocahontas *his daughter saved him, and sent him to* Iames *Towne. The third plot to abandon the Countrey suppressed. pag.* 47—49. [*p.* 395]

Their first Supply and Accidents. The Salvages *opinion of our God. Captaine* Smith *revisits* Powhatan; Iames *Towne burnt; A conceited gold mine; A needlesse charge; Captaine* Newports *returne for* England. *pag.* 50—53. ... ... [*p.* 403]

1608 Iames *Towne rebuilt, with a Church and Store-house; The* Salvages *plot to murther all the* English; *their insolencies suppressed. Different opinions among the Councell. p.* 53. [*p.* 408]

Their names landed in this Supply. p. 54.... [*p.* 411]

The discovery of the Bay of Chisapeack. *Their fight and conference with the* Kuskarawaoks; *Ambuscadoes prevented in the river* Patawomek; *A mine like Antimony. pag.* 55—58. ... ... [*p.* 412]

How to deale with the Salvages. Smith *neare killed with a* Stingray. *With many other Accidents in the discovery. A needlesse misery at* Iames *towne redressed. pag.* 58—59. [*p.* 419]

The second Voyage to discover the Bay. Their Incounter with the Massawomekes *and* Tockwhoghs; *the* Sasquesahanoughs *offer subiection to the* English. *The exceeding loue of the Salvage* Mosco. *Their fight with the* Rapahanocks; *their fight with the* Manahokes. *The King of* Hassaninga's *brother taken prisoner; his relation of those mountainers; peace concluded with all those Nations. pag.* 59—64. ... ... [*p.* 421]

The discovery of the river Payankatank; *their fight with the* Nandsamunds, *and* Chisapeacks; *their returne to* Iames *town. p.* 65.... [*p.* 430]

[1608] *The Presidency surrendred to Captaine* Smith. *The second Supply by Captaine* Newport, *many Presents sent from* England *to* Powhatan, *his scorne, Consultations; factions suppressed; Captaine* Smith *visiteth* Powhatan; Pocahontas *entertaines him with a Maske; the Coronation of* Powhatan, *and Conditions. pag.* 68. ... ... [*p.* 433]

The discovery of the Monacans; *a punishment for swearing; the* Chickahamanians *forced to Contribution; the abuses of the Mariners; Master* Scriveners *voyage to* Werowocomoco. *pag.* 68—70. ... ... [*p.* 438]

Captaine Smiths *Relation to* England *of the estate of the* Colony: *the names of them arrived in this Supply. pag.* 71. 72. ... ... [*p.* 442]

Nandsamund *forced to Contribution. The first Marriage in* Virginia. Apamatuck *discovered. pag.* 73. ... ... [*p.* 446]

Captaine Smiths *iourney to* Pamavnkee. *The discovery of the* Chawwonocks. Smiths [1609] *discourse to* Powhatan; *His reply and flattery; and his discourse of Peace and Warre.* Powhatans *plot to murther* Smith, *discovered by his daughter* Pocahontas. *pag.* 77. ... ... [*p.* 448]

Their escape at Pamavnkee. *The Dutchmen deceiue Captaine* Winne, *and arme the* Salvages; *sixteene* English *beset by seven hundred* Salvages, Smith *takes their King* Opechankanough *prisoner; the* Salvages *excuse and reconcilement. p.* 77.—80. ... ... [*p.* 456]

Master Scrivener *and others drowned; Master* Wiffins *desperate iourney to* Pamavnkee; Powhatan *constraines his men again to be trecherous; he is forced to fraught their Ship;* Smith *poysoned; the Dutch mens trechery. pag.* 80—82. ... ... [*p.* 460]

The Dutch-mens plot to murther Smith. *He taketh the King of* Paspahegh *prisoner, and others; they become all subiect to the* English. *pag.* 84. ... ... [*p.* 467]

[1609] *A* Salvage *smoothered, yet recovered; three or foure* Salvages *slaine in drying stolne powder. Great extremity occasioned by ratts; Bread made of dryed Sturgeon; the punishment for loyterers; the discovery of the* Mangoags. *Captaine* Argals *first arrivall; the inconveniences in a Plantation. p.* 84—89.... ... [*p.* 469]
1609 *The government altered; the arrivall of the third Supply; mutinies;* Nandsamund *planted; breach of peace with the* Salvages; Powhatans *chiefe seat bought for Copper; Mutinies. pag.* 90. 91. ... ... [*p.* 478]
Captaine Smith *blowne vp with Gun-powder; a bloudy intent; the causes why he left the Country and his Commission; his returne for* England; *the ends of the Dutch-men* ... ... [*p.* 484]
Certaine Verses of seaven Gentlemen. p. 95. [*p.* 491]

The fourth Booke.

With their Proceedings after the alteration of the Government.

How the mutiners proceeded; the Salvages *revolt; the planting point* Comfort. *Them at* Nandsamund, *and the Fals, defeated by the* Salvages. *Captaine* Rat[c]liff, *with thirtie slaine by* Powhatan. *The fruits of improvidence.*
1610 *The arrivall of Sir* Thomas Gates. Iames *Towne abandoned. The arrivall of the Lord* La Warre; *their actions, and both their returnes. pag.* 105—108. ... ... [*p.* 497]
1611 *The government left to Captaine* Percie; *and his proceedings. The arrivall of Sir* Thomas Dale, *and his actions. pag.* 109—110. ... ... [*p.* 505]
The second arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates;

1612 *the building* Henerico, *and the* Bermudas; *how Captaine* Argall *tooke* Pocahontas *prisoner.* Dales *voyage to* Pamavnkee. *The*
1613 *marriage of* Pocahontas *to Master* Rolfe. *Articles of Peace with the* Salvages. *p*[*ag*]. 110—114. ... ... [*p.* 509]
1614 *The government left to Sir* Thomas Dale. *Captaine* Argals *voyage to port* Royall. *Master* Hamers *to* Powhatan; *and their Accidents. pag.* 115. 116. ... ... [*p.* 517]
1615 *The manner of the Lottery. A Spanish Shippe in* Virginia. Dale *with* Pocahontas
1616 *comes for* England. *Captaine* Yerley *left Deputy Governour; his warres and peace with the* Chickahamanians, *and proceedings. pag.* 117—121. ... ... [*p.* 522]
A relation to Queene Anne *of the quality and condition of* Pocahontas; *how the Queen en-*
1617 *tertained her; Captaine* Argall *sent governor;*
1618 *the death of* Powhatan; *ten* English *slaine;* Argals *accidents and proceeedings. The Lord* de la Warre *sent againe governour; his death. A relation of their present estates. Haile-stones* 8. *inches about. pag.* 121—125. ... ... [*p.* 530]
1619 *Sir* George Yerley *sent governor;* Waraskoyack *planted. A parliament in* Virginia; *foure Corporations appointed; the adventures of Captaine* Ward; *the number of ships and men sent this yeare; gifts given; Patents granted. pag.* 125—127. ... ... [*p.* 540]
1620 *A desperate Sea fight by Captaine* Chester *with two* Spanish *men of warre; the names of the Adventurers. pag.* 128—138. ... ... [*p.* 544]
Notes and observations. A relation of their
1621 *estates by Master* Stockam. *The arrivall of Sir* Francis Wyat *with nine ships. Master* Gockings *plantation; and their accidents; the number of ships and men sent this yeare; gifts given, Patents granted. p.* 139—141. ... ... [*p.* 561]
Master Pories *iourneyes to* Pawtuxunt, *and other places, with his accidents. pag.* 141—143. [*p.* 567]

1622 *Captaine* Each *sent to build Forts and Barks. The cause and manner of the Massacre; the numbers slaine; the providence of Captaine* Nuse; *Captaine* Chroshaw *his voyage to* Patowomek. *pag.* 143—151. ... [*p.* 570]

Captaine Smiths *offer to the Company to suppresse the* Salvages. *Their answer; the manner of the Sallery;* Chroshaw *stayes at* Patawomek; *the escape of* Waters *and his wife. Captaine* Hamar *goes to* Patawomek; Chroshaws *plot for all their preservations. Captaine* Madison *sent to* Patawomek. *Captaine* Powell *kils three* Salvages. *Sir* George Yerleys *iourney to* Acomack. *The misery of Captaine* Nuse. *The kindness of the King of* Patawomek; *a vile policy of a* Salvage; Madisons *mischiefe vnto the* Patawomeks. *It was not well don*[*e*] *to make* Opechankanough *drinke healths.* 300. *surpriseth* Nandsamund *and*
1623 Pamavnkee. *The opinion of Captaine* Smith *how to subiect the* Salvages. *The arriuall of Captaine* Butler *in* Virginia, *and other Accidents. pag.* 152—161. ... ... [*p.* 588]

The losse of Captaine Spilman *and* 26. *men. A particular of such necessaries as are fit for private persons or families. pag.* 161. 162. ... [*p.* 606]

A briefe relation by Captaine Smith *to his Maiesties Commissioners, for the reformation of* Virginia. *The* 7 *questions the right Worthie Commissioners demanded, and his answers;*
1624 *how the King hath pleased to take it into his consideration. pag.* 163—168. ... ... [*p.* 610]

At this present two ships are going; more a preparing; new Commissions sent. ... ...

A Proclamation, no Tobacco *be vsed in* England, *but what shall come from* Virginia, *or the* Somer Isles; *quere* [*i.e.*, see] *the Proclamation.*

The fift Booke.

Mappe of the Somer Isles *and* Fortresses [To face *p.* 624]. *The description of the* Isles, *the fruits, fishes, soyle, ayre, beasts, birds, with the relation of the shipwrack of* Henry
1593 May. *pag.* 169—173. ... ... [*p.* 625]
1609 *The shipwrack of Sir* Thomas Gates, *and Sir*
1610 George Somers; *their accidents, deliverance and arrivall in* Virginia. Somers *returne to the Isles; his death, and Epitaph, the accidents*
1611 *hapned; three men lived there alone two yeares. pag.* 174—177. ... ... [*p.* 635]
1612 *Master* More *sent to make a plantation. A peece of Amber Greece found of* 80. *pound weight; much dissension;* Mores *industrie in fortifying and waighing Ordnance out of the*
1613 *wracks. Their first Supply; a strange increase of Potatoes. The attempt of* 2. *Spanish ships; a great mortality; a strange being of Ravens;*
1614 *a new Supply, with their Accidents, and* Moores *returne. pag.* 177—180.... ... ... [*p.* 642]
1615 *The rent* [rule] *of the six governours; a wonderfull accident of* Hilliard, *not much lesse then a miracle. pag.* 181. 182. ... ... [*p.* 649]
1616 *The government of Captaine* Tuckar; *Assises; the strange adventure of* 5 *men in a boat; plants from the West* Indies; *the endevours of Cap-*
1617 *taine* Powell; *Assises. The Country neer devoured with ratts; their strange confusion.*
1618 *The divisions of the Isles into Tribes, and Tribes into shares, by Master* Norwood; *the names of the adventurers, and their shares. pag.* 182—189. ... ... [*p.* 653]
The first Magazin; two exployts of desperate fugitiues. The returne of Captaine Tuckar. *Captaine* Kendall *left deputy-governor, and their Accidents. pag.* 189—191. ... ... [*p.* 665]
1619 *The government of Captaine* Butler; *A plat-*

[1619] *forme burnt, and much hurt by a Hericano. The refortifying the Kings Castle. The arrivall of two Dutch Frigots. The rebuilding the Mount, and a Tombe for Sir* George Somers. *The reformation of their lawes and officers. Their Assises. A Parliament. Their acts; their opinion of the Magazin. The build-*
1620 *ing three Bridges. The generall Assises; A strange deliverance of a Spanish wracke. A*
1621 *strange Sodomy; many Ordnances got from wracks. Their estates present. pag.* 191—199. [*p.* 669]
1622 *Master* Barnard *sent to be governour; his arrivall, death, and funerall, with the pro-*
1623 *ceedings of Master* Harrison *his successor,*
1624 *and Captaine* Woodhouse *their governor. pag.* 200—201. ... ... [*p.* 687]

Certaine Verses of Master Withers, *and other Gentlemen.* ... ... [*p.* 689]

The sixt Booke.

A *Mappe of* New England [*State IV.*, see *p.* cxxxv. To face *p.* 694]. *How this country hath bin*
1614 *accounted but a miserable Desert. Captain* Smith's *first voyage; what peace and warres he had with the* Salvages, *and within* 6. *moneths returned with* 1500l. *worths of commodities; got Prince* Charles *to call it* New-England. *A Table of the old names and the new. pag.* 203—205. ... ... [*p.* 695]

Captaine Hobsons *voyage to* Capan; *the* Londoners *apprehend it. The situation: notes for ignorant vndertakers. The description of the Country. Staple Commodities; present proofe of the healthfulnesse of the clime. Observations of the* Hollanders *chiefe trade. pag.* 209. ... [*p.* 701]

[1614] *Examples of the altitude comparatiuely; the reasons why to plant it. An example of the gaines every yeare; a description of* 15. *severall Countries in particular. Of their Kings, rivers, harbors, Isles, mountains, landmarks, fruits, woods, birds, fishes, beasts, &c. and how as well Gentlemen, as mec[h]anicks, may be imployed, and get much wealth, with the reasons and causes of the defaylements. pag.* 206—221. ... ... [*p.* 710]
1615 *Captaine* Smiths *second voyage; his ship neere foundered in the Sea; He reimbarketh*
1616 *himselfe; incountreth the English Pyrats; fought with the French Pyrates; is betrayed by* 4. *French men of warre; how he was released; his men ran from him with ship and all; how he lived with the French men; what fights they had, what prizes they tooke; the French mens ingratitude.* 13 *sayle cast away: how he escaped, proceeded in France, returned for* England, *and punished them* [*that*] *ran from him. pag.* 222—227. ... ... [*p.* 731]
1617 *The yearely trialls of* New-England; *the*
1618 *benefit of fishing, as Master* Dee, *and divers report, and approoved by the* Hollanders *Records;*
1619 *how it becomes so well apprehended, that more then* 150. *haue gone thither to fish, with an estimate of their gaines, with many observations and Accidents. pag.* 228—230. ... ... [*p.* 743]
1620 *A Plantation in* New-England; *their first landing; divers iourneys and accidents; the description of the harbors, bayes, lakes, and that place they inhabit, called* New-Plimouth; *conference with the* Salvages; *and kinde vsage of the King of the* Massasoyts; *a strange policie of* Tusquantum. *pag.* 230—234. ... [*p.* 749]
1621 *The* Salvages *make warres for their friendships; the* English *revenge their friends iniuries.*
1622 *Notes and observations. They lived two yeares without Supplyes; the death of* Tusquantum; *they contriue to murther the* English; *how the* English *did cure a King sicke to death; two*

most desperate Salvages; *the courage of Captaine* Standish; *the* Salvages *sue for peace. pag.* 235—239. ... ... [*p.* 758]

1623 *A most remarkable observation of Gods loue.* 40 *sayle fished there this yeare; the religion of the* Salvages; *the government; an answer to obiections; considerations; the charge; the order of the Western men. pag.* 140—142.... [*p.* 766]

The effects of shipping; the Popes order for the East and West Indies. *How to build a little navy royall; contention for* New-England. *The necessitie of martiall power. pag.* 243—244. [*p.* 773]

The charge to set forth a ship of a 100. *tuns, both to make a fishing voyage, and increase the plantation. The facilitie of the fishing lately*

1624 *observed. Their present estate at* New-Plimouth, *and order of government.* ... ... [*p.* 778]

Its not his part that is the best Translator,
To render word for word to every Author.

The English voyages to the old Virginia. 1584–1605.]

[This First Book is merely an Abridgement of the earlier English voyages to Virginia, compiled from various publications, by Captain JOHN SMITH, for the most part in 1622, *p.* 331.]

HOW ANCIENT AVTHORS REPORT, THE NEVV-VVORLD,

Now called *America*, was discovered: and part thereof first Planted by the ENGLISH, called VIRGINIA, *with the Accidents and Proceedings of the same.*

The first Booke.

FOR the Stories of *Arthur*, *Malgo*, and *Brandon*, that say a thousand yeares agoe they were in the North of *America*; or the Fryer of *Linn* that by his blacke Art went to the North pole in the yeare 1360. in that I know them not. Let this suffice. [1170]

The Chronicles of *Wales* report, that 1170. *Madock*, sonne to *Owen Quineth*, Prince of *Wales* seeing his two brethren at debate who should inherit, prepared certaine Ships, with men and munition, and left his Country to seeke aduentures by Sea: leauing *Ireland* North he sayled west till he came to a Land vnknowne. Returning home and relating what pleasant and fruitfull Countries he had seene without Inhabitants, and for what barren ground his brethren and kindred did murther one another, he prouided a number of Ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietnesse, that arriued

[1170-1583] with him in this new Land in the yeare 1170: Left many of his people there and returned for more. But where this place was no History can show.

The *Spanyards* say *Hanno* a Prince of *Carthage* was the first: and the next *Christopher Cullumbus*, a Genoesian,
1492. whom they sent to discover those vnknowne parts. 1492.

But we finde by Records, *Cullumbus* offered his seruice in the yeare 1488. to King *Henry* the seauenth; and by accident vndertooke it for the *Spanyards*. In the Interim King *Henry* gaue a Commission to *Iohn Cabot*, and his three sonnes, *Sebastian*, *Lewis*, and *Sautius*. *Iohn* and *Sebastian* well provided, setting sayle, ranged a great part
1497. of this vnknowne world, in the yeare 1497. For though *Cullumbus* had found certaine Iles, it was 1498. ere he saw the Continent, which was a yeare after *Cabot*. Now *Americus* came a long time after, though the whole Continent to this day is called *America* after his name, yet *Sebastian Cabot* discovered much more then them all, for he sayled to about forty degrees Southward of the lyne, and to sixty-seauen towards the North: for which King *Henry* the eight Knighted him and made him grand Pilate of *England*. Being very aged King *Edward* the sixt gaue him a Pention of 166*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. yearely. By his directions Sir *Hugh Willowby* was sent to finde out the Country of *Russia*, but the next yeare he was found frozen to death in his Ship, and all his Company.

1576. Master *Martin Frobisher* was sent in the yeare 1576. by our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, to search for the Northwest passage, and *Meta incognita*: for which he was Knighted, honored, and well rewarded.

1583. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a worthy Knight attempted a Plantation in some of those parts: and obtained Letters Pattents to his desire: but with this *Proviso*, He should [2] maintaine possession in some of those vast Countries within the tearme of sixe yeares. Yet when he was provided with a Navy able to incounter a Kings power, even here at home they fell in diuisions, and so into confusion, that they gaue over the Designe ere it was begun, notwithstanding all this losse, his vndanted spirit began againe, but his Fleet fell with *New-found land*, and he perished in his returne, as at large you may read in the

third Volume of the English Voyages, written by Master *Hackluit* [*in* 1599–1600]. [1583–4]

Vpon all those Relations and inducements, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a noble Gentleman, and then in great esteeme, vndertooke to send to discover to the Southward. And though his occasions and other imployments were such he could not goe himselfe, yet he procured her Maiesties Letters Pattents, and perswaded many worthy Knights and Gentlemen to adventure with him to finde a place fit for a Plantation. Their Proceedings followeth.

The most famous, renowned, and euer worthy of all memory, for her courage, learning, iudgement, and vertue, Queene *Elizabeth*, granted her Letters Patents to Sir *Walter Raleigh* for the discovering and planting new Lands and Countries, not actually possessed by any Christians. This Patenty got to be his assistants Sir *Richard Grenvell* the valiant, Master *William Sanderson* a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions, and divers other Gentlemen and Marchants, who with all speede prouided two small Barkes well furnished with all necessaries, vnder the command of Captaine *Philip Amidas* and Captaine *Barlow*. The 27. of Aprill [1584] they set sayle from the Thames, the tenth of May passed the *Canaries*, and the tenth of Iune the West Indies: which vnneedfull Southerly course, (but then no better was knowne) occasioned them in that season much sicknesse. 1584.

The second of Iuly [1584] they fell with the coast of *Florida* in shoule water, where they felt a most delicate sweete smell, though they saw no land, which ere long they espied, thinking it the Continent: an hundred and twenty myles they sayled not finding any harbor. The first that appeared with much difficulty they entred, and anchored, and after thankes to God they went to view the next Land adioyning to take possession of it for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie: which done, they found their first landing place very sandy and low, but so full of grapes that the very surge of the Sea sometimes over-flowed them: of which they found such plenty in all places, both on the sand, the greene soyle and hils, as in the plaines as well on euery little shrub, as also climbing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that they did thinke in the world were not the like abundance. Their arrivall. Abundance of Grapes.

[1584] The Ile of *Wokokon.*

We passed by the Sea-side towards the tops of the next hills being not high: from whence we might see the Sea on both sides, and found it an Ile of twentie myles in length; and six in breadth, the vallyes replenished with goodly tall Cedars. Discharging our Muskets, such a flocke of Cranes, the most white, arose by vs, with such a cry as if an Army of men had shouted altogether. This Ile hath many goodly Woods, and Deere, Conies, and Foule in incredible abundance, and vsing the Authors owne phrase, the Woods are not such as you finde in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercinia*, barren and fruitlesse, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, bettering them of the Assores, Indies, or *Libanus*: Pynes, Cypres, Saxefras, the Lentisk that beareth Mastick, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. Till the third day we saw not any of the people, then in a little Boat three of them appeared, one of them went on shore, to whom wee rowed, and he attended vs without any signe of feare; after he had spoke much though we vnderstood not a word, of his owne accord he came boldly aboord vs, we gaue him a shirt, a hat, wine and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the barkes and vs, he went away in his owne Boat, and within a quarter of a myle of vs in halfe an houre, had loaden his Boat with fish, with which he came againe to the poynt of land, and there devided it in two parts, poynting one part to the Ship, the other to the Pinnace, and so departed. [3]

In *Lybanus* are not many.

Conference with a Salvage.

The Arriuall of the Kings brother.

The next day came diuers Boats, and in one of them the Kings Brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behauiour very ciuill; his name was *Granganameo*, the King is called *Wingina*, the Country *Wingandacoa*. Leauing his Boats a little from our Ships, he came with his trayne to the poynt: where spreading a Matte he sat downe. Though we came to him well armed, he made signes to vs to sit downe without any shew of feare, stroking his head and brest, and also ours, to expresse his loue. After he had made a long speech vnto vs, we presented him with diuers toyes, which he kindly accepted. He was greatly regarded by his people, for none of them did sit, nor speake a word, but foure, on whom we bestowed presents also, but he tooke all from them, making signes all things did belong to him.

The King himselfe in a conflict with a King his next neighbour and mortall enemy, was shot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recouered: whereby he lay at his chiefe towne six dayes iourney from thence. [1584]

A day or two after shewing them what we had, *Granganameo* taking most liking to a Pewter dish, made a hole in it, hung it about his necke for a brest-plate: for which he gaue vs twenty Deere skins, worth twenty Crownes; and for a Copper Kettell, fiftie skins, worth fiftie Crownes. Much other trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboord, and did eate and drinke with vs very merrily. Not long after he brought his wife and children, they were but of meane stature, but well fauoured and very bashfull; she had a long coat of Leather, and about her privities a peece of the same, about her forehead a band of white Corrall, and so had her husband, in her eares were bracelets of pearle, hanging downe to her middle, of the bignesse of great Pease; the rest of the women had Pendants of Copper, and the Noblemen fiue or sixe in an eare; his apparrell as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one; they are of colour yellow, but their hayre is blacke, yet we saw children that had very fayre Chesnut coloured hayre. Trade with the Salvages.

After that these women had beene here with vs, there came downe from all parts great store of people, with Leather, Corrall, and diuers kinde of dyes, but when *Granganameo* was present, none durst trade but himselfe, and them that wore red Copper on their heads, as he did. When euer he came, he would signifie by so many fires he came with so many boats, that we might know his strength. Their Boats are but one great tree, which is but burnt in the forme of a trough with gins and fire, till it be as they would haue it. For an armour he would haue ingaged vs a bagge of pearle, but we refused, as not regarding it, that wee might the better learn where it grew. He was very iust of his promise, for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keepe his word. He sent vs commonly euery day a brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and fish, sometimes Mellons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Pease, and diuers rootes. This Author sayth, their corne groweth three times in fiue moneths; in May they sow, *Note.*

[1584] in Iuly reape; in Iune they sow, in August reape; in Iuly sow, in August reape. We put some of our Pease in the ground, which in ten dayes were 14. ynches high.

The soyle is most plentifull, sweete, wholesome, and fruitfull of all other, there are about 14. seuerall sorts of sweete smelling tymber trees: the most parts of the vnderwood, Bayes and such like: such Okes as we, but far greater and better.

After this acquaintance, my selfe with seauen more went twenty myle into the Riuer *Occam*, that runneth toward the Cittie *Skicoack*, and the euening following we came to an Ile called *Roanoak*, from the harbour where we entred 7. leagues; at the North end was 9. houses, builded with Cedar, fortified round with sharpe trees, and the entrance like a Turnpik. When we came towards it, the wife of *Granganameo* came running out to meete vs, (her husband was absent) commanding her people to draw our Boat ashore for beating on the billowes, other she appoynted to carry vs on their backes aland, others to bring our Ores into the house for [4] stealing. When we came into the other roome, (for there was fiue in the house) she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire; after tooke off our clothes and washed them, of some our stockings, and some our feete in warme water, and she her selfe tooke much paines to see all things well ordered, and to prouide vs victuall.

The Ile *Roanoak*.

The great courtesie of a Woman.

A banquet.

After we had thus dryed our selues, she brought vs into an Inner roome, where she set on the bord standing a long the house somewhat like frumentie, sodden venison, and rosted fish; in like manner mellons raw, boyled rootes and fruites of diuers kindes. The[i]re drinke is commonly water boyled with Ginger, sometimes with Saxefras, and wholsome herbes, but whilest the Grape lasteth they drinke wine. More loue she could not expresse to entertaine vs; they care but onely to defend themselues from the short winter, and feede on what they finde naturall in sommer. In this feasting house was their Idoll of whom they tould vs vncredible things. When we were at meate two or three of her men came amongst vs with their Bowes and Arrowes, which caused vs to take our armes in hand. She perceiuing our distrust, caused their Bowes and Arrowes to be broken, and they beaten

out of the gate: but the euening approaching we returned to our boate, where at she much grieuing brought our supper halfe boyled, pots and all, but when she saw vs but put our boat a little off from the shoar and lye at Anchor, perceiuing our Ielousie, she sent diuers men and 30. women to sit al night on the shoare side against vs, and sent vs fiue Mats to couer vs from the raine, doing all she could to perswade vs to her house. Though there was no cause of doubt, we would not aduenture: for on our safety depended the voyage: but a more kinde louing people cannot be. [1584]

Beyond this Ile is the maine land and the great riuer *Occam*, on which standeth a Towne called *Pomeiock*, and six dayes higher, their City *Skicoak*: those people neuer saw it, but say the[i]re fathers affirme it to be aboue two houres iourney about. Into this riuer falleth an other called *Cipo*, where is found many Mustells wherein are Pearles: likewise another Riuer called *Nomapona*, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called *Chawanock*, the Lord of the Country is not subiect to *Wingandacoa*. Beyond him an other king they cal *Menatonon*. These 3. are in league each with other. Towards the south. 4. dayes iourney is *Sequotan*, the southermost part of *Wingandacoa*. *Skicoac* a great town

Adioyning to *Secotan* beginneth the country *Pomouik*, belonging to the King called *Piamacum*, in the Country *Nusiok* vpon the great riuer *Neus*. These haue mortall warres with *Wingina*, King of *Wingandacoa*. Betwixt *Piemacum* and the Lord of *Secotan*, a peace was concluded: notwithstanding there is a mortall malice in the *Secotans*, because this *Piemacum* invited diuers men, and 30. women to a feast, and when they were altogether merry before their Idoll, which is but a meere illusion of the Deuill, they sudainly slew all the men of *Secotan*, and kept the women for their vse. Beyond *Roanoak* are many Isles full of fruits and other Naturall increases, with many Townes a long the side of the Continent. Those Iles lye 200. myles in length, and betweene them and the mayne, a great long sea, in some places. 20. 40. or 50. myles broad, in other more, somewhere lesse. And in this sea are 100. Iles of diuers bignesses, but to get into it, you haue but 3. passages and they very dangerous. *Pomouik.*

Though this you see for most part be but the relations of

[1584-5] Saluages, because it is the first, I thought it not a misse to remember them as they are written by them that returned and ariued in *England* about the middest of *September* [1584] the same yeare.

How the Country was called *Virginia.*

This discouery was so welcome into *England* that it pleased her Maiestie to call this Country of *Wingandacoa*, *Virginia*, by which name now you are to vnderstand how it was planted, disolued, renued, and enlarged.

The Performers of this voyage were these following.

Philip Amadas. *Arthur Barlow.*	*Captaines*	*William Grenuill.* *Iohn Wood.* *Iames Browewich.* *Henry Greene.* *Beniamen Wood.* *Simon Ferdinando.* *Nicholas Peryman.* *Iohn Hewes.*	*Of the Companie.* [5]

Sir Richard Grenuills voyage to Virginia, for Sir Walter Raleigh. 1585.

Sir *Richard Grenvil* voyage 1585.

THe 9. of *Aprill* he departed from *Plimouth* with 7. sayle: the chiefe men with him in command, were Master *Ralph Layne*, Master *Thomas Candish*, Master *Iohn Arundel*, Master *Stukley*, Master *Bremige*, Master *Vincent*, Master *Heryot* and Master *Iohn Clarke*. The 14. day we fell with the *Canaries*, and the 7. of *Mey* with *Dominico* in the West *Indies*: we landed at *Portorico*, after with much a doe at *Izabella* on the north *of Hispaniola*, passing by many Iles. Vpon the 20. we fell with the mayne of *Florida*, and were put in great danger vpon Cape *Fear*. The 26. we Anchored at *Wocokon*, where the admiral [*flag-ship*] had like to beene cast away: presently we sent to *Wingina* to *Roanoak*, and Master *Arundell* went to the mayne, with *Manteo* a saluage, and that day to *Crooton*.

The 11. The Generall victualed for 8. dayes, with a selected company went to the maine, and discovered the Townes of *Pomeiok*, *Aquascogoc*, *Secotan*, and the great Lake called *Paquipe*. At *Aquascogoc* the Indians stole a siluer Cup, wherefore we burnt the Towne and spoyled their corne, so returned to our fleete at *Tocokon*. [1585]

Whence we wayed for *Hatorask*, where we rested, and *Granganimeo*, King *Wingina's* brother with *Manteo* came abord our Admirall, the Admirall went for *Weapomeiok*, and Master *Iohn Arundell* for *England*.

Our Generall in his way home tooke a rich loaden ship of 300. tunns, with which he ariued at *Plimouth* the 18. of *September*. 1585.

These were left vnder the command of Master *Ralph Layne* to inhabite the Country, but they returned within a yeare.

Philip Amidas Admirall.	*Master Rogers.*
Master Thomas Heryot.	*Master Haruy.*
Master Acton.	*Master Snelling.*
Master Stafford.	*Master Antony Russe.*
Master Thomas Luddington.	*Master Allen.*
Master Maruyn.	*Master Michaell Pollison.*
Captaine Vaghan.	*Master Thomas Bockner.*
Master Kendall.	*Master Iames mason.*
Master Gardiner.	*Master Dauid Salter.*
Master Predeox.	*Master Iames Skinner.*

With diuers others to the number of 108.

Their first Plantation.

Touching the most remarkeable things of the Country and our proceeding from the 17 of *August* 1585. till the 18. of *Iune* 1586. we made *Roanoack* our habitation.

The vtmost of our discouery Southward was *Secotan* as we esteemed 80. leagues from *Roanoacke*. The passage from thence was thought a broad sound within the maine, being without kenning of land, yet full of flats and shoulds that our Pinnasse could not passe, and we had but one boat with 4. ores, that would carry but 15. men with their prouisions for 7. dayes: so that because the winter approached we left those discoueries till a stronger supply.

[1585-6] To the Northward; our farthest was to a Towne of the *Chesapeacks*, from *Roanoack* 130. myles. The passage is very shallow and dangerous by reason of the breadth of the sound and the little succour for a storme, but this ter[r]itory being 15. myle from the shoare, for pleasantnest of seate, for temporature of climate, fertility of soyle and comoditie of the Sea, besides beares, good woods, *Saxefras*, *Walnuts*, *&c.* is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry other Kings they call *Weroances* as the *Mangoacks*, *Trypaniks* and *opposians*, which came to visit vs.

Chawonoack. To the northwest our farthest was *Chawonock* from *Roanoack* 130. myles our [**6**] passage lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channell Nauigable for a Ship, but out of it full of shoules.

The townes by the way by the water, are *Passaquenock* the womens towne, *Chepanoc*, *Weapomeiok*; from *Muscamunge* wee enter the riuer and iurisdiction of *Chawonock*, there it beginneth to straiten, and at *Chawonock* it is as *Thames* at *Lambeth*: betwixt them as we passed is goodly high land on the left hand, and there is a towne called *Ohanock*, where is a great corne field, it is subiect to *Chawonock*, which is the greatest Prouince vpon the riuer, and the Towne it selfe can put seuen hundred men into the field, besides the forces of the rest. The King is lame, but hath more vnderstanding then all the rest.

Chawonock 700. men.

The river of *Moratoc* is more famous then all the rest, and openeth into the sound of *Weapomeiok*, and where there is but a very small currant in *Chawonock*, it hath so strong a currant from the Southwest, as we doubted how to row against it. Strange things they report of the head of this riuer, and of *Moratoc* it selfe, a principall towne on it, and is thirtie or fortie dayes Iourney to the head. This lame King [*of Chawonock*] is called *Menatonon*. When I had him prisoner two dayes, he told mee that 3. dayes Iourney in a Canow vp the riuer *Chawonock*, then landing and going foure dayes Iourney Northeast, there is a King whose Country lyeth on the Sea, but his best place of strength is an Iland in a Bay inuironed with deepe water, where he taketh that abundance of Pearle, that not onely his skins, and his nobles, but also his beds and houses are garnished there-

Menatonon his Relations of the Ile of Pearle, and a rich Mine, and the Sea by it.

with. This king was at *Chawonock* two yeares agoe [1584] to trade with blacke pearle, his worst sort whereof I had a rope, but they were naught; but that King he sayth hath store of white, and had trafficke with white men, for whom he reserued them; he promised me guides to him, but aduised me to goe strong, for he was vnwilling strangers should come in his Country, for his Country is populous and valiant men. If a supply had come in Aprill, I resolued to haue sent a small Barke to the Northward to haue found it, whilest I with small Boates and 200. men would haue gone to the head of the riuer *Chawonock*, with sufficient guides by land, inskonsing my selfe euery two dayes, where I would leaue Garrisons for my retreat, till I came to this Bay. [1585-6]

Very neare vnto it is the riuer of *Moratoc*, directly from the West, the head of it springeth out of a mayne Rocke, which standeth so neare the Sea, that in stormes the Sea beats ouer it into this fresh spring, that of it selfe at the surse is a violent streame. I intended with two Wherries and fortie persons to haue *Menatonons* sonne for guide, to try this presently, till I could meete with some of the *Moratocks*, or *Mangoaks*; but hoping of getting more victuall from the Saluages, we as narrowly escaped staruing in that Discouery as euer men did.

Pemissapan his trechery.

For *Pemissapan* who had changed his name of *Wingina* vpon the death of his brother *Granganameo*, had giuen both the *Chawonests*, and *Mangoaks* word of my purpose: also he told me the *Chawonocks* had assembled two or three thousand to assault me at *Roanok*, vrging me daily to goe against them, and them against vs; a great assembly I found at my comming thether, which suddaine approach did so dismay them, that we had the better of them: and this confederacy against vs was procured by *Pemissapan* himselfe our chiefe friend [as] we trusted; he sent word also to the *Moratoks* and the *Mangoaks*, I came to inuade them, that they all fled vp into the high Country, so that where I assured my selfe both of succour and prouision, I found all abandoned.

The discouery of the riuer *Moratoc*.

But being thus farre on my iourney 160. myles from home, and but victuals for two dayes, besides the casualties of crosse winds, stormes, and the Saluages trechery,

[1585-6] though we intended no hurt to any: I gaue my Company to vnderstand we were onely drawne forth vpon these
A noble resolution. vaine hopes by the Saluages to bring vs to confusion: a Councell we held, to goe forward or returne, but they all were absolutely resolued but three, that whilst there was but one pynt of Corne for a man, they would not
[*Ap.* III,416.] leaue the search of that riuer; for they had two Mastiue Dogs, which boyled with Saxefras leaues (if the worst fell [7] out), vpon them and the pottage they would liue two dayes, which would bring them to the sound, where they should finde fish for two dayes more to passe it to *Roanock*, which two dayes they had rather fast then goe backe a foote, till they had seene the *Mangoaks* either as friends or foes.

Though I did forsee the danger and misery, yet the desire I had to see the *Mangoaks* was, for that there is
The strange Mine of *Chaunis Temoatan.* a prouince called *Chaunis Temoatan*, frequented by them and well knowne to all those Countries, where is a mine of Copper they call *Wassador*; they say they take it out of a riuer that falleth swiftly from high rocks in shallow water, in great Bowles, couered with leather, leauing a part open to receiue the mettall, which by the change of the colour of the water where the spout falleth, they suddainly chop downe, and haue the Bowlefull, which they cast into the fire, it presently melteth, and doth yeeld in fiue parts at the first melting two parts mettall for three of Ore. The *Mangoaks* haue such plenty of it, they beautifie their houses with great plates thereof: this the Salvages report; and young *Skiko* the King of *Chawonocks* sonne my prisoner, that had beene prisoner among the *Mangoaks*, but neuer at *Chaunis Temoatan*, for he sayd that was twentie dayes iourney overland from the *Mangoaks*.

Menatonon also confirmed all this, and promised me guid[e]s to this mettall Country; by Land to the *Mangoaks* is but one dayes iourney, but seauen by water, which made me so willing to haue met them for some assay of this mettall: but when we came there we found no creature, onely we might see where had beene their fires.

After our two dayes iourney, and our victuals spent, in the euening we heard some call as we thought *Manteo*, who was with me in the boat; this made vs glad, he made

them a friendly answer, which they answered with a song we thought for welcome, but he told vs they came to fight. Presently they did let flie their Arrowes about the boat, but did no hurt, the other boat scouring the shore we landed: but they all were fled, and how to finde them wee knew not. [1586]

So the next morning we returned to the mouth of the riuer, that cost vs foure dayes rowing vp, and here our dogs pottage stood vs in good stead, for we had nothing els: the next day we fasted being wind-bound, and could not passe the sound, but the day following we came to *Chippanum*, where the people were fled, but their w[e]ires afforded vs fish: thus being neare spent, the next day God brought vs to *Roanocke*. The great currant of the river *Moratoc.*

I conclude a good Mine, or the South sea will make this Country quickly inhabited, and so for pleasure and profit comparable with any in the world: otherwise there will be nothing worth the fetching. Provided there be found a better harbour then yet there is, which must be Northward if there be any. Master *Vaughan* no lesse hoped of the goodnesse of the Mine, then Master *Heriot* that the riuer *Moratocks* head, either riseth by the Bay of *Mexico*, or very neare the South Sea, or some part that openeth neare the same, which cannot with that facilitie be done as from the Bay of Pearles, by insconsing foure dayes iourney to the *Chawonoks*, *Mangoaks*, and *Moratocks*, &c.

The conspiracy of Pemissapan; *the Discouery of it*; *and our returne for* England *with Sir* Francis Drake.

ENsenore, a Saluage, father to *Pemissapan*, the best friend we had after the death of *Granganimeo*, when I was in those Discoueries, could not prevaile any thing with the King from destroying vs, that all this time God had preserued by his good counsell to the King to be friendly vnto vs. *Pemissapan* thinking as the bru[i]te was, in this last iourney we were

[1586] slaine and starued, began to blaspheme our God that would suffer it, and not defend vs, so that old *Ensenore* had no more credit for vs: for he began by all the deuises he could to inuade vs. But in the beginning of this bru[i]te, when they saw vs all returne, the report false, [8] and had *Manteo*, and three Saluages more with vs, how little we esteemed all the people we met, and feared neither hunger, killing, or any thing, and had brought their greatest Kings sonne prisoner with vs to *Roanock*: it a little asswaged all his deuises, and brought *Ensenore* in respect againe, that our God was good, and wee their friends, and our foes should perish, for we could doe them more hurt being dead, then liuing, and that being an hundred myles from them, shot, and strucke them sicke to death, and that when we die it is but for a time then we returne againe.

The Conspiracy of *Pemissapan.*

But that which wrought the most feare among them was the handy-worke of Almightie God. For certaine dayes after my returne, *Menatonon* sent messengers to me with Pearle, and *Okisco* King of *Weopomeoke*, to yeeld himselfe seruant to the Queene of *England*. *Okisco* with twenty-foure of his principall men came to *Pemissapan* to acknowledge this dutie and subiection, and would performe it. All which so changed the heart of *Pemissapan*, that vpon the aduise of *Ensenore*, when we were ready to famish they came and made vs w[e]ires, and planted their fields they intended to abandon (we not hauing one corne till the next haruest to sustaine vs).

The death of a most rare Salvage.

This being done our old friend *Ensenore* dyed the twenty of Aprill [1586], then all our enemies wrought with *Pemissapan* to put in practise his deuises, which he easily imbraced, though they had planted corne by vs, and at *Dasamonpeack* two leagues from vs. Yet they got *Okisco* our tributary to get seuen or eight hundred (and the *Mandoages* with the *Chisapeans* should doe the like) to meete (as their custome is) to solemnize the Funerall of *Ensenore*. Halfe of whom should lye hid, to cut off the straglers, seeking crabs and prouision: the rest come out of the mayne vpon the Signall by fire. Twenty of the principall of *Pemissapans* men had charge in the night to beset my house, put fire in the Reeds that couered it;

which might cause me run out so naked and amazed, they might without danger knocke out my braines. The same order for Master *Heriots*, and the rest: for all should haue beene fired at an instant. In the meane time they should sell vs nothing, and in the night spoyle our w[e]ires, to make necessitie disperse vs. For if we were but ten together, a hundred of them would not meddle with vs. [1586]

So our famine increased, I was forced to send Captaine *Stafford* to *Croatan*, with twentie to feed himselfe, and see if he could espie any sayle passe the coast; Master *Predeox* with ten to *Hatarask* vpon the same occasion: and other small parties to the Mayne to liue vpon rootes and Oysters.

Pemissapan sequestring himselfe [that] I should not importune him for victuall, and to draw his troupes, found not the *Chawonests* so forward as he expected, being a people more faithfull and powerfull, and desired our friendships, and was offended with him for raising such tales, and all his proiects were revealed to me by *Skico* my prisoner; who finding himselfe as well vsed by me as *Pemissapan*, tould me all.

These troubles caused me send to *Pemissapan*, to put suspition in his head, I was to goe presently to *Croatan* to meete a Fleete [that] came to me, though I knew no such matter: and that he would lend me men to fish and hunt. He sent me word he would come himselfe to *Roanock*; but delaying time eight dayes that all his men were there to be assembled, not liking so much company, I resolued the next day to goe [and] visit him, but first to giue them in the Ile a Canvisado, and at an instant to seaze on all their Canows about the Ile. But the towne tooke the Alarum before I ment it. For when I sent to take the Canows, he met one going from the shore, ouerthrew her and cut off two Salvages heads; wherevpon the cry arose, being by their spyes perceiued: for they kept as good watch over vs, as we of them. Vpon this they to their Bowes, and we to our Armes: three or foure of them at the first were slaine, the rest fled into the woods.

A slaughter of two Salvages.

The next morning I went to *Dassamonpeack*, and sent *Pemissapan* word I was going to *Croatan*, and tooke him in my way to complaine [that] *Osocon* would haue stole my prisoner *Skico*. Herevpon he did abide my comming, and being

[1586] among eight of the principallest, I gaue the watchword to my men, and immediately they had that they purposed [9] for vs. Himselfe being shot through with a Pistoll fell downe as dead, but presently start vp and ran away from them all, till an Irish Boy shot him over the buttocks, where they tooke him and cut off his head.

Pemissapan slaine and 8. others [1 June 1586].

Seauen dayes after Captaine *Stafforton* sent to me he descryed twentie-three Sayle. The next day came to me himselfe (of whom I must say this, from the first to the last, he neither spared labour, or perill by land or sea, fayre weather or foule, to performe any serious seruice committed to him.) He brought me a letter from Sir *Francis Drake,* whose generous mind offered to supply all my defects, of shipping, boats, munition, victuall, clothes, and men to further this action: and vpon good consultation an deliberation, he appointed me a ship of 70. tuns, with an hundred men, and foure moneths victuals, two Pinnaces, foure small Boats, with two sufficient Masters, with sufficient Gangs. All this being made ready for me, suddenly arose such a storme for foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen the whole Fleete on shore: many of them were forced to the Sea, whereof my ship so lately giuen me was one, with all my prouision and Company appoynted.

A most generous courtesie of *Sir Francis Drake.*

Notwithstanding, the storme ceasing, the Generall appointed me a ship of 170. tuns, with all prouisions as before, to carry me into *England* the next August, or when I had performed such Discoueries as I thought fit. Yet they durst not vndertake to bring her into the harbour, but she must ride in the road, leauing the care of the rest to my selfe, advising me to consider with my Company what was fittest, and with my best speed returne him answer.

Herevpon calling my Company together, who were all as priuy of the Generals offer as my selfe; their whole request was, (in regard of all those former miseries, and no hope of the returne of Sir *Richard Grenvill,*) and with a generall consent, they desired me to vrge him, we might all goe with him for *England* in his Fleete; for whose reliefe in that storme he had sustained more perill of wrack, then in all his honorable actions against his enemies.

Virginia abandoned [18 June 1586].

So with prayses to God we set sayle in Iune 1586. and arriued in *Portsmouth* the 27. of Iuly the same yeare: Leaving this remembrance to posteritie. [1586]

To reason lend me thine attentiue eares, Exempt thy selfe from mind-distracting cares:
Least that's here thus proiected for thy good; By thee reiected be, ere vnderstood.

Written by Master *Ralph Layne*, Governour.

The Observations of Master Thomas Heriot *in this Voyage.*

For Marchandize and Victualls.

WHat before is writ, is also confirmed by that learned *Mathematician* Master *Thomas Heriot*, with them in the Country, whose particular Relation of all the Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Foules, Fruites, and Rootes, and how they may be vsefull; because I haue writ it before for the most part in the Discourse[s] of Captaine *Amidas*, and Captaine *Layne*, except Silk grasse, Worme silke, Flax like Hempe, Allum, Wapeith or *Terra sigillata*, Tar, Rosen, and Turpentine, Civet-cats, Iron ore, Copper that held Silver, Coprose and Pearle: Let those briefes suffice, because I would not trouble you with one thing twice. Commodities.

Dyes.

For Dyes, *Showmack*, the herbe *Wasebur*, little rootes called *Chapacor*, and the barke of a tree called by the Inhabitants *Tangomockonominge*, which are for divers sorts of Reds. Dyes.

What more then is related is an herbe in Dutch called *Melden*, described like an Orange, growing foure foote high; A strange Salt.

[1585-6] the seede will make good broth, and the [10] stalke burnt to ashes makes a kinde of Salt: other Salt they know not, and we vsed of it for Pot-herbs. Of their *Tobacco* we found plenty, which they esteeme their chiefe Physicke.

Rootes. Ground nuts, *Tiswaw* we call *China* roots; they grow in clusters, and bring forth a bryer stalke, but the leafe is far vnlike, which will climbe vp to the top of the highest tree: the vse knowne is to cut it in small peeces, then stampe and straine it with water, and boyled makes a gelly good to eate. *Cassavia* growes in Marishes, which the *Indians* oft vse for bread and broth. *Habascon* is like a Parsnip, naught of it selfe, except compounded: and their Leekes like those in *England*.

Fruits thats strange. *Sequenummener*, a kinde of Berry like Capers, and three kinde of Berries like Acornes, called *Sagatamenor*, *Osamenor*, and *Pummuckoner*.

Beasts extraordinary. *Saquenuckot* and *Maquowoc*, two kinde of beasts, greater then Conies, and very good meate; in some places such plenty of gray Conies, like hayres, that all the people make them mantels of their skins. I haue the names of 28. severall sorts that are dispersed in the Country: of which 12. kindes we haue discouered and good to eate; but the Salvages sometimes kill a Lyon and eate him.

Fish. There is plentie of Sturgeon in February, March, Aprill, and May; all Herings in abundance; some such as ours, but the most part of 18. 20. or 24. ynches long, and more. Trouts, Porpisses, Rayes, Mullets, Old-wiues, Plaice, Tortoises both by Sea and Land: Crabs, Oysters, Mussels, Scalops, Periwinckles, Crevises, Secanank: we haue the Pictures of 12. sorts more, but their names we know not.

Foules. Turkyes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, Swans, Geese, Parrots, Faulcons, Merlins. I haue the names in their language of 86. severall sorts.

Their woods are such as ours in *England* for the most part, except *Rakeock*, a great sweet tree, whereof they make their Canowes: and *Ascopo*, a kinde of tree like Lowrell, and Saxefras.

Their Natures and Manners.

Their Clothing, Townes, Houses, Warres, Arts, Tooles, handy crafts, and educations, are much like them in that part of *Virginia* we now [1607–1624] inhabite: which at

large you may reade in the Description thereof [*pp.* 44–84, 343–380]. But the relation of their Religion is strange, as this Author reporteth. [1585-6]

Their Religion.

Some Religion they haue, which although it be farre from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier reformed. They beleeue there are many gods which they call *Mantoac*, but of different sorts and degrees. Also that there is one chiefe God that hath beene from all eternitie, who as they say when he purposed first to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as instruments to be vsed in the Creation and government to follow: And after the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, as pettie gods; and the instruments of the other order more principall. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods were made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

How the world was made.

How man was made.

For mankinde they say a Woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods conceiued and brought forth children; and so they had their beginning, but how many yeares or ages since they know not; having no Records but onely Tradition from Father to sonne.

How they vse their gods.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore represent them by Images in the formes of men; which they call *Kewasowok:* one alone is called *Kewasa*; them they place in their Temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings. The common sort thinke them also gods.

Whether they goe after death

They beleeue the immortalitie of the Soule, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad workes it hath done, it is carried vp to the Tabernacles of the gods, to perpetuall happinesse, or to *Popogusso*, a great pit: which they thinke to be at the furthest parts of the world, where the Sunne sets, and there burne continually.

To confirme this they told me of two men that had beene lately dead, and revived [**11**] againe; the one hapned but few yeares before our comming into the country; of a bad man, which being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being seene to moue, was taken vp, who told them his soule was very neare entering into *Popogusso*, had not one of the gods saued him and gaue him leaue to returne againe, to teach his friends what

Two men risen from death.

[1585-6] they should doe to avoyd such torment. The other hapned the same yeare we were there, but sixtie myles from vs, which they told me for news, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp as the first, shewed, that although his body had layne dead in the graue, yet his soule liued, and had travailed far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew more sweet, fayre, and delicate trees and fruits, then ever he had seene before; at length he came to most braue and fayre houses, neare which he met his Father, that was dead long agoe, who gaue him charge to goe backe, to shew his friends what good there was to doe, to inioy the pleasures of that place; which when hee had done hee should come againe.

The subtiltie of their Priests.

What subtiltie so ever be in the *Weroances*, and *Priests*; this opinion worketh so much in the common sort, that they haue great respect to their Governours: and as great care to avoyde torment after death, and to enioy blisse. Yet they haue divers sorts of punishments according to the offence, according to the greatnesse of the fact. And this is the sum of their Religion, which I learned by having speciall familiaritie with their Priests, wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credit, but through conversing with vs, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours: of which many desired to learne more then we had meanes for want of vtterance in their Language to expresse.

Their simplicitie.

Most things they saw with vs as Mathematicall Instruments, Sea-Compasses; the vertue of the Loadstone, Perspectiue Glasses, burning Glasses: Clocks to goe of themselues; Bookes, writing, Guns, and such like; so far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then men; or at least the gods had taught vs how to make them, which loued vs so much better then them; and caused many of them [to] giue credit to what we spake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my best to make his immortall glory knowne. And I told them, although the Bible I shewed them, contained all; yet of it selfe, it was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceiue. Notwithstanding many would be glad to touch it, to kisse, and imbrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body over with it.

The King *Wingina* where we dwelt, would oft be with vs at Prayer. Twice he was exceeding sicke and like to dye. And doubting of any helpe from his Priests, thinking he was in such danger for offending vs and our God, sent for some of vs to pray, and be a meanes to our God, he might liue with him after death. And so did many other in the like case. [1585-6] Their desire of salvation.

One other strange Accident (leauing others) will I mention before I end, which mooued the whole Country that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no Towne where they had practised any villany against vs (we leaving it vnpunished, because we sought by all possible meanes to winne them by gentlenes) but within a few dayes after our departure, they began to dye; in some Townes twenty, in some forty, in some sixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in respect of their numbers. And this hapned in no place (we could learn) where we had bin, but where they had vsed some practise to betray vs. And this disease was so strange, they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it; nor had they knowne the like time out of minde; a thing specially observed by vs, as also by themselues, in so much that some of them who were our friends, especially *Wingina*, had observed such effects in foure or fiue Townes, that they were perswaded it was the worke of God through our meanes: and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would, without weapons, and not come [12] neare them. And therevpon, when they had any vnderstanding, that any of their enemies abused vs in our Iourneyes, they would intreat vs, we would be a meanes to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with vs, might dye in like sort: although we shewed them their requests were vngodly; and that our GOD would not subiect himselfe to any such requests of men, but all things as he pleased came to passe: and that we to shew our selues his true servants, ought rather to pray for the contrary: yet because the effect fell out so suddenly after, according to their desires, they thought it came to passe by our meanes, and would come giue vs thankes in their manner, that though we satisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their desires. A wonderfull Accident.

[1585-6] This marueilous Accident in all the Country wrought so strange opinions of vs, that they could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men. And the rather that all the space of their sicknesse, there was no man of ours knowne to die, or much sicke. They noted also we had no women, nor cared for any of theirs: some therefore thought we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that we were men of an old generation many yeares past, and risen againe from immortalitie. Some would Prophesie there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places. Those that were to come after vs they imagined to be in the ayre, yet invisible and without bodies: and that they by our intreaties, for loue of vs, did make the people die as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

Their strange opinions.

To confirme this, their Physicians to excuse their Ignorance in curing the disease, would make the simple people beleeue, that the strings of bloud they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherein the invisible bullets were tyed, and cast. Some thought we shot them our selues from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people that had offended vs, as we listed, how farre distant soever. And others said it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we had cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary; especially some *Astrologers* by the eclipse of the Sunne we saw that yeare [1584] before our Voyage, and by a *Comet* which began to appeare but a few dayes before the sicknesse began: but to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciali an Accident, there are farther reasons then I thinke fit to present or alledge.

These their opinions I haue set downe, that you may see there is hope to imbrace the truth, and honor, obey, feare and loue vs, by good dealing and government: though some of our company towards the latter end, before we came away with Sir *Francis Drake* shewed themselues too furious, in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might haue bin borne with more mildnesse; notwithstanding they iustly had deserued it. The best neverthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is to be indevoured and hoped; and of the worst that may

happen, notice to be taken with consideration; and as much as may be eschewed; the better to allure them hereafter to Civilitie and Christianitie. [1585-6]

Thus you may see, *How*

Nature her selfe delights her selfe in sundry Instruments, *Palling.*
That sundry things be done to decke the earth with Ornaments;
Nor suffers she her servants all should runne one race,
But wills the walke of every one frame in a divers pace;
That divers wayes and divers workes, the world might better grace.

Written by *Thomas Heriot*, one of the Voyage.

How Sir Richard Grenvill *went to relieue them.*

IN the yeare of our Lord 1586. Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Associates prepared a ship of a hundred tun, fraughted plentifully of all things necessary: but before [**13**] they set sayle from *England* it was *Easter* [3 *April*]. And arriving at *Hatorask*, they after some time spent in seeking the *Collony* vp in the Country, and not finding them, returned with all the provision againe to *England*. 1586.

About 14. or 15. dayes after, Sir *Richard Grenvill* accompanied with three ships well appoynted, arrived there. Who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of the *Collony* there seated, and left by him as is said 1585. travailing vp and downe to seeke them, but when he could heare no newes of them, and found their habitation abandoned, vnwilling to lose the possession of the Country, after good deliberation he landed fiftie men in the Ile of *Roanoak*, plentifully furnished with all manner of provision for two yeares: and so returned for *England*. Sir *Richard Grenvill* left fiftie men.

[1586-7] Where many began strangely to discant of those crosse beginnings, and him; which caused me remember an old saying of *Euripides*.

Who broacheth ought thats new, to fooles vntaught,
Himselfe shall iudged be vnwise, and good for naught.

Three Ships more sent to relieue them by Master White.

Master *White* his Voyages. 1587.

WE went the old course by the west *Indies*, and *Simon Ferdinando* our continuall Pilot mistaking *Virginia* for Cape *Fear*, we fayled not much to haue beene cast away, vpon the conceit of our all-knowing *Ferdinando*, had it not beene prevented by the vigilancy of Captaine *Stafford*. We came to *Hatorask* the 22. of Iuly [1587], and with fortie of our best men, intending at *Roanoack* to find the 50 men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*. But we found nothing but the bones of a man, and where the Plantation had beene, the houses vnhurt, but overgrowne with weeds, and the Fort defaced; which much perplexed vs.

By the History it seemes *Simon Ferdinando* did what he could to bring this voyage to confusion; but yet they all arrived at *Hatorask*. They repayred the old houses at *Roano[a]ck*, and Master *George How*, one of the Councell, stragling abroad, was slaine by the Salvages. Not long after Master *Stafford* with 20. men went to *Croatan* with *Manteo*, whose friends dwelled there: of whom we thought to haue some newes of our 50 men. They at first made shew to fight, but when they heard *Manteo*, they threw away their Armes, and were friends, and desired there might be a token giuen to be knowne by, least we might hurt them by misprision, as the yeare before one had bin by Master *Layne*, that was ever their friend, and there present yet lame.

One of the Councell slaine.

The next day we had conference with them concerning the people of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Pomeiok*, willing them of *Croatan* to see if they would accept our friendship, and renew our old acquaintance: which they willingly imbraced, and promised to bring their King and Governours to *Roanoak*, to confirme it. We also vnderstood that Master *Howe* was slaine by the men of *Wingina*, of *Dassamonpeack*: and by them of *Roanoack*, that the fiftie men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, were suddainly set vpon by three hundred of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeack*. First they intruded themselues among 11 of them by friendship, one they slew, the rest retyring to their houses, they set them on fire, that our men with what came next to hand were forced to make their passage among them; where one of them was shot in the mouth, and presently dyed, and a Salvage slaine by him. On both sides more were hurt; but our men retyring to the water side, got their boat, and ere they had rowed a quarter of a myle towards *Hatorask*, they tooke vp foure of their fellowes, gathering Crabs and Oysters: at last they landed on a little Ile by *Hatorask*, where they remained a while, but after departed they [**14**] knew not whether. So taking our leaues of the *Croatans*, we came to our Fleet at *Hatorask*. [1587]

How the fiftie men were slaine.

The Governour having long expected the King and Governours of *Pomeiok*, *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeack*, and the 7. dayes expired, and no newes of them; being also informed by those of *Croatan*, that they of *Dassamonpeack* slew Master *How*, and were at the driving [of] our men from *Roanoack* he thought no longer to deferre the revenge. Wherefore about midnight, with Captaine *Stafford*, and twentie-foure men, whereof *Manteo* was one, for our guide, (that behaved himselfe towards vs as a most faithfull English man) he set forward.

The next day by breake of day we landed, and got beyond their houses, where seeing them sit by the fire we assaulted them. The miserable soules amazed fled into the Reeds, where one was shot through, and we thought to haue beene fully revenged, but we were deceiued, for they were our friends come from *Croatan* to gather their corne, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled after the death of Master *How*, and left all behinde them for

An ill misprision

[1587] the birds. But they had like to haue payd too deare for it, had we not chanced vpon a *Weroances* wife, with a childe at her backe, and a Salvage that knew Captaine *Stafford*, that ran to him calling him by his name. Being thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered the fruit we found ripe, left the rest vnspoyled, and tooke *Menatonon* his wife with her childe, and the rest with vs to *Roanoak*. Though this mistake grieued *Manteo*, yet he imputed it to their own folly, because they had not kept promise to come to the governor at the day appointed.

The 13. of August our Salvage *Manteo* was Christened, and called Lord of *Dassamonpeack*, in reward of his faithfulnesse.

A child borne in *Virginia*.

And the 18th, *Ellinor* the Governours daughter, and wife to *Ananias Dare*, was delivered of a daughter in *Roanoak*; which being the first Christian there borne, was called *Virginia*.

Our ships being ready to depart, such a storme arose, as the Admirall was forced to cut her Cables: and it was six dayes ere she could recover the shore, that made vs doubt she had beene lost, because the most of her best men were on shore.

A controversie who to send for Factor to *England*.

At this time Controversies did grow betwixt our Governour and the Assistants, about choosing one of them 12. to goe as Factor for them all to *England*; for all refused save one, whom all men thought most insufficient: the Conclusion was by a generall consent, they would haue the Governour goe himselfe, for that they thought none would so truly procure the[i]re supplyes as he. Which though he did what he could to excuse it, yet their importunitie would not cease till he vndertooke it, and had it vnder all their hands how vnwilling he was, but that necessity and reason did doubly constraine him.

At their setting sayle for *England*, waighing Anchor, twelue of the men in the flyboat were throwne from the Capstern, by the breaking of a barre, and most of them so hurt, that some never recovered it. The second time they had the like fortune, being but 15. they cut the Cable and kept company with their Admirall to *Flowres* and *Coruos*; the Admirall stayed there looking for purchase: but the flyboats men grew so weake they were driuen to *Smerwick* in the West of *Ireland*. The Governour went for *England*; and *Simon Ferdinando* with much adoe at last arrived at *Portsmouth*. 1587.

The Names of those [who] were landed in this Plantation were, [1587-9]

Iohn White Governour.
Roger Bayley.
Ananias Dare.
Simon Ferdinando.
Christopher Couper.
Thomas Stevens.
Iohn Samson.
Thomas Smith.
Dionis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Antony Cage.

With divers others to the number of about 115. [15]

The fift Voyage to Virginia; *vndertaken by* *Master* Iohn VVhite. 1589.

1589. Master *White* his returne to *Virginia.*

THe 20. of March three ships went from *Plimouth*, and passed betwixt *Barbary* and *Mogadoro* to *Dominico* in the West *Indies*. After we had done some exployts in those parts, the third of August [1587] wee fell with the low sandy Iles westward of *Wokokon*. But by reason of ill weather it was the 11, ere we could Anchor there; and on the 12. we came to *Croatan*, where is a great breach in 35 degrees and a halfe, in the Northeast poynt of the Ile. The 15. we came to *Hatorask* in 36. degrees and a terse, at 4. fadom, 3. leagues from shore: where we might perceiue a smoake at the place where I left the Colony, 1587.

The next morning Captaine *Cooke*, Captaine *Spicer*, and their companies, with two boats left our ships, and [we] discharged some Ordnance to giue them notice of our comming, but when we came there, we found no man, nor signe of any that had beene there lately: and so returned to our Boats.

The next morning we prepared againe for *Roanoack*.

[1589] Captaine *Spicer* had then sent his Boat ashore for water, so it was ten of the Clocke ere we put from the ships, which rode two myles from the shore. The Admirals boat, being a myle before the other, as she passed the bar, a sea broke into the boat and filled her halfe full of water: but by Gods good will, and the carefull stearage of Captaine *Cook*, though our provisions were much wet we safe escaped, the wind blew hard at Northeast, which caused so great a current and a breach vpon the barre; Captaine *Spicer* passed halfe over, but by the indiscreet steering of *Ralph Skinner*, their boat was overset, the men that could catch hold hung about her, the next sea cast her on ground, where some let goe their hold to wade to shore, but the sea beat them downe. The boat thus tossed vp and downe Captaine *Spicer* and *Skinner* hung there till they were drowne; but 4. that could swim a little, kept themselues in deeper water, were saued by the meanes of Captaine *Cook*, that presently vpon the oversetting of their boat, shipped himselfe to saue what he could. Thus of eleuen, seuen of the chiefest were drowned.

Captaine *Spicer* and seauen others drowned.

This so discomfited all the Saylers, we had much to do to get them any more to seeke further for the Planters, but by their Captaines forwardnes at last they fitted themselues againe for *Hatorask* in 2 boats, with 19 persons. It was late ere we arrived, but seeing a fire through the woods, we sounded a Trumpet, but no answer could we heare. The next morning we went to it, but could see nothing but the grasse, and some rotten trees burning. We went vp and downe the Ile, and at last found three faire Romane Letters carved. *C.R.O.* which presently we knew to signifie the place where I should find them, according to a secret note betweene them and me: which was to write the name of the place they would be in, vpon some tree, dore, or post: and if they had beene in any distresse, to signifie it by making a crosse over it. For at my departure they intended to goe fiftie myles into the mayne. But we found no signe of distresse; then we went to a place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found them all taken downe, and the place strongly inclosed with a high Palizado, very Fortlike; and in one of the chiefe Posts carued in fayre capitall Letters *CROATAN*,

without any signe of distresse, and many barres of Iron, two pigs of Lead, foure Fowlers, Iron shot, and such like heauie things throwne here and there, overgrowne with grasse and weeds. We went by the shore to seeke for their boats but could find none, nor any of the Ordnance I left them. At last some of the Sailers found divers Chists had beene hidden and digged vp againe, and much of the goods spoyled, and scattered vp and downe, which when I saw, I knew three of them to be my owne; but bookes, pictures, and all things els were spoyled. Though it much grieued me, yet it did much comfort me that I did know they were at *Croatan*; so we returned to our Ships, but had like to haue bin cast away by a great storme that continued all that night. [16] [1589]

They finde where they had buryed their provisions.

The next morning we weighed Anchor for *Croatan*: having the Anchor a-pike, the Cable broke, by the meanes whereof we lost another: letting fall the third, the ship yet went so fast a drift, we sayled not much there to haue split. But God bringing vs into deeper water; considering we had but one Anchor, and our provision neare spent, we resolued to goe forthwith to S. *Iohns* Ile, *Hispaniola*, or *Trinidado*, to refresh our selues and seeke for purchase that Winter, and the next Spring come againe to seeke our Country-men. But our *Vice Admirall* would not, but went directly for *England*, and we our course for *Trinidado*.

But within two dayes after, the wind changing, we were constrained for the Westerne Iles to refresh our selues, where we met with many of the Queenes ships, our owne consort, and divers others, the 23. of September 1590.

And thus we left seeking our Colony, that was neuer any of them found, nor seene to this day 1622. [*This fixes the date of the compilation by* Smith *of this part of the* General History &c.] And this was the conclusion of this Plantation, after so much time, labour, and charge consumed. Whereby we see;

The end of this Plantation.

Not all at once, nor all alike, nor ever hath it beene,
That God doth offer and confer his blessings vpon men.

Written by Master *Iohn White.*

1602. # A briefe Relation of the Description of *Elizabeths* Ile, and some others towards the North part of *Virginia*; and what els they discovered in the yeare 1602. by Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, and Captaine *Bartholomew Gilbert*; and divers *other Gentlemen their Associates.*

[1602] 12. yeares it lay dead.

ALL hopes of *Virginia* thus abandoned, it lay dead and obscured from 1590. till this yeare 1602. that Captaine *Gosnoll*, with 32. and himselfe in a small Barke, set sayle from *Dartmouth* vpon the 26. of March. Though the wind favoured vs not at the first, but forced vs as far Southward as the *Asores*, which was not much out of our way; we ran directly west from thence, whereby we made our iourney shorter then heretofore by 500. leagues: the weaknesse of our ship, the badnes of our saylers, and our ignorance of the coast, caused vs carry but a low sayle, that made our passage longer then we expected.

On fryday the 11. of May [1602] we made land, it was somewhat low, where appeared certaine hummocks or hills in it: the shore white sand, but very rockie, yet overgrowne with fayre trees. Comming to an Anchor, 8 *Indians* in a Baske shallop, with mast and sayle came boldly aboord vs. It seemed by their signes and such things as they had, some Biskiners had fished there: being about the latitude of 43. But the harbour being naught, and

doubting the weather, we went not ashore, but waighed, and stood to the Southward into the Sea. [1602]

The next morning we found our selues imbayed with a mightie headland: within a league of the shore we anchored, and Captaine *Gosnoll*, my selfe, and three others went to it in our boat, being a white sand and a bold coast. Though the weather was hot, we marched to the highest hils we could see, where we perceiued this headland [to be] part of the mayn, neare invironed with Ilands. As we were returning to our ship, a good proper, lusty young man came to vs, with whom we had but small conference, and so we left him. Here in 5. or 6. houres we tooke more Cod then we knew what to doe with, which made vs perswade our selues, there might be found a good fishing in March, Aprill, and May. [17] Their first landing.

At length we came among these fayre Iles, some a league, 2. 3. 5. or 6. from the Mayne, by one of them we anchored. We found it foure myles in compasse, without house or inhabitant. In it is a lake neare a myle in circuit; the rest overgrowne with trees, which so well as the bushes, were so overgrowne with Vines, we could scarce passe them. And by the blossomes we might perceiue there would be plenty of Strawberries, Respises, Gousberries, and divers other fruits: besides, Deere and other Beasts we saw, and Cranes, Hernes, with divers other sorts of fowle; which made vs call it *Martha's Vineyard*. *Martha's* Vineyard.

The rest of the Isles are replenished with such like; very rocky, and much tinctured stone like Minerall. Though we met many *Indians*, yet we could not see their habitations: they gaue vs fish, Tobacco, and such things as they had.

But the next Isle we arrived at was but two leagues from the Maine, and 16. myle about, invironed so with creekes and coves, it seemed like many Isles linked together by small passages like bridges. In it is many places of plaine grasse, and such other fruits, and berries as before were mentioned. In mid-May we did sow Wheat, Barley, Oates, and Pease, which in 14. dayes sprung vp 9. inches. The soyle is fat and lusty: the crust therof gray, a foot or lesse in depth. It is full of high timbred Okes, their leaues thrise so broad as ours: *Elizabeths* Island.

[1602] Cedar straight and tall, Beech, Holly, Walnut, Hazell, Cherry trees like ours, but the stalke beareth the blossom or fruit thereof like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fiftie in a bunch. There is a tree of Orange colour, whose barke in the filing is as smooth as Velvet. There is a lake of fresh water three myles in compasse, [having] in the midst an Isle containing an acre or thereabout, overgrowne with wood: here are many Tortoises, and abundance of all sorts of foules, whose young ones we tooke and eate at our pleasure. Grounds nuts as big as egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40. on a string, not two ynches vnder ground. All sorts of shell-fish, as Schalops, Mussels, Cockles, Crabs, Lobsters, Welks, Oysters, exceeding good and very great; but not to cloy you with particulars, what God and nature hath bestowed on those places, I refer you to the Authors owne writing at large.

We called this Isle *Elizabeths* Isle, from whence we went right over to the mayne, where we stood a while as ravished at the beautie and dilicacy of the sweetnesse, besides divers cleare lakes, whereof we saw no end, and meadows very large and full of greene grasse, &c.

Here we espyed 7. Salvages, at first they expressed some feare, but by our courteous vsage of them, they followed vs to the necke of Land, which we thought had beene severed from the Mayne, but we found it otherwise. Here we imagined was a river, but because the day was farre spent, we left to discover it till better leasure. But of good Harbours, there is no doubt, considering the Land is all rocky and broken lands.

The next day we determined to fortifie our selues in the Isle in the lake. Three weekes we spent in building vs there a house. But the second day after our comming from the Mayne, 11. Canows with neare 50. Salvages came towards vs. Being vnwilling they should see our building, we went to [them], and exchanged with them Kniues, Hatchets, Beades, Bels, and such trifles, for some Bevers, Lyzards, Martins, Foxes, wilde Catte skinnes, and such like. We saw them haue much red Copper, whereof they make chaines, collars, and drinking cups, which they so little esteemed they would giue vs for small toyes, and signified vnto vs they had it out of the earth in the Mayne.

A Copper Mine.

Three dayes they stayed with vs, but every night retyred two or three myle from vs: after with many signes of loue and friendship they departed, seaven of them staying behind, that did helpe vs to dig and carry Saxafras, and doe any thing they could; being of a comely proportion and the best condition of any Salvages we had yet incountred. They haue no Beards but counterfeits, as they did thinke ours also was: for which they would haue changed with some of our men that had great beards. Some of the baser sort would steale; but the better sort, we found very civill and iust. We saw but three of their women, and they were but of meane stature, attyred in skins like the men, [**18**] but fat and well favoured. [1602]

The wholesomenesse and temperature of this climate, doth not onely argue the people to be answerable to this Description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, actiue, strong, healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes by them so cunningly wrought may well testifie. For our selues, we found our selues rather increase in health and strength then otherwise: for all our toyle, bad dyet and lodging; yet not one of vs was touched with any sicknesse.

Twelue intended here a while to haue stayed, but vpon better consideration, how meanely we were provided, we left this Island (with as many true sorrowfull eyes as were before desirous to see it) the 18. of Iune, and arrived at *Exmouth*, the 23 of Iuly [1602]. Their return.

But yet mans minde doth such it selfe explay,
As Gods great Will doth frame it every way.
And, *Such thoughts men haue, on earth that doe but liue,*
As men may craue, but God doth onely giue.

Written by *Iohn Brierton* one of the Voyage.

1603. ## *A Voyage of Captaine* Martin Pring, *with two Barks from* Bristow, *for the North part of* Virginia. 1603.

[1603] BY the inducements and perswasions of Master *Richard Hackluite*, Master *Iohn Whitson* being Maior, with his brethren the Aldermen, and most of the Merchants of the Citie of *Bristow*, raised a stocke of 1000*l.* to furnish out two Barkes, the one of 50. tuns, with 30. men and boyes, the other 26. tuns, with 13. men and boyes, having *Martin Pring* an vnderstanding Gentleman, and a sufficient Mariner for Captaine, and *Robert Salterne* his Assistant, who had bin with Captaine *Gosnoll* there the yeare before for Pilot.

Though they were much crossed by contrary windes vpon the coast of *England*, and the death of that ever most memorable miracle of the world, our most deare soveraigne Lady and Queene *Elizabeth*; yet at last they passed by the westerne Isles, and about the 7. of Iune [1603], fell vpon the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of fortie three. Where they found plentie of most sorts of fish, and saw a high country full of great woods of sundry sorts. As they ranged the coast at a place they named *Whitson Bay*, they were kindly vsed by the Natiues, that came to them, in troupes, of tens, twenties, and thirties, and sometimes more.

But because in this Voyage for most part they followed the course of Captaine *Gosnoll*, and haue made no relation but to the same effect he writ before, we will thus conclude;

Lay hands vnto this worke with all thy wit,
But pray that God would speed and perfit it.

Robert Salterne.

A relation of a Discovery towards the Northward of Virginia, *by Captaine* George Waymouth 1605. *imployed thether by the right Honorable* Thomas Arundell, *Baron of* Warder, *in the Raigne of our most royall King* IAMES.

1605.

VPon tuesday the fift of March we set sayle from *Ratcliffe*, but by contrary winds we were forced into *Dartmouth* till the last of this moneth, then with 29. as good sea men, and all necessary provisions as could possibly be gotten, we put [19] to sea; and the 24 of Aprill fell with *Flowres* and *Coruos*. [1605]

We intended as we were directed towards the Southward of 39. But the winds so crossed vs wee fell more Northwards about 41. and 20. minuits, we sounded at 100. fathom, and by that we had run 6 leagues we had but 5. yet saw no land; from the mayne top we descryed a whitish sandy clift, West North-west some 6. leagues from vs, but ere we had run two leagues further we found many shoules and breaches, sometimes in 4. fadom and the next throw 15. or 18. Being thus imbayed among those shoules, we were constrained to put back againe, which we did with no small danger, though both the winde and weather were as fayre as we could desire.

Dangerous shoules.

Thus we parted from the Land, which we had not before so much desired, and at the first sight reioyced, as now we all ioyfully praysed God that he had delivered vs from so eminent danger. Here we found excellent Cod, and saw many Whales as we had done 2. or 3. daies before.

Cod and Whales.

Being thus constrained to put to sea, the want of wood and water caused vs to take the best advantage of the winde, to fall with the shore wheresoever: but we found our Sea-cards most directly false. The 17. of May we made the Land againe, but it blew so hard, we durst not approach it. The next day [18 *May* 1605] it appeared to vs a mayne high land, but we found it an Island of 6. myles in compasse: within a league of it we came to an anchor, and went on shore for wood and water, of which we found

[1605] Their first landing. sufficient. The water gushing forth downe the rocky clifts in many places, which are all overgrown with Firre, Birch, Beech, and Oke, as the Verge is with Gousberries, Strawberries, wild Pease, and Rose bushes, and much foule of divers sorts that breed among the rockes: here as in all places els where we came, we found Cod enough.

From hence we might discerne the mayne land and very high mountaines, the next day because we rode too open to the Sea, we waighed, and came to the Isles adioyning to the mayn: among which we found an excellent rode, defended from all windes, for ships of any burthen, in 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom vpon aclay oze. This was vpon a Whitsonday [19 *May* 1605], wherefore we called it *Pentecost Harbour*.

Pentecost harbour.

The Captains diligence. Here I cannot omit for foolish feare of imputation of flattery, the painfull industry of our Captaine, who as at Sea he was alwayes most carefull and vigilant, so at land he refused no paines: but his labour was ever as much or rather more then any mans; which not onely incouraged others with better content, but also effected much with great expedition. We digged a Garden the 22. of May, where among our garden-seeds we sowed Pease and Barley, which in 16. dayes grew vp 8. ynches, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferiour to the mould we after found in the mayne.

After we had taken order for all our necessary businesses, we marched through two of these Isles. The biggest was 4. or 5. myles in compasse; we found here all sorts of ordinary trees, besides, Vines, Currants, Spruce, Yew, Angelica, and divers gummes: in so much many of our company wished themselues setled here.

Vpon the 30. our Captaine with 13. went to discover the mayne: we in the ship espyed 3. Canowes that came towards the ship. Which after they had well viewed, one of them came aboord with 3. men, and by our good vsage of them not long after the rest, two dayes we had their companies, in all respects they are but like them at *Elizabeths* Isles, therefore this may suffice for their description. In this time our Captain had discovered a fayre river, trending into the mayne 40. myles, and returned backe to bring in the ship.

The Salvages also kept their words and brought vs 40. Bever, Otter, and sable skins, for the value of 5. shillings in

kniues, glasses, combes, and such toyes, and thus we vsed them so kindly as we could, because we intended to inhabit in their Country: they lying aboord with vs and we ashore with them; but it was but as changing man for man as hostages, and in this manner many times we had their companies. [1605]

Trade with the Salvages.

At last they desired our Captaine to goe with them to the mayne to trade with their *Bashabes*, which is their chiefe Lord, which we did, our boat well manned with [**20**] 14. yet would they row faster with 3. Ores in their Canowes then we with 8. but when we saw our old acquaintance would not stay aboord vs as before for hostage, but did what they could to draw vs into a narrow cirke [*creek*], we exchanged one *Owen Griffin* with them for a yong fellow of theirs, that he might see if he could discover any trechery: as he did, for he found there assembled 283. Salvages with bowes and arrows, but not any thing at all to trade as they pretended.

Their trechery.

These things considered, we conceited them to be but as all Salvages ever had beene, kinde till they found opportunitie to do mischiefe. Wherefore we determined to take some of them, before they should suspect we had discovered their plot, lest they should absent themselues from vs: so the first that ever after came into the ship were three which we kept, and two we tooke on shore with much adoe, with two Canowes, their bowes and arrowes.

Fiue Salvages surprised.

Some time we spent in sounding all the Isles, channels, and inlets thereabouts; and we found 4. severall waies a ship might be brought into this Bay.

In the interim there came 2. Canowes more boldly aboord vs, signifying we should bring our ship to the place where he dwelt to trade. We excused our selues why we could not, but used them kindly, yet got them away with all the speed we could that they should not be perceiued by them in the houle [*hold*]; then we went vp the river 26. myles: of which I had rather not write, then by my relation detract from it, it is in breadth a myle, neare 40. myles; and a channell of 6. 7. 8. 9. or 10. fadom, and on both sides every halfe myle gallant Coues, to containe in many of them 100 sayle, where they may lye on Oze without Cable or Anchor, onely mored with a Hanser, and it floweth 18. foot, that you may make, docke, or carine ships with much

A description of the river.

[1605] facilitie: besides the land is most rich, trending all along on both sides in an equall plaine, neither rocky nor mountainous, but verged with a greene border of grasse, doth make tender to the beholder her pleasant fertilitie, if by cleansing away the woods she were converted into meadow. The woods are great, and tall, such as are spoken of in the Islands, and well watered with many fresh springs. Our men that had seene *Oranoque* so famous in the worlds eares, *Reogrande*, *Loyer*, and *Slion*, report, though they be great and goodly rivers, yet are not comparable to it.

Leaving our ship we went higher, till we were 7. myles higher than the salt water flowed; we marched towards the mountains we had seene, but the weather was so hot, and our labour so great, as our Captaine was contented to returne: after we had erected a crosse we left this faire land and river, in which the higher we went the better we liked it, and returned to our ship.

By the way we met a Canow that much desired one of our men to go vp to their *Basshabes*, but we knew their intents, and so turned them off; and though we had both time and provision to haue discovered much more, and might haue found peradventure good trade, yet because our company was but small, we would not hazzard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private, or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publicke good, and promulgating Gods holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the intent of our adventurers so well as ours.

Returning by the Isles in the entry of the Sound we called them St. *Georges* Isles; and because on sunday we set out of *England*, on sunday also the 16. of Iune we departed hence. When we had run 30. leagues we had 40. fadom, then 70. then 100. After 2. or 3. watches more we were in 24. fadoms, where we tooke so much Cod as we did know what to doe with, and the 18. of Iuly [1605] came to *Dartmouth*, and all our men as well God be thanked as when they went forth. Thus may you see;

God hath not all his gifts bestowed on all or any one,
Words sweetest, and wits sharpest, courage, strength of bone;
All rarities of minde and parts doe all concurre in none.

Written by *Iames Rosier*, one of the Voyage. [21]

A reprint, with variations, of the First Part of The Map of Virginia, 1612.]

Their triumph about him
C: Smith bound to a tree to be shott to death 1607
A Coniurer.
Their Idoll
A Preist
Their Coniuration about C: Smith 1607
C: Smith taketh the King of Pamaunkee prisoner 1608
C: S:
How they tooke him prisoner in the Oaze 1607
C: Smith bindeth a saluage to his arme, fighteth with the King of Pamaunkee and all his company, and slew 3 of them.
C: Smith takes the King of Paspahegh prisoner. Ao 1609.
A description of part of the adventures of Cap: Smith in Virginia.
OULD
VIRGINIA
Mountaynes forest
Waldens Oake
Masons bushe
LD Lenox rocks
Mangoack
Richmonds
Howards Mountaynes
steps
Stuards reach
Bedfords valley
Moratuck flu:
Ohanoack
Ramushonoq
L: Salvage Rocke
Beauchamps playne
Chawanok flu:
Alice Smith-feild
Cawrnuock
Panaraioc
Nustoc
Secota
Anadales chase
Setuoc
Metocaum
Catoking
Purchace Iles
Mecopen
Maraton
Mascoming
Segars grove
Chisapeack
Cotan
Cecils Harbor
Tamasqueack
Chepanu
Heriots Ile
Towasrows end
Adams Sound
C Henry
Davers Ile
Abigails Ile
Paquinip
Layn flu:
Pasquenock
Mildmaids roade
P. Corbett
P. Bacon
P. Barkley
Salvage Ile
P. Box
Pomeiock
Gordens Ile
Roanoak
Ile Goade
P. Vaughan
Arundelis Ile
Abbots Ile
Essex Ile
Worcester inlet
Greenevills rode
Hertfords Ile
Amidas
A Scale of 10 Leauges.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Vincere est Viuere
Graven and extracted out of ye generall history of Virginia, New England, and Somer Iles, by Robert Vaughan.
The Countrey wee now call Virginia beginneth at Cape Henry distant from Roanoack 60 miles, where was Sr Walter Raleigh's plantation: and because the people differ very little from them of Powhatan in any thing, I have inserted those figures in this place because of the conveniency.
King Powhatan comands C: Smith to be slayne, his daughter Pokahontas beggs his life his thankfullness and how he subiected 39 of their kings. reade ye history.
printed by James Boroe

The second Booke.

THE SIXT VOYAGE. 1606. 1606.

To another part of *Virginia*, where now are Planted our *English Colonies*, Whom God increase and preserue: Discovered and Described by Captain IOHN SMITH, sometimes *Governour of the Countrey.*

BY these former relations you may see what inconveniences still crossed those good intents, and how great a matter it was all this time to finde but a Harbour, although there be so many. But this *Virginia* is a Country in *America* betweene the degrees of 34. and 45. of the North latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great *Ocean*: on the South lyeth *Florida*: on the North *nova Francia*: as for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne. Of all this Country we purpose not to speake, but onely of that part which was planted by the *English men* in the yeare of our Lord, 1606[–7]. *And this is vnder the degrees* 37. 38. *and* 39. The temperature of this Country doth agree well with *English* constitutions, being once seasoned to the Country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes, and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not onely to haue made them sicke, but even to end their dayes, &c. [1606-7

[*A.* 47.]

The latitude.

[1607-9] The Sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the Winter cold as in *France* or *England*. The heat of sommer is in Iune, Iuly, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemency of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the Proverbe is true, that *no extreame long continueth*.

The temperature.

[*p.* 48.] In the yeare 1607[–8]. was an extraordinary frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was found as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. dayes of ill weather, other 14. dayes would be as Sommer.

The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the ayre, I haue seldome either seene or heard in *Europe*. From the Southwest came the greatest gusts with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and Southeast as from the *Barmudas*, fogs and raines.

The windes.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not but that all the raritie of needfull fruits in *Europe*, may be there in great plentie, by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there Planted.

The entrances.

There is but one entrance by Sea into this Country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, 18. or 20. myles broad. The cape on the South is called *Cape Henry*, in honour of our most noble Prince. The land white hilly sands like vnto the Downes, and all along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Henry.

The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles*, in honour of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*. The Isles before it, *Smith's* Isles, by the name of the discover[er].

Cape Charles.

Within is a country that [**22**] may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places knowne, for large and pleasant navigable Rivers, heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation; were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers, and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay, compassed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some woody, some

The Country.

plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lyeth North and South, in which the water floweth neare 200. myles, and hath a channell for 140 myles, of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 myles. From the head of the Bay to the Northwest, the land is mounta[i]nous, and so in a manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those mountaines. From which fall certaine brookes which after come to fiue principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall [*outfall*] of every River is within 20 or 15 myles one of another. [1607-9] [p. 49.]

The mountaines are of divers natures: for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like Mill stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many peeces like Christall we found, as throwne downe by water from those mountaines. For in Winter they are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in some narrow valleyes, which is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures, that the ground in some places seemeth as guilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.* The mountaines.

The vesture of the earth in most places doth manifestly proue the nature of the soyle to be lusty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac*, *terra sigillata*, and *Lemnia*, Fullers earth, Marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part it is a blacke sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c. The soyle.

The Country is not mounta[i]nous, nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine hils, and fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with fresh brookes and springs, no lesse commodious, then delightsome. By the rivers are many plaine marishes, contain- The valleyes.

[1607-9] ing some 20. some 100. some 200 Acres, some more, some
Plaines. lesse. Other plaines there are few, but onely where the Salvages inhabit: but all [is] overgrowne with trees and weeds, being a plaine wildernesse as God first made it.

On the west side of the Bay, we sayd were 5. faire and
[*p.* 50.] delightfull navigable rivers.

The first of those, and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West Northwest. It is called
The river *Powhatan*. *Powhatan*, according to the name of a principall country that lyeth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neare three myles in breadth, *yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neare the land, that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanke* [*i.e.*, less than 520 paces, *see p.* 801]. *It is navigable* 150 *myles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to be expressed.* It falleth from Rockes farre west in a Country inhabited by a nation they call *Monacans*. But where it commeth into our discovery it is *Powhatan*. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are falles, rockes, shoules, &c. which makes it past navigation *any higher*. Thence in the running downeward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs, that disperse themselues for best service, as do the veines of a mans body.

The branches. From the South there fals into it: First, the pleasant river of *Apamatuck*. Next more to the East are two small rivers of *Quiyoughcohanocke*. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*, then the river of *Nandsamund*, and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack*.

From the North side is the river of *Chickahamania*, the backe river of *Iames* Towne; another by the *Cedar Isle*, where we liued ten weekes vpon Oysters, then a convenient harbour for Fisher boats at *Kecoughtan*, that so turneth it selfe into [**23**] Bayes and Creekes, it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit; their cornefields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes*.

The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families, of the name of the rivers. They haue also over those some Governour, as their King, which they call *Werowances*.

In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the

English Planted in a place by them called *Iames* Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. [1607–9] *Iames Towne.* [*p.* 51.]

The first and next the rivers mouth are the *Kecoughtans*, who besides their women and children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes* (on whose land is seated *Iames* Towne, some 40. myles from the *Bay*) haue not past 40. The river called *Chickahamania* [has] neare 250. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan*, some 40. On the South side this river the *Appamatucks* haue sixtie fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks* 25. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*, except the *Chickahamanians*, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants, or their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes*. In sommer no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon*, nor in winter more abundance of foule, especially in the time of frost. I tooke once 52 Sturgeons at a draught, at another 68. From the later end of May till the end of Iune are taken few, but yong Sturgeons of two foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of two or three yards long and few others. And in 4 or 5, houres with one Net were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient. The severall Inhabitants.

Foureteene myles Northward from the river *Powhatan*, is the river *Pamavnkee*, *which is navigable* 60 *or* 70 *myles*, *but with Catches and small Barkes* 30 *or* 40 *myles farther*. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. R. *Pamavnkee.*

On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided the Country is called *Pamavnkee*, and nourisheth neare 300 able men. About 25. myles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when I was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. Ten or twelue myles lower, on the South side of this river, is *Chiskiack*, which hath [*p.* 52.] The inhabitants.

[1607–9] some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck*, *Irrohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great Kings chiefe alliance, and inhabitants. The rest his Conquests.

Payankatank, R. Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (*some* 30 *myles navigable*) that commeth from the Inland, called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about 50 or 60 serviceable men.

Toppahanock R. The third navigable river is called *Toppahanock*. (*This is navigable some* 130 *myles*). At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoacks* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we described.

The inhabitants. Vpon this river on the North side are the people *Cuttatawomen*, with 30 fighting men. Higher are the *Moraughtacunds*, with 80. Beyond them *Rapahanock* with 100. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20. On the South is the pleasant seat of *Nantaughtacund* having 150 men. This river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

Patawomek, R. The fourth river is called *Patawomeke*, 6 or 7 myles in breadth. *It is navigable* 140 *myles*, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish.

The inhabitants. It is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* and hath some 130 men, beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30. The *Onawmanient* with 100. And the *Patawomekes* more then 200.

Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough*, trending North-west, but the river it selfe turneth North-east, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the North of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40. Somewhat further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part is *Pamacaeack* [**24**] with 60. After *Moyowance* with 100. And lastly, *Nacotchtanke* with 80. The river aboue this place maketh [*A.* 53.] his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshaddowed in many places with high rocky mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

Pawtuxunt, R. The fift river is called *Pawtuxunt*, of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is 16 fadome deepe in

some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kindes of fish more then elswhere. [1607–9]

Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt*, and *Mattapanient*. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other we found most civill to giue intertainement.

Thirtie leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red clay resembling *bole Armoniack* we called it *Bolus*. *Bolus*, R.

At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in breadth, it divides it selfe into 4. branches, the best commeth Northwest from among the mountaines, but though Canows may goe a dayes iourney or two vp it, we could not get two myles vp it with our boat for rockes. The head of the Bay.

Vpon it is seated the *Sasquesahanocks*, neare it North and by West runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe: at the head whereof the Ebbe left vs on shore, where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde keeping the shore to seeke for some Salvages; (for within thirtie leagues sayling, we saw not any, being a barren Country,) we went vp another small river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle. From thence returning we met 7 Canowes of the *Massowomeks*, with whom we had conference by signes, for we vnderstood one another scarce a word: the next day we discovered the small river and people of *Tockwhogh* trending Eastward. *Sasquesahanock.*

Having lost our Grapnell among the rocks of *Sasquesahanocks*, we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our Barge about two tuns, and had in it but 12 men to performe this Discovery, wherein we lay aboue 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, having nothing but a little meale, oatemeale and water to feed vs, and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but what provision we got among the Salvages, and such rootes and fish as we caught by accident and Gods direction; nor had we a Mariner nor any [that] had skill to trim the sayles but two saylers and my selfe, the rest being Gentlemen, or them [that] were as ignorant in such toyle and labour. Yet necessitie in a short time by good words and examples made them doe that that caused them ever

[1607–9] after to feare no colours. What I did with this small meanes I leaue to the Reader to iudge, and the Mappe I made of the Country, which is but a small matter in regard of the magnitude thereof.

But to proceed, 60 of those *Sasquesahanocks* came to
[*p.* 54.] vs with skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, [and they were] with much adoe restrained from adoring vs as Gods. Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as a voyce in a vault.

The description of a *Sasquesahanough.*

Their attire is the skinnes of Beares, and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heads and skinnes, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a Pawe, the halfe sleeues comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares, and the armes through the mouth; with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell, his Tobacco pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deere, or some such deuise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines: with Bowes, Arrowes, and clubs, su[i]table to their greatnesse.

These are scarce knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neare 600 able men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the *Massawomekes* their mortall enemies. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboord vs, and crossed the *Bay* in the Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe [*p.* 384]. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, [**25**] and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fiue quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in forme of a

heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a Woolues skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described. [1607–9]

On the East side the *Bay*, is the river *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some seaven myles within the river: where they haue a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees. Next them is *Ozinies* with sixty men. More to the South of that East side of the *Bay*, the river *Rapahanock*, neere vnto which is the river *Kuskarawaock*. Vpon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that, is the river *Tants Wighcocomoco*, and ón it a people with 100 men. [*p.* 55.] *Tockwhogh*, R. *Rapahanock*, R. *Kuskarawaock*, R. *Wighcocomoco*, R.

The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* 80 men doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan*, and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as King. *Accomack*, R.

Southward we went to some parts of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags* to search for them left by Master *White*. *Chawoneck.* [*pp.* 312, 329.]

Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonockes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. All those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe [*p.* 384], which will present to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current of the rivers, with their severall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places, and such like. In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places haue beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions. The severall languages.

Thus haue I walkt a wayless way, with uncouth pace,
Which yet no Christian man did ever trace:
But yet I know this not affects the minde,
Which eares doth heare, as that which eyes doe finde.

[¶ 56.]

Of such things which are naturally in Virginia, *and how the vse them.*

Why there is little grasse.

VIRGINIA doth afford many excellent vegetables, and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weeds, by reason of the rancknes of the ground, which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that

Woods with their fruits.

is most common is Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long; Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kinde, whose barke is more white then the other, and somewhat sweetish, which being boyled, at last affords a sweet oyle, that they keepe in gourds to annoint their heads and ioynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise.

Elme.

There is also some Elme, some blacke Walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the Ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other.

Walnuts.

Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes; there is a kinde of

Supposed Cypres.

wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neare three fadome about at the foot, very [**26**] straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch.

Mulberries.

By the dwelling of the Salvages are some great Mulbery trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Chesnuts.

In some parts were found some Chesnuts, whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, or *Italy*.

Plums there are of three sorts. The red and white are

like our hedge plums, but the other which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta*: the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe, it will draw a mans mouth awry, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricot. [1607–9] [p. 57.]

They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries. We saw some few Crabs, but very small and bitter. Cherries.

Of vines great abundance in many parts that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but few grapes. Except by the rivers and savage habitations, where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of those hedge grapes we made neere twentie gallons of wine, which was like our French Brittish wine, but certainely they would proue good were they well manured. Vines.

There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messamins*; they be fatte, and the iuyce thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in wine.

They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small Acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*, which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our Gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and tast; those they call *Rawcomens*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. *Chechinquamins.* *Rawcomens.*

Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they vse in this manner; The Walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and *Chechinquamins* are dryed to keepe. When they need walnuts they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a Mat over a hurdle. After they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very small: that done they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call *Pawcohiccora*, and keepe it for their vse. How they use their fruits. *Walnut milke.*

The fruit like Medlers they call *Putchamins*, they cast vpon hurdles on a Mat, and perserue them as Pruines. Of [p. 58.]

[1607–9] their Chesnuts and *Chechinquamins* boyled, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts.

Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Popular, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and
Gummes. an odoriferous *Gumme* like *Turpentine*, which some call
Cedars. *Balsom*. There are also *Cedars* and *Saxafras* trees. They
Saxafras trees. also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

Berries. In the watry valleyes groweth a Berry which they call *Ocoughtanamnis* very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they eat them they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much
Matoum. from poyson. *Mattoum* groweth as our Bents. The seed is not much vnlike to Rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a daintie bread buttered with deare suet.

Straw-berries. During Sommer there are either Strawberries, which ripen in Aprill, or Mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. Raspises, hurts; or a fruit that the inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit much like a Lemond.

Hearbes. Many herbes in the spring are comonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as Violets, Purslain, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose names we know not.

Rootes. The chiefe root they haue for food is called *Tockawhoughe*. It groweth like a flagge in Marishes. In one day a Salvage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These roots are much of the greatnesse and taste of *Potatoes*. They vse to cover a great many of them with Oke leaues and Ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a Cole-pit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. [27] Raw it is no better then poyson, and being rosted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dryed in the Sunne, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this
[*p.* 59.] ordinarily for bread.
Wighsacan a roote. They haue another roote which they call *Wighsacan*: as

th'other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones* is a small root that groweth in the mountaines, which being dryed and beate in powder turneth red. And this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious, and of much worth. *Musquaspen* is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like. [1607–9]

Pocones a small roote.

Musquaspen a roote.

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Sasafrage*, and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good, and medicinable.

Pellitory. Sasafrage.

In the low Marishes grow plots of Onyons, containing an Acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the toppe of ones Thumbe.

Onyons.

Of beasts the chiefe are Deere, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, there are many, but amongst the rivers few.

Their chiefe beasts are Deere.

There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels some are neare as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray.

Aroughcun. Squirrels.

A small beast they haue they call *Assapanick*, but we call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins, that they haue beene seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An *Opassom* hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. A *Mussascus* is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of Muske. Their Hares [are] no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Assapanick, a Squirrel flying.

Opassom.

Mussascus.

Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of *Muscovia* and *Tartaria*. The Beaver is as big as an ordinary water dog, but his legs exceeding short. His forefeete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket, bare without

Beares.

The Beaver.

[*p.* 60.]

[1607–9] haire, which to eat the Salvages esteeme a great delicate.

Otters. They haue many *Otters*, which as the *Beavers* they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments; and of all those beasts they vse to feed when they catch them.

Vtchunquoyes. An *Vtchunquoyes* is like a wilde Cat.

Foxes. Their Foxes are like our silver haired Conies, of a small proportion, and

Dogges. not smelling like those in *England*. Their Dogges of that Country are like their Woolues, and cannot barke but howle; and the Woolues not much bigger then our English Foxes.

Martins. Polcats. Weesels, and Minkes. Martins, Powlecats, Weesels, and Minkes we know they haue, because we haue seene many of their skinnes, though very seldome any of them aliue.

But one thing is strange, that we could never perceiue their Vermine destroy our Hennes, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their flyes nor serpents [to be] any way pernicious, where[as] in the South parts of *America* they are alwayes dangerous, and often deadly.

Birds. Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of divers sorts, as our Falconers called them: *Sparrow-hawkes*, *Lanarets*, *Goshawkes*, *Falcons* and *Osperayes*, but they all prey most vpon fish. Their Partridges are little bigger then our Quailes. Wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red shoulders, Thrushes and divers sorts of small Birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a Wrenne, but few in Sommer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to vs vnknowne by name. But in Sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

Fish. Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, *Stingraies* [**28**] whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreys, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of three sorts, Crabs,

[*p* 61] Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish is a small one, so like the picture of St. *George* his Dragon, as possible can be, except his

legs and wings; and the Toadefish, which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the ayre. [1607-9]

Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners; for those that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselues in their owne vaine conceits to haue beene supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleeue there are other Mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from *Spar*. The rockes.

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, *and how they vse them.*

THey divide the yeare into fiue seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring, *Cattapeuk*, the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the harvest and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September vntill the midst of November are the chiefe feasts and sacrifice. Then haue they plentie of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beasts exceeding fat. How they divide the yeare.

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the Country naturally is overgrowne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then doe they scortch the roots with fire that they grow no more. How they prepare the ground.

The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood they beat vp the weeds by the rootes, and in that mould they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of wheate and two of beanes. These holes they [*p.* 62.]

[1607–9] make foure foote one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

How they plant. In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October; Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as we gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old.

They plant also pease they call *Assentamens*, which are the same they call in *Italy*, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

How they vse their Corne. Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter of wood with a Polt, lap it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanes for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receiue the flower in a platter made of wood, scraped to that forme with burning [29] and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, covering them with ashes till they be baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie [p. 63.] presently with their owne heat: or else boyle them in water, eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*.

The groutes and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning, in a Platter or in the wind, away the branne, they boyle 3 or 4 houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen*. But some more thriftie then

cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder, which they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale; but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. [1607–9]

How they vse their fish and flesh.

Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or boyle it so long on hurdles over the fire, or else after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it be as drie as their ierkin Beefe in the west *Indies*, that they may keepe it a moneth or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eat as commonly as the meat.

Planted fruits.

In May also amongst their corne they plant *Pumpeons*, and a fruit like vnto a muske mellon, but lesse and worse, which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntill September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October.

When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neare three parts of the yeare, they onely obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

The Commodities in Virginia, *or that may be had by Industrie.*

THe mildnesse of the ayre, the fertilitie of the soyle, and situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance, vnder that latitude or climat. Here will liue any beasts, as horses, goats, sheepe, asses, hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thether. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing, &c. [*f.* 64.]

A proofe cattell will liue well.

The Bay and rivers haue much marchantable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of Iron, &c.

[1607–9] The Commodities.

Muscovia and *Polonia* doe yearely receiue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sopeashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like; also *Swethland* for Iron and Copper. *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt. *Spaine* asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets consumes our chiefe Commodities. *Holland* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize [*traffic*] with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres. Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred myles all those are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely of Copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both Copper and better Minerals are there to be had for their labour. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place, a nurse for souldiers, a practise for mariners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.

[*p.* 65.]

Of the naturall Inhabitants of VIRGINIA.

The numbers.

THE land is not populous, for the men be few; their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 myles of *Iames* Towne, there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many [**30**] together they haue yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertile.

Seaven hundred men were the most were seene together when they thought to haue surprised Captaine *Smith*.

Six or seauen hundred haue beene the most [that] hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselues to *haue surprised* mee *at Pamavnkee*, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their fury [*p.* 457]. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discovered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne: The

people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. [1607-9]

A description of the people.

Some being very great as the *Sasquesahanocks*; others very little, as the *Wighcocomocoes*: but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their hayre is generally blacke, but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their beards [*heads*] shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they vse their women, who with two shels will grate away the hayre, of any fashion they please. The women [*i.e., their hair*] are cut in many fashions, agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long.

The Barbers.

The constitution.

They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Sommer.

The disposition.

They are inconstant in every thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage. Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash. They are soone moued to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an iniury: they seldome steale one from another, least their coniurers should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonestie without the leaue of their husbands. [*p.* 66.]

The possessions.

Each houshold knoweth their owne lands, and gardens, and most liue of their owne labours.

Their attire.

For their apparell, they are some time covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without. The better sort vse large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse, but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seene some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was

[1607-9] exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shamefast to be seene bare.

Their ornaments. They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings. Their women, some haue their legs, hands, breasts, and face cunningly imbrodered [*tattooed*] with divers workes, as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tyed by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some large feather with a Rattell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many haue the whole skinne of a Hawke or some strange foule, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and some the hand of their enemy dryed. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* brayed to powder, mixed with oyle, this they hold in sommer to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vse, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold. [p. 67.]

Their buildings. Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the rivers, or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors, of small young springs bowed and tyed, and so close covered with Mats, or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine, or weather, they are as warme as stooues, but very smoaky, yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire. [**31**]

Their lodgings. Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reeds covered with a Mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house they lie heads and points one by th'other against the fire, some covered with Mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a house.

[1607–9]

Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. In some places from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but a little separated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. Their gardens.

Men, women, and children haue their severall names according to the severall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easily delivered of childe, yet doe they loue children very dearely. To make them hardie, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the rivers, and by painting and oyntments so tanne their skinnes, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them. How they vse their children.

The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres, and such man-like exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman-like exercise, which is the cause that the women be very painefull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kind of burdens, and such like. The industrie of their women.

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaues, or any such like dry thing, that will quickly burne. [*p.* 68.] How they strike fire.

In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing w[e]ires; and feed on fish, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fields, and liue most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to amend their dyet, some disperse themselues in small companies, and liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Tortoises, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In Iune, Iuly, and August, they feed vpon the rootes of *Tocknough*, berries, fish, and greene wheat. The order of dyet.

It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deere and wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake. *Powhatan* their great King, and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

[1607–9] For fishing, hunting, and warres they vse much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made, some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone, some 2 or 3 ynches long. These they vse to shoot at Squirrels on trees. Another sort of arrowes they vse made of Reeds. These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters of christall, or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife he hath the splinter of a Reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will ioynt a Deere, or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a Beaver, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracert, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boyled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolue in cold water.

How they make their bowes and arrowes.

Their kniues.

For their warres also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some a long stone sharpned at both ends, vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plentie of the same forme of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes.

Their Targets and Swords. [*p.* 69.]

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coales with stones and shels, till they haue made it in forme of a [**32**] Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and fortie or fiftie foote in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignesse. Instead of Oares, they vse Paddles and stickes, with which they will row faster then our Barges.

Their Boats.

Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin the barkes of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kind of grasse

How they spin.

they call *Pemmenaw*, of these they make a thread very even and readily. This thread serveth for many vses. As about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantitie as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. [1607-9]

Their hookes are either a bone grated as they noch their arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fish-hooke, or of the splinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tie on the bate. Their fish-hookes.

They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of *Accawmack* vse staues like vnto Iauelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall w[e]ires, in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Roots, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the mountaines, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth here which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 dayes iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours covered with Mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wiues. Fortie yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the marke, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midsts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and How they hunt. [*p.* 70.]

(1607–9) their voyces, they chase them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to driue them into some narrow poynt of land, when they find that advantage; and so force them into the river, where with their boats they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deere by land, they follow him like bloud-hounds by the bloud and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power.

In one of these huntings they found me in the discovery of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they slew my men, and tooke me prisoner in a Bogmire; where I saw those exercises, and gathered these Observations.

One Salvage hunting alone.

One Salvage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deere slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed, and the hornes, head, eyes, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne by stalking, he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to find fault, or stand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to [p. 71.] seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him.

Their Consultations.

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vsually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers, and their allies, and ancient friends; but chiefely the Priests determine their resolution. Every *Werowance*, or some lustie fellow, they appoint [33] Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children,

Their enemies.

and principally for revenge. They haue many enemies, namely, all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Rasauweak*; vnto whom the *Mowhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanughs*, the *Monasickapanoughs*, and other nations pay tributes.

Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributers the *Tauxanias*,

the *Shackaconias*, the *Ontponeas*, the *Tegninateos*, the *Whonkenteaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinnungaes*, and divers others, all confederates with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of wild beasts and fruits. [1607-9]

Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes*, vpon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of *Cannada*, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those rivers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxuntes*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes* are continually tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me and my company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection. *Massawomekes.* *Their offer of subiection.*

Which I concluded to effect. But the councell then present emulating my successe, would not thinke it fit to spare me fortie men to be hazzarded in those vnknowne regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie.

Seaven boats full of these *Massawomekes* wee encountred at the head of the *Bay*; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes, and Arrowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts; and their dexteritie in their small boats, made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water. [p. 72.]

Against all these enemies the *Powhatans* are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances*, women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it vs, and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapanient*.

Having painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could devise. They divided themselues into two Companies, neare a hundred in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either *Their manner of Battell.*

[1607-9] army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselues 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So the Reare could shoot as conveniently as the Front.

Having thus pitched the fields: from either part went a messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape vpon their submission in two dayes after should liue, but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerours.

The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders; On each flanke a Serieant, and in the Reare an Officer for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they onely vse in Warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as so many infernall hell hounds could not haue made them more terrible.

When they had spent their arrowes, they ioyned together prettily, charging and retyring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage they catched their enemies by the [p. 73.] hayre of the head, and downe he came that was taken. His enemy with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish.

The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe Moone; they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes*, on whom they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselues among the fresh men, wherevpon the [**34**] *Powhatans* retired, with all speed to their seconds; which the *Monacans* seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter.

All their actions, voyces, and gestures, both in charging and retiring were so strained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull.

Their Musicke. For their Musicke they vse a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut,

which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattles made of small gourds, or Pumpeons shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane, and Treble. These mingled with their voyces sometimes twenty or thirtie together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright, then delight any man. [1607–9]

If any great commander arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to sit vpon. Vpon another right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their loue. Which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweat till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or stark mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely; and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocones* and oyle, to be his bed-fellow. Their entertainement.

Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, foule, fish, flesh, and their Country Corne. But their victualls are their chiefest riches. [*p.* 74.] Their trade

Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuyce of a roote they call *Wighsacan*, and water; whereof they powre so great a quantitie, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure dayes after, they scarce recover their former health. Their Phisicke.

Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a Stoue in the forme of a Doue-house with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweat extreamely. For swellings also they vse small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this roote *Wighsacan* they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling, or make incision, their best Their Chirurgery.

[1607-9] instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers, or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them.

Their charms to cure. They haue many professed Phisicians, who with their charmes and Rattles, with an infernall rout of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their navels, or their grieued places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleeued any Plaister would heale any hurt.

But 'tis not alwayes in Phisicians skill,
To heale the Patient that is sicke and ill:
For sometimes sicknesse on the Patients part,
Proues stronger farre then all Phisicians art.

Of their Religion.

THere is yet in *Virginia* no place discovered to be so Savage, in which they haue not a Religion, Deere, and Bow and Arrowes. All things that are able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our Ordnance, peeces, horses, &c.

[*p.* 75.] Their God. But their chiefe God they worship is the Devill. Him they call *Okee*, [**35**] and serue him more of feare then loue. They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euill favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines of copper, and beads, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suit with such a God.

How they bury their Kings. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their ioynts and necke they hang bracelets, or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they vse to weare; their inwards they stuffe with copper beads, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they

them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheets. And in the Tombe which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their Kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests. [1607-9]

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpse being lapped in skins and mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon stickes in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with blacke cole and oyle, doe sit twenty-foure houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling, as may expresse their great passions. Their ordinary burials.

In every Territory of a *Werowance* is a Temple and a Priest, two or three or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack* at *Pamavnkee*, neare vnto which is a house, Temple, or place of *Powhatans*. Their Temples.

Vpon the top of certaine red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length built arbour-wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priests and Kings dare come into them ; nor the Salvages dare not goe vp the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or *Pocones* into the river, for feare their *Okee* should be offended and revenged of them. [*p.* 76.]

Thus, *Feare was the first their Gods begot:*
Till feare began, their Gods were not.

In this place commonly are resident seauen Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at. Their ornaments for their Priests.

The ornaments of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dosen, or 16, or more snakes skins and stuffed them with mosse, and of Weesels and other Vermines skins a good many. All these

[1607-9] they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the toppe of their head like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crowne of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face.

The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattle, some base [*in tune*], some smaller. Their devotion was most in songs, which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him: sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences by starts and strange passions; and at every pause, the rest giue a short groane.

Thus seeke they in deepe foolishnesse,
To climbe the height of happinesse.

The times of solemnities.

It could not be perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other; But onely in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire, in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and shouts [**36**] together, foure or fiue houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands, as if he would keepe time: and after their songs and dauncings ended they goe to their Feasts.

Through God begetting feare,
Mans blinded minde did reare
A hell-god to the ghosts;
A heaven-god to the hoasts;
Yea God vnto the Seas:
Feare did create all these.

Their coniurations.

They haue also divers coniurations, one they made when I was their prisoner; of which hereafter you shall reade at large [*pp.* 76, 398].

[*p.* 77.] Their Altars.

They haue also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*, but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wildernesses, where they

haue had any extraordinary accident, or incounter. And as you travell, at those stones they will tell you the cause why they were there erected, which from age to age they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquities. Vpon these they offer bloud, Deere suet, and Tobacco. This they doe when they returne from the Warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. [1607–9]

They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcryes and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Sacrifices to the water.

Before their dinners and suppers the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to vse.

In some part of the Country they haue yearely a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock* some ten myles from *Iames* Towne, and thus performed.

Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeares of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. Their solemn Sacrifices of children, which they call Black-boyes.

In the afternoone they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them all the men stood in a guard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed fiue young men to fetch these children: so every one of the fiue went through the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the guard fiercely beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiuing all defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out very passionately, prouiding mats, skins, mosse, and dry wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals. [*p.* 78.]

After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches and boughs, with such violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads,

[1607–9] or bedecked their hayre with the leaues. What els was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company.

Those Blackboyes are made so mad with a kind of drinke, that they will doe any mischiefe, at the command of their Keepers.

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not all dead, but that the *Okee* or *Divell* did sucke the bloud from their left breast, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead; but the rest were kept in the wildernesse by the young men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse with any: and of these were made their Priests and Coniurers.

This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their *Okee* or *Devill*, and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes*, which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deere, Turkies, Corne, nor fish: and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them.

Their resurrection.

They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priests which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their *Okee*, with their heads painted [37] with oyle and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and shall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors.

[*p.* 79.] But the common people they suppose shall not liue after death, but rot in their graues like dead dogs.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, we did our best endevours, chiefly with the *Werowance* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, with whom although we could not as yet prevaile, to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeue that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes: and many times did send to me to *Iames* Towne, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not send them any. And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Devill, not knowing their Creator; and we had not language sufficient, so plainly to expresse it as make them vnderstand it; which God grant they may.

[1607-9]

For, *Religion 'tis that doth distinguish vs,*
From their bruit humor, well we may it know;
That can with vnderstanding argue thus,
Our God is truth, but they cannot doe so.

Of the manner of the Virginians *Government.*

ALthough the Country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subiection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.

The forme of their Common-wealth is a Monarchicall government, one as Emperour ruleth ouer many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of his principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*.

Some Countries he hath which haue beene his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the Country called *Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuck, Pamavnkee, Youghtanund*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Mappe, they report haue beene his severall Conquests.

In all his ancient inheritances, he hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some 30. some 40. yards long, and at every house provision for his entertainement according to the time. At *Werowcomoco* on the North side of the river *Pamavnkee*, was his residence, when I was delivered him prisoner, some 14 myles from *Iames* Towne; where for the most part, he was resident, but at last he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood, that he retired himselfe to *Orapakes*, in the desert betwixt *Chickahamania* and *Youghtanund*. [*p.* 80.]

A description of *Powhatan*

He is of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somwhat gray, his beard so

[1607-9] thinne, that it seemeth none at all, his age neare sixtie; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour.

His attendance and watch. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels, each from other a flight shoot, and at every halfe houre one from the *Corps du guard* doth hollow, shaking his lips with his finger betweene them; vnto whom every Sentinell doth answer round from his stand: if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

His treasury. A myle from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, he hath a house in which he keepeth his kinde of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beads, which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Targets and clubs. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure [**38**] Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man: all made evill favouredly, according to their best workemanship.

His wiues. He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet; but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand and another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands.

When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them in stead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dryed againe.

[*p.* 81.] His successors. His kingdomes descend not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heires male or female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

Their authoritie. He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is

custome. Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must be obeyed: not onely as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. [1607–9]

His inferiour Kings, whom they call *Werowances*, are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death at their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance*, which we call and construe for a King, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officers more then one commander, which commonly they call *Werowance*, or *Caucorouse*, which is Captaine.

The tenor of their lands.

They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, foule, or hunt in: but they hold all of their great *Werowance Powhatan*, vnto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deere, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration, all these people doe obey this *Powhatan*. For at his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him.

His manner of punishments.

For example, he caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great store of burning coales, they rake these coales round in the forme of a cock-pit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beats out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, he causeth him to be tyed to a tree, and with Mussell shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his ioynts one after another, ever casting what they cut of into the fire; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen*. [*Pp.* 82, 98, 395.] [*p.* 82.]

Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. We haue seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beate him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never

[1607-9] cry nor complained. And he made a woman for playing the whore, sit vpon a great stone, on her bare breech twenty-foure houres, onely with corne and water, every three dayes, till nine dayes were past; yet he loued her exceedingly: notwithstanding there are common whores by profession.

In the yeare 1608, he surprised the people of *Payankatank* his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent divers of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* environed all their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoyle: twenty-foure men they slew; the long haire of the one side of their heads, with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women, and the children, and the *Werowance*. All these they presented to *Powhatan*. The *Werowance*, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. [**39**]

The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two trees. And thus he made ostentation of his triumph at *Werowocomoco*, where he intended to haue done as much to mee and my company [*see pp.* 82, 133].

And this is as much as my memory can call to minde worthy of note; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia*. Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can finde none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce euer ten myles from *Iames* Towne, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a [*p.* 83.] great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing; nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations, and small experience in Martiall accidents, because they found not English Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouses in every breathing

place, neither such plentie of gold and silver and dissolute libertie, as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for *England*. For the Country was to them a misery, a ruine, a death, a hell; and their reports here, and their actions there according. [1607-9]

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to passe to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mysterie of the businesse in themselues, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themselues; yet all mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises, as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the money and meanes haue still miscarried: yet they ever returning, and the planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, still to maintaine their vaine glory and estimation, from time to time haue vsed such diligence as made them passe for truths, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest liuing is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meerely proiecting, verball, and idle contemplators, and those so devoted to pure idlenesse, that though they had liued two or three yeares in *Virginia*, lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *Iames* Towne; and those witty spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in *England*, to get their passes. [p. 84.]

Thus from the clamors, and the ignorance of false informers, are sprung those disasters that sprung in *Virginia*: and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of twentie or thirtie of the best onely preserved in

[1607-9] Christianitie by their industry, the idle livers of neare two hundred of the rest: who liuing neere ten moneths [*Oct.* 1608—10 *July* 1609] of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded.

Notwithstanding all this, and the worst fury of the Salvages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but seaven or eight men, yet subiected the salvages to our desired obedience, and receiued contribution from thirtie fiue of their Kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as subiects to his Maiestie, so long after as I did governe there, vntill I left the Countrey.

Since, how they haue revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue beene more diligent in such Observations.

Iohn Smith *writ this with his owne hand.* [40]

Because many doe desire to know the manner of their Language, I haue inserted these few words. [1607–9]

Akatorawincs yowo. What call you this.
Nemarough, a man.
Crenepo, a woman.
Marowanchesso, a boy.
Yehawkans, Houses.
Matchcores, Skins, or garments.
Mockasins, Shooes.
Tussan, Beds.
Pokatawer, Fire.
Attawp, A bow.
Attonce, Arrowes.
Monacookes, Swords.
Aumouhhowgh, A Target.
Pawcussacks, Gunnes.
Tomahacks, Axes.
Tockahacks, Pickaxes.
Pamesacks, Kniues.
Accowprets, Sheares.
Pawpecones, Pipes.
Mattassin, Copper.
Vssawassin, Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white mettall. *Musses*, Woods.
Attasskuss, Leaues, weeds, or grasse.
Chepsin, Land.
Shacquohocan. A stone.
Wepenter, A cookold.
Suckahanna, Water.
Noughmass, Fish.
Copotone, Sturgeon.
Weghshaughes, Flesh. [*pp.* 44–45.]
Sawwehone, Bloud.
Netoppew, Friends.
Marrapough, Enemies.
Maskapow, the worst of the enemies.
Mawchick chammay, The best of friends.
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquintan vttasantasough, In how many daies will there come hither any more English Ships.

Their Numbers.

Necut, 1. *Ningh*, 2. *Nuss*, 3. *Yowgh*, 4. *Paranske*, 5. *Comotinch*, 6. *Toppawoss*, 7. *Nusswash*, 8. *Kekatawgh*, 9. *Kaskeke*, 10.

They count no more but by tennes as followeth.
Case, how many.
Ninghsapooeksku, 20.
Nussapooeksku, 30.
Yowghapooeksku, 40.
Parankestassapooeksku, 50.
Comatinchtassapooeksku, 60.
Nussswashtassapooeksku, 70.
Kekataughtassapooeksku, 90.
Necuttoughtysinough, 100.
Necuttwevnquaough, 1000.

Rawcosowghs, Dayes.

[1607-9] *Keskowghes*, Sunnes.
Toppquough, Nights.
[*pp.* 44-46.] *Nepawweshowghs*, Moones.
Pawpaxsoughes, Yeares.
Pumnahumps, Starres.
Osies, Heavens.
Okees, Gods.
Quiyoughcosoughs, Pettie Gods, and their affinities.
Righcomoughes, Deaths.
Kekughes, Liues.
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh noeragh kaquere mecher, I am very hungry? what shall I eate?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan, Where dwels Powhatan.
Mache, nehiegh yourowgh, Orapaks. Now he dwels a great way hence at Orapaks.
Vittapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper Werowacomoco, You lie, he staid ever at Werowacomoco.
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vttapitchewayne, Truely he is there I doe not lie.
Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekatem wawgh peyaquaugh, Run you then to the King Mawmarynough and bid him come hither.
Vtteke, e peya weyack wighwhip, Get you gone, and come againe quickly.
Kekaten Pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer mowchick rawrenock audowgh, Bid Pokahontas bring hither two little Baskets, and I will giue her white Beads to make her a Chaine.

FINIS. [41]

A reprint, with variations, of the Second Part of The Map of Virginia, 1612.]

[In addition to the sayings and doings of the six Gentlemen and one Soldier specified on *p.* 86; there are to be found in this revised text, the testimonies of the following eight Gentlemen:

GENTLEMEN.

Original Planters, 1607.

President JOHN SMITH, *pp.* 93, 389, 403, 442.
The Hon. GEORGE PERCY, *pp.* 93, 389, 488.
ROBERT FENTON, *pp.* 389, 403.
EDWARD HARRINGTON, *pp.* 390, 403.
WILLIAM TANKARD, *pp.* 94, 390, 480.

First Supply, 1608.

JEFFREY ABBOT, *pp.* 108, 465, 508.
ANTHONY BAGNALL, Surgeon, *pp.* 421, 433.
THOMAS MUMFORD, *pp.* 109, 420.

The contributions of these eight Gentlemen are fully sufficient to account for the additional facts to be found in *Lib.* 3.]

VIRGINIA
Massawomecks
Signification of these markes,
To the crosses hath hin discouerd what beyond is by relation
Kings howses
Ordinary howses
POWHATAN
Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith was deliuered to him prisoner
1607
MONACANS
MANNAHOACKS
POWHATAN
MANGOAGS
CHAWONS
SASQUESAHANOUGH
SASQUESAHANOUGH
SAPEACK BAY
CHESAPEACK
KUSKARAWAOKS
TOCKWOGHS
ATQUANACHUKES
THE VIRGINIAN SEA
Scale of Leagues and halfe Leagues
Discovered and Discribed by Captayn John Smith 1606
Grauen by William Hole
Page 41
Smith

The third Booke.

THE PROCEEDINGS AND ACCIDENTS OF

1606.

The English *Colony* in *Virginia*,

Extracted from the Authors following, by WILLIAM SIMONS, Doctour of Divinitie.

CHAPTER I.

[1606]

IT might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue beene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement [*in* 1612]; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried: where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

[*p.* 89.]

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Captaine *Iohn Smith*, Master *Edward-maria Wingfield*, Master *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, who depended a yeare vpon his proiects, but

The first mover of the action.

[*p.* 90.]

[1606-7] nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patents [10 *April* 1606], gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised for the Westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in *Virginia*.

Orders for government.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of *England*; all which time, Master *Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) [42] had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

[*pp.* 90, 93, 99, 103, 389, 402, 407.]

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selues amongst these west-India Isles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time; where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn [*Iguana*], Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

Monica an vnfrequented Isle full of Birds.

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land; so that Captaine *Rat[c]liffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations; for never any of them had seene that coast. [1607] [*p.* 91.]

The first land they made they called *Cape Henry*; where thirtie of them recreating themselues on shore, were assaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. Their first landing. [*pp.* 5, 91, 896.]

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *Iohn Rat[c]liffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to be the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councell, in which the President had two voyces.

Vntill the 13 of May [1607] they sought a place to plant in; then the Councell was sworne, Master *Wingfield* was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest. Matters of government.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Presidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*.

Newport, *Smith*, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called *Powhatan*, consisting of some twelue houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Iles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*. To this place the river is navigable: [*p.* 6.] The discovery of the *Falles* and *Powhatan*. [*p.* 92.]

[1607] but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles. The people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of *Iames* towne, they gaue iust cause of iealousie: but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke downe a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

The Fort assaulted by the Salvages. [*p.* 7.]

[*p.* 8.] Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped.

What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I referre to the Readers consideration.

Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for [**43**] our transportation) was to returne with the ships.

Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vsurpe the government, murther the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it; for this he was committed as a prisoner.

Thirteene weekes [24 *Mar.*—10 *June* 1607, [*pp.* lvii, liv] he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should [*p.* 93.] returne they pretended out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his designes [to] make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow

his reputation. But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppresse their envies; yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders, that the President [*Wingfield*] was adiudged to giue him 200*l.*; so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which *Smith* presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the *Colony*. [1607]

Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Master *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councel [20 *June, or rather on* 10 *June, see p.* liv] [*pp.* 90, 93, 99, 103, 386, 402, 407.]

The next day all receiued the Communion, the day following [*June* 22] the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 [*or rather* 22. ; *pp.* lv, lxx] of Iune 1607. By this obserue; Captain *Newports* returne for *England.*

Good men did ne'r their Countries ruine bring.
But when evill men shall iniuries beginne;
Not caring to corrupt and violate
The iudgements-seats for their owne Lucr[e]'s sake:
Then looke that Country cannot long haue peace,
Though for the present it haue rest and ease.

The names of them that were the first Planters, were these following.

1607. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Councel.

- Master *Edward Maria Wingfield.*
- Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll.*
- Captaine *Iohn Smith.*
- Captaine *Iohn Rat[c]liffe.*
- Captaine *Iohn Martin.*
- Captaine *George Kendall.*

Gent.

- Master *Robert Hunt* Preacher.
- Master *George Percie.*
- *Anthony Gosnoll.*
- *George Flower.*
- Cap. *Gabriell Archer.*
- *Robert Fenton.*
- *Robert Ford.*

[1607]

William Bruster.
Edward Harrington.
Dru Pickhouse.
Thomas Iacob.
Iohn Brookes.
Ellis Kingston.
Thomas Sands.
Beniamin Beast.
Iehu Robinson.
Thomas Mouton.
Eustace Clovill.
Stephen Halthrop.
Kellam Throgmorton.
Edward Morish.
Nathaniell Powell.
Edward Browne.
Robert Behethland.
Iohn Penington.
Ieremy Alicock.
George Walker.
Thomas Studley.
Richard Crofts.
Nicholas Houlgraue.
Thomas Webbe. [**44**]
Iohn Waller.
Iohn Short.
William Tankard.
William Smethes.
Francis Snarsbrough.
Richard Simons.
Edward Brookes.
Richard Dixon.
Iohn Martin.
Roger Cooke.
Anthony Gosnold.
Tho: Wotton, Chirurg.
Iohn Stevenson.
Thomas Gore.
Henry Adling.
Francis Midwinter.
Richard Frith.

Gent.

(Compare this List with the 1612 one at *pp.* 93, 94.)

[*p.* lx.]

William Laxon.
Edward Pising.
Thomas Emry.
Robert Small.

Carpenters.

Iohn Laydon.
William Cassen.
George Cassen.
Thomas Cassen.
William Rodes.
William White.
Old Edward.
Henry Tavin.
George Goulding.
Iohn Dods.
William Iohnson.
William Vnger.

Labourers.

Iam: Read, Blacksmith
Ionas Profit, Sailer.
Tho: Cowper, Barber.
Will: Garret, Bricklayer.
Edward Brinto, Mason.
William Loue, Taylor.
Nic: Scot, Drum.
Wil: Wilkinson, Chirurg.

Samuell Collier, boy.
Nat. Pecock, boy.
Iames Brumfield, boy.
Richard Mutton, boy.

With divers others to the number of 100.

CHAPTER II.

What happened till the first supply.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned [1607] that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst vs could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed vs. And thereat none need marvaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this. The occasion of sicknesse.

Whilest the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue, or exchange with vs, for money, Saxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might haue beene canonized for Saints; But our President [*Wingfield*] would never haue beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private [*i.e.*, *his own use*], Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, *Aquavitæ*, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes [*Dec.* 1606—*June* 1607] in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truely call it rather so much bran then corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre. [*p.* 95.] The Sailers abuses. [*p.* 957.]

With this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue Countrey, or any other place in the world.

From May, to September [1607], those that escaped, liued vpon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknes) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him [10 *Sept.* 1607]; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Gosnoll* being dead [22 *Aug.* 1607]) A bad President. [*p.* 8.

[1607] *Kendall* deposed [? *Sept.* 1607]. *Smith* newly recovered, *Martin* and *Ratcliffe* was by his care preserved and relieued, and the most of the souldiers recovered with the skilfull diligence of Master *Thomas Wotton* our Chirurgian generall.

But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God the patron of all good indevours, in that desperate extremitie so changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

Plentie vnexpected.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first, the fault of our going was our owne, [**45**] what could be thought fitting or necessary we had; but what we should find, or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we were at Sea fiue moneths, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time and season to plant, by the vnskilfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that vnderstood not at all, what they vndertooke.

[*p.* 96.]

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties: but nothing so difficult as to establish a Common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither doe well themselues, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

[*p.* 9.]

The new President [*Ratcliffe*], and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine *Smith*: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe.

The building of *Iames Towne.*

This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease [he] (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe [9 *Nov.* 1607] in the Shallop to search the Country for

trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power (knowing the multitude of the Salvages), apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments; yet no discouragement. [1607]

Being but six or seauen in company he went downe the river to *Kecoughtan*: where at first they scorned him, as a famished man; and would in derison offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his Commission: [he] Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore; whereat they all fled into the woods. [p. 9] The beginning of Trade abroad.

So marching towards their houses, they might see great heapes of corne: much adoe he had to restraine his hungry souldiers from [the] present taking of it, expecting as it hapned that the Salvages would assault them, as not long after they did with a most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an Idoll made of skinnes, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner, being well armed with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly receiued them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their *Quiyoughkasoucks* to offer peace, and redeeme their *Okee*.

Smith told them, if onely six of them would come vnarmed and loade his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their *Okee*, and giue them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread, and what they had; singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed.

In his returne he discovered the Towne and Country of *Warraskoyack*. [p. 10]

[1607]

Thus God vnboundlesse by his power,
Made them thus kind, would vs deuour.

[*f.* 97.]

Amoris, a Salvage his best friend slaine for loving vs.

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth: (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. iournies and discovered the people of *Chickahamania*: yet what he carefully provided the rest carelesly spent.

The Discovery of *Chickahamine.*

Wingfield and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, the companies dislike of their [**46**] Presidents weaknes, and their small loue to *Martins* never mending sicknes, strengthened themselues with the sailers and other confederates, to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes abord the Pinnace, (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for *England.*

Smith vnexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the riuer: which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall* [*after trial, see pp.* 13, 97].

These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good iudgement will conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders.

[*f.* 10.]

Another proiect to abandon the country.

The President [*Ratcliffe*] and captaine *Archer* not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country, which proiect also was curbed, and suppressed by *Smith.*

The *Spaniard* never more greedily desired gold then he [*Smith*] victuall; nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding [*he found*] plentie of Corne in the riuer of *Chickahamania*, where hundreds of Salvages in diuers places stood with baskets expecting his comming.

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for *England.*

But our *Comædies* never endured long without a *Tragedie*; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discovering the head of *Chickahamania* river, and [being] taxed by the Councell, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees insunder he made his passage; but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went vp higher in a Canowe; but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew, and much failed not to haue cut of[f] the boat and all the rest. [1607] [f. 98.]

Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his *two men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall: who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and vsed him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner.

* *Iehu Robinson* and *Thomas Emry* slaine.

When this newes came to *Iames* towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued.

Sixe or seuen weekes [*rather about the three weeks* 16 *Dec.* 1607—8 *Jan.* 1608] those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more then their owne *Quiyouckosucks*.

The manner how they vsed and deliuered him, is as followeth.

Captaine *Smith* taken prisoner

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Cassen* whether Captaine *Smith* was gone, prosecuting that oportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamavnkee*, who in diuisions searching the turn-

[1607] [*pp.* 15, 16, 395, 401.] ings of the riuer, found *Robinson* and *Emry* by the fire side: those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that vsed the Salvage that was his guide as his shield (three of them being slaine and diuers other so gauld) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to haue returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more then his way, [he] slipped vp to the middle in an oasie creeke and his Salvage with him; yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed [**47**] limbs.

[*p.* 15.] He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him *Opechankanough*, King of *Pamavnkee*, to whom he gaue a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainely, and yet not touch it, because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Iewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes*, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration.

Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him: but the King holding vp the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to *Orapaks*, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well vsed.

The order they observed in their trivmph. Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselues all in fyle, the King in the middest had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine *Smith* was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne [*Orapaks*] (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remoue as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him,

the souldiers first all in fyle performed the forme of a *Bissone* so well as could be; and on each flanke, officers as Serieants to see them keepe their orders. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselues in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or some such matter for his vambrace; their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and *Pocones* mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handsome shew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dryed, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snak[e]s tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while *Smith* and the King stood in the middest guarded, as before is said: and after three dances they all departed. *Smith* they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him; and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would haue served twentie men. I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more; and then did they eate all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one *Maocassater* brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes *Smith* had given him at his first arrivall in *Virginia*. [1607]

How he should haue beene slaine at *Orapacks*.

Two dayes after a man would haue slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. *Smith* told them that at *Iames* towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that: but made all the preparations they could to assault *Iames* towne, craving his advice; and for recompence he should haue life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should [*p.* 17.] [*p.* 17.]

[1607] follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request they went to *Iames* towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer.

How he saued *Iames* towne from being surprised.

But when they came to *Iame*[*s*] towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had [**48**] told them they should receiue an answer, and such things as he had promised them: which they found accordingly, and with which they returned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake.

Then they led him to the *Youthtanunds*, the *Mattapanients*, [*pp.* 17, 18.] the *Payankatanks*, the *Nantaughtacunds*, and *Onawmanients* vpon the rivers of *Rapahanock*, and *Patawomek*; over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at *Pamavnkee*: where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Coniurations;

How they did Coniure him at *Pamavnkee*.

As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell.

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other; on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce, and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's, along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then

came in three more as vgly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe fiue wheat cornes: then strayning his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gaue a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke; and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they vsed this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher; and they in the middest. [1607-8]

After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede.

Opitchapam the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put vp all the remainder in Baskets.

At his returne to *Opechancanoughs*, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts; as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments.

But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes,
Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.

At last they brought him to *Meronocomoco* [5 *Jan.* 1608], [*p.* 18] where was *Powhatan* their Emperor. Here more than two

[1608] hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till *Powhatan* and his trayne had put themselues in their greatest braveries. Before a fire vpon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of *Rarowcun* skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes [**49**] of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks.

How *Powhatan* entertained him.

[*p.* 19.]

At his entrance before the King, all the people gaue a great shout. The Queene of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselues. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

[*pp.* xlix, lxv, 25.]

How *Pocahontas* saued his life.

They say he bore a pleasant shew,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That liues in feare and dread:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.

Two dayes after [7 *Jan.* 1608], *Powhatan* having disguised himselfe in the most fearefullest manner he could, caused Captain *Smith* to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there vpon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then *Powhatan*

more like a devill then a man, with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came vnto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to *Iames* towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would giue him the Country of *Capahowosick*, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne *Nantaquoud*. [1608]

How *Powhatan* sent him to *Iames* Towne. [*p.* 20.]

So to *Iames* towne with 12 guides *Powhatan* sent him. That night [7 *Jan.* 1608] they quarterd in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne *Barbarians* with compassion. The next morning [8 *Jan.*] betimes they came to the Fort, where *Smith* having vsed the Salvages with what kindnesse he could, he shewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatans* trusty servant, two demi-Culverings and a millstone to carry *Powhatan*: they found them somewhat too heavie; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles, the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gaue them such toyes; and sent to *Powhatan*, his women, and children such presents, as gaue them in generall full content. [*p.* 22.]

The third proiect to abandon the Countrey. [*p.* 98.]

Now in *Iames* Towne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, *Smith* forced now the third time to stay or sinke.

Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President [*Ratcliffe*], the next day [9 *Jan.*] to haue put him to death by the Leviticall law, for the liues of *Robinson* and *Emry*; pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for *England*. [*p.* lxxxvi.]

[*pp.* 15, 16, 395, 396.]

Now ever once in foure or fiue dayes, *Pocahontas* with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their liues, that els for all this had starved with hunger.

Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe,
The sweete asswager of all other griefe. [**50**]

[1608] His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at *Werawocomoco*, and of the state and bountie of *Powhatan*, (which till that time was vnknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the loue of *Pocahontas*) as all mens feare was abandoned.

A true proofe of Gods loue to the action.

[*p.* 99.] Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good indevour; and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it.

As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choise, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition.

And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to haue any mention made of those inormities, let him pervse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissensions haue accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences; doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse, or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserue a more worthy respect.

[The Colony is reduced to 38 men, by the time of Capt. *Newport's* arrival on 8 Jan. 1608; *see pp.* 531, 611, 911.]

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith*, to haue concluded with any of those severall proiects, to haue abandoned the Countrey, with some ten or twelue of them, who were called the better sort, and haue left Master *Hunt* our Preacher, Master *Anthony Gosnoll*, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentleman, Master *Thomas Wotton*, and some 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe possession of this large Country;) or starue himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserue the action, and saue all their liues; I leaue to the censure of all honest men to consider. But

Of two evils the lesse was chosen.

We men imagine in our Iolitie,
That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be.
But then anone wee alter this againe,

If happily wee feele the sence of paine; [1608]
For then we're turn'd into a mourning vaine.

Written by *Thomas Studley* the first Cape Merchant in *Virginia*, *Robert Fenton*, *Edward Harrington*, and *I. S.*

CHAPTER III.

[*p.* 100.]

The Arrivall of the first supply, with their Proceedings, and the Ships returne.

ALL this time our care was not so much to abandon the Countrey; but the Treasurer and Councell in *England*, were as diligent and carefull to supply vs. Two good ships they sent vs, with neare a hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and vs; The one commanded by Captaine *Newport*: the other by Captaine *Francis Nelson*, an honest man, and an expert Marriner. But such was the lewardnesse of his Ship [*the Phœnix*] (that though he was within the sight of *Cape Henry*) by stormy contrary winds was he forced so farre to Sea, that the West *Indies* was the next land, for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water.

The *Phœnix* from Cape *Henry* forced to the West *Indies*.

But *Newport* got in and arrived at *Iames* Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith* [*or rather in the evening of the 8th Jan.* 1608, *on which Smith returned*]. To whom the Salvages, as is sayd, every other day repaired, with such provisions that sufficiently did serue them from hand to mouth: part alwayes they brought him as Presents from their Kings, or *Pocahontas*; the rest he as their Market Clarke set the price himselfe, how they should sell: so he [**51**] had inchanted these poore soules being their prisoner; and now *Newport*, whom he called his Father arriving, neare as directly as he foretold, they esteemed him as an Oracle, and [he] had them at that submission he might command them what he listed. That God that created all things they knew he adored for his God: they would also in their discourses tearme the God of Captaine *Smith*.

[*p.* 23.]

[*p.* 101.]

Their opinion of our God.

[1608] *Thus the Almightie was the bringer on,*
The guide, path, terme, all which was God alone.

But the President [*Ratcliffe*] and Councell so much envied his estimation among the Salvages, (though we all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof,) that they wrought it into the Salvages vnderstandings (by their great bounty in giving foure times more for their commodities then *Smith* appointed) that their greatnesse and authoritie as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie.

Now the arrivall of this first supply so overioyed vs, that wee could not devise too much to please the Marriners. We gaue them libertie to trucke or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was sould vs for an ounce: thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of the greatnesse of Captaine *Newport*, (wherewith *Smith* had possessed *Powhatan*) especially by the great presents *Newport* often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinnace to goe and visit him: [*p.* 23.] so that this great Savage desired also to see him. A great coyle there was to set him forward [*Feb.* 1608].

When he went he was accompanied with Captaine *Smith*, and Master *Scrivener*, a very wise understanding Gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the Councell, with thirtie or fortie chosen men for their guard.

[*p.* 24.] Arriving at *Werowocomoco*, *Newports* conceit of this great Savage bred many doubts and suspitions of trecheries, which *Smith* to make appeare was needlesse, with twentie men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter the worst that could happen: Knowing

Smiths revisiting *Powhatan.*

All is but one, and selfe-same hand, that thus
Both one while scourgeth, and that helped vs.

Nathaniell Powell. *Robert Behethland.* *Mich[a]ellPhittiplace.* *William Phittiplace.* *Anthony Gosnoll.* *Richard Wyffin.*	Gent.	*Iohn Taverner.* *William Dyer.* *Thomas Coe.* *Thomas Hope.* *Anas Todkill.*	Gent.

These, with nine others (whose names I haue forgotten) comming a-shore, landed amongst a many of creekes, over which they were to passe [by] such poore bridges, onely made of a few cratches thrust in the o[o]se, and three or foure poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like, tyed together onely with barkes of trees, that it made them much suspect those bridges were but traps. Which caused *Smith* to make diverse Salvages goe over first, keeping some of the chiefe as hostage till halfe his men were passed, to make a guard for himselfe and the rest. [1608] [p. 102.] *Powhatan* his entertainment.

But finding all things well, by two or three hundred Salvages they were kindly conducted to their towne. Where *Powhatan* strained himselfe to the vtmost of his greatnesse to entertaine them, with great shouts of ioy, Orations of protestations; and with the most plenty of victualls he could provide to feast them.

Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbrodered (after their rude manner with pearle and white Beads) his attyre a faire robe of skinnes as large as an Irish mantell: at his head and [at his] feete a handsome young woman: on each side his house sat twentie of his Concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about each of their neckes. Before those sat his chiefest men in like order in his arbour-like house, and more then fortie platters of fine bread stood as a guard in two fyles on each side the doore. Foure or fiue hundred people made a guard behinde them for our passage: and Proclamation was made, none vpon paine of death to presume to doe vs any wrong or discourtesie.

With many pretty Discourses to renew [52] their old acquaintance, this great King and our Captaine spent the time, till the ebbe left our Barge aground. Then renewing their feasts with feates, dauncing and singing, and such like mirth, we quartered that night with *Powhatan*. [p. 25.]

The next day *Newport* came a shore and receiued as much content as those people could giue him: a boy named *Thomas Salvage* was then giuen vnto *Powhatan*, whom *Newport* called his sonne; for whom *Powhatan* gaue him *Namontack* his trustie servant, and one of a shrewd, subtill capacitie. [p. 27.] The exchange of a Christian for a Salvage. [p. 569.]

[1608] Three or foure dayes more we spent in feasting, dauncing, and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts, considering his education.

[*p.* 27.] As scorning to trade as his subiects did; he bespake *Newport* in this manner.

Powhatans speech. *Captaine* Newport *it is not agreeable to my greatnesse, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompence giue you what I thinke fitting their value.*

Captaine *Smith* being our interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his father, knowing best the disposition of *Powhatan*, tould vs his intent was but onely to cheate vs; yet Captaine *Newport* thinking to out braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatnesse, and so to bewitch him with him bountie, as to

[*p.* 103.] haue what he listed, it so hapned, that *Powhatan* hauing his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, that I thinke it [were] better cheape in *Spaine*: for we had not foure bushells for that we expected to haue twentie hogsheads.

Differences of opinions. This bred some vnkindnesse betweene our two Captaines; *Newport* seeking to please the vnsatiable desire of the Salvage, *Smith* to cause the Salvage to please him; but smothering his distast to avoyd the Saluages suspition, [*Smith*] glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many trifles, who fixed his humor vpon a few blew beades. A long time he importunately desired them, but *Smith* seemed so much the more to affect them, as being composed of a most rare substance of the coulour of the skyes, and not to be worne but by the greatest kings in the world. This made him halfe madde to be the owner of such strange Iewells: so that ere we departed, for

[*p.* 28.] a pound or two of blew beades, he brought ouer my king for 2. or 300. Bushells of corne; yet parted good friends.

The like entertainment we found of *Opechankanough* king of *Pamavnkee*, whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads: which grew by this meanes, of that estimation, that none durst weare any of them but their great kings, their wiues and children.

Iames towne burnt. And so we returned all well to *Iames* towne [9 *Mar.* 1608],

[*p.* 31.] where this new supply being lodged with the rest, [had]

accidently fired [*about* 17 *Jan.* 1608] their quarters, and so the towne: which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallisado's, (though eight or ten yards distant) with their Armes, bedding, apparell, and much priuate prouision. Good Master *Hunt* our Preacher lost all his Library, and all he had but the cloathes on his backe: yet none neuer heard him repine at his losse. This happned in the winter in that extreame frost. 1607[–8]. [1608] [p. lxxxvi. [pp. 90, 93, 99, 103, 386, 402.]

Now though we had victuall sufficient I meane onely of Oatmeale, meale and corne: yet the Ship staying 14. weekes [*or actually* 13 *weeks and* 2 *days from* 8 *Jan. to* 10 *April* 1608] when shee might as wel haue beene gone in 14. dayes, spent a great part of that, and neare all the rest that was sent to be landed. A ship Idely loytering 14. weekes.

When they departed what the[i]re discretion could spare vs, to make a little poore meale or two, we called feastes, to relish our mouthes: of each somwhat they left vs, yet I must confesse, those that had either money, spare clothes, credit to giue billes of paiment, gold rings, furrs, or any such commodities, were euer welcome to this remouing tauerne, such was our patience to obay such vile Commanders, and buy our owne provisions at 15. times the value, suffering them feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast, least we should incurre the censure of [being] factious and seditious persons: and then leakage, ship-rats, and other casuallties occasioned them losse: but the vessels and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receaue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending their prouidence for preseruing that, least they should discourage any more to come to vs. [p. 104.]

Now for all this plenty our ordynary was but meale and water, so that this great charge little releeued our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the [**53**] bitter cold frost and those defects, more then halfe of vs dyed.

I cannot deny but both *Smith* and *Skriuener* did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the maior part, that the[i]re hornes were to[o] short.

But the worst was our guilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold, such a bruit of gold, The effect of meere Verbalists.

[1608] that one mad fellow [*a wag*] desired to be buried in the sands least they should by the[i]re art make gold of his bones: little neede there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, the[i]re wages run on, our victualls consume 14. weekes, that the Mariners might say, they did helpe to build such a golden Church that we can say the raine washed neere to nothing in 14. dayes.

A needlesse charge.
[*p.* 957.]

Were it that captaine *Smith* would not applaude all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trialls nor golden consultations, I know not; but I haue heard him oft question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he could shew him a more substantiall triall, he was not inamoured with their durty skill, breathing out these and many other passions, neuer any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary busines neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much guilded durt.

A returne to *England.*
[*p.* 105.]
[*p.* 31.]
[*p.* lxxxvii.]

Till then we neuer accounted, Captaine *Newport* a refiner, who being ready to set saile for *England*, and we not hauing any vse of Parliaments, Plaies, Petitions, Admiralls, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Iustices of peace, sent [10 *April* 1608] Master *Wingfield* and Captaine *Archer* home with him, that had ingrossed all those titles, to seeke some better place of imployment.

Oh cursed gold, those hunger-starved movers,
To what misfortunes lead'st thou all those lovers!
For all the China *wealth, nor* Indies *can*
Suffice the minde of an av'ritious man.

CHAPTER IIII

The Arrivall of the Phœnix; *her returne; and other Accidents.*

The rebuilding *Iames* Towne.

THE authoritie now consisting in Captaine *Martin*, and the still sickly President [*Ratcliffe*], the sale of the Stores commodities maintained his estate, as an inheritable revenew.

The spring approaching, and the Ship departing, Master

Scrivener and Captaine *Smith* devided betwixt them the rebuilding *Iames* towne; the repairing our Pallizadoes; the cutting downe trees; preparing our fields; planting our corne, and to rebuild our Church, and re-cover our Store house. [1608] [p. 33.]

All men thus busie at their severall labours, Master *Nelson* arrived with his lost *Phœnix*; lost (I say) for that we all deemed him lost. Landing safely all his men, (so well he had mannaged his ill hap,) causing the *Indian Isles* to feede his company, that his victuall to that we had gotten, as is said before, was neare, after our allowance, sufficient for halfe a yeare. He had not any thing but he freely imparted it, which honest dealing (being a Marriner) caused vs admire him: we would not haue wished more then he did for vs. [p. 34.]

Now to relade this ship with some good tydings, the President (not holding it stood with the dignitie of his place to leaue the Fort) gaue order to Captaine *Smith* to discover and search the commodities of the *Monacans* Countrey beyond the Falls. Sixtie able men was allotted them, the which within six dayes, *Smith* had so well trained to their armes and orders, that they little feared with whom they should incounter: yet so vnseasonable was the time, and so opposit was Captaine *Martin* to any thing, but onely to fraught this ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine *Smith* rather desired to relade her with Cedar, (which was a present dispatch) then either with durt, or the hopes and reports of an vncertaine discovery, which he would performe when they had lesse charge and more leisure. [**54**]

Sixtie appointed to discover the *Monacans*. [p. 106.]

But, *The God of Heav'n, He eas'ly can*
Immortalize a mortall man,
With glory and with fame.
The same God, ev'n as eas'ly may
Afflict a mortall man, I say,
With sorrow and with shame.

Whilst the conclusion was a resolving, this hapned.

Powhatan (to expresse his loue to *Newport*) when he departed, presented him with twentie Turkies, conditionally to returne him twentie swords, which immediately was sent him.

An ill example to sell swords to Salvages. [p. 31.]

Now after his departure, he presented Captaine *Smith*

[1608] with the like luggage, but not finding his humor obeyed in not sending such weapons as he desired, he caused his people with twentie devices to obtaine them. At last by ambuscadoes at our very Ports [*gates*] they would take them perforce, surprise vs at worke, or any way; which was so long permitted, they become so insolent there was no rule: the command from *England* was so strait not to offend them, as our authoritie-bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing than peace-breakers.

The Presidents weaknesse.

[*pp.* 35–39.] This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chanced they medled with Captaine *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue them such an incounter, as some he so hunted vp and downe the Isle, some he so terrified with whipping, beating, and imprisonment; as for revenge they surprised two of our forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force *Smith* to redeliver seven Salvages, which for their villanies he detained prisoners, or we were all but dead men. But to try their furies he sallied out amongst them, and in lesse then an houre, he so hampred their insolencies, [that] they brought them his two men, desiring peace without any further composition for their prisoners. Those he examined, and caused them all beleeue, by severall vollies of shot one of their companions was shot to death, because they would not confesse their intents and plotters of those villanies.

Smiths attempt to suppresse the Salvages insolencies.

And thus they all agreed in one point, they were directed onely by *Powhatan* to obtaine him our weapons, to cut our owne throats; with the manner where, how, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant: yet he sent his messengers, and his dearest daughter *Pocahontas* [*in May* 1608] with presents to excuse him of the iniuries done by some rash vntoward Captaines his subiects, desiring their liberties for this time, with the assurance of his loue for ever.

Powhatans excuse.

[*pp.* 38, 107.]

After *Smith* had given the prisoners what correction he thought fit, vsed them well a day or two after, and then delivered them *Pocahontas*; for whose sake onely he fayned to haue saued their liues, and gaue them libertie.

[*p.* 39.]

The patient Councell that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with

Captaine *Smith* for his crueltie, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge: but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them; where before, wee had sometime peace and warre twice in a day, and very seldome a weeke but we had some trecherous villany or other. [1608]

The fraught of this Ship being concluded to be Cedar; by the diligence of the Master, and Captaine *Smith*, she was quickly reladed: Master *Scrivener* was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Fort; the Ship being ready to set sayle, Captaine *Martin* being alwayes very sickly, and vnserviceable, and desirous to inioy the credit of his supposed Art of finding the golden Mine, was most willingly admitted to returne for *England*. For

A ship fraught with Cedar.

He hath not fill'd his lapp,
That still doth hold it oap.

From the writings of *Thomas Studley* and *Anas Todkill.* [55]

[As regards *Studley*, this must be an error, for he died on 28 Aug. 1607, *p.* lxxii., and was succeeded for some time, as Cap-Merchant or Storekeeper, by Captain *J. Smith*, *p.* 9.]

Their Names that were landed in this Supply.

1608.

Mathew Scrivener appointed to be one of the Councell.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Michaell Phittiplace.		*Thomas Coe.*
William Phittiplace.		Doctor *Russell.*
Ralph Morton.		*Ieffrey Abbot.*
Richard Wyffing.		*Edward Gurgana.*
Iohn Taverner.		*Richard Worley.*
William Cantrell.		*Timothy Leeds.*
Robert Barnes.		*Richard Killingbeck.*
Richard Fetherstone.	Gent.	*William Spence.*
George Hill.		*Richard Prodger.*
George Pretty.		*Richard Pots.*
Nathaniell Causy.		*Richard Mullinax.*
Peter Pory.		*William Bayley.*
Robert Cutler.		*Francis Perkins.*
Michaell Sicklemore.		*Iohn Harper.*
William Bentley.		*George Forest.*
		Iohn Nichols.
		William Griuell.

Gent.

[Compare this List with the 1612 one, at *pp.* 107–8.]

[1608]

Labourers.

Raymond Goodison.
William Simons.
Iohn Spearman.
Richard Bristow.
William Perce.
Iames Watkins.
Iohn Bouth.
Christopher Rods.
Richard Burket.
Iames Burre.
Nicholas Ven.
Francis Perkins.
Richard Gradon.
Rawland Nelstrop.
Richard Savage.
Thomas Savage.
Richard Milmer.
William May.
Vere.
Michaell.
Bishop Wiles.

Taylers.

Thomas Hope.
William Ward.
Iohn Powell.
William Yong.
William Beckwith.
La[w]rence Towtales.

Apothecaries.

Thomas Field.
Iohn Harford.

Dani: Stallings, Ieweller.
Will: Dawson, a refiner.
Abram Ransack, a refiner.
Wil: Iohnson, a Goldsmith.
Peter Keffer, a gunsmith.
Rob: Alberton, a perfumer.
Richard Belfield, a Goldsmith.
Post Ginnat, a Chirurg[ion].
Iohn Lewes, a Cooper.
Robert Cotton, a Tobacco-pipe-maker.
Richard Dole, a Blacksmith

And divers others to the number of 120.

[p 109.]

CHAPTER V

The Accidents that hapned in the Discovery of the Bay of Chisapeack.

THe prodigalitie of the Presidents [*Ratcliffe*] state went so deepe into our small store, that *Smith* and *Scrivener* tyed him and his Parasites to the rules of proportion. But now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authoritie so overswayed the discretion of Master *Scrivener,* that our store, our time, our strength and labours were idely consumed to fulfill his phantasies.

The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the Fort to performe his Discovery with this Company.

[1608]

Walter Russell, Doctor of Physicke.		*Ionas Profit.*	Souldiers.
Ralfe Murton.	Gent.	*Anas Todkill.*	
Thomas Momford.		*Robert Small.*	
William Cantrill.		*Iames Watkins.*	
Richard Fetherston.		*Iohn Powell.*	
Iames Burne.		*Iames Read.*	
Mich[a]ell Sicklemore.		*Richard Keale.*	

These being in an open Barge neare three tuns burthen.

Leaving the *Phœnix* at Cape *Henry*, they crossed the Bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Isles called *Smiths Isles*, after our Captaines name.

The first people we saw were two grim and stout Salvages vpon Cape *Charles*, with long poles like Iauelings, headed with bone, [**56**] they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances they seemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Accomack*, the habitation of their *Werowance*, where we were kindly intreated.

This King was the comliest, proper, civill Salvage we incountred. His Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle, some small creekes; good Harbours for small Barks, but not for Ships. He told vs of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was, two children being dead; some extreame passions, or dreaming visions, phantasies, or affection moued their parents againe to revisit their dead carkases, whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This as a miracle drew many to behold them, all which, being a great part of his people, not long after dyed, and but few escaped. [*p.* 110.]

A strange mortalitie of Salvages

They spake the language of *Powhatan*, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Isles, and rivers, that often did vs exceeding pleasure.

Passing along the coast, searching every inlet, and Bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many Isles in the midst of the Bay we bore vp for them, but ere we could obtaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, rayne, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water. The highest land on the mayne, yet it was but low, we called *Keales* hill, and these vninhabited Isles, *Russels* Isles.

Russels Isles.

[1608] The next day searching them for fresh water, we could find none, the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought vs to the river of *Wighcocomoco*.

Wighcocomoco.

The people at first with great fury seemed to assault vs, yet at last with songs and daunces and much mirth became very tractable: but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes, and that such puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water. We digged and searched in many places, but before two daies were expired, we would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*.

An extreame want of fresh water.

Being past these Isles which are many in number, but all naught for habitation, falling with a high land vpon the mayne, we found a great Pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot wee supposed it some bath; that place we called poynt *Ployer*, in honor of that most honourable House of *Mousay* in *Britaine*, that in an extreame extremitie once relieued our Captaine.

[*p.* 825.]

From *Wighcocomoco* to this place, all the coast is low broken Isles of Morap, growne a myle or two in breadth, and ten or twelue in length, good to cut for hay in Summer, and to catch fish and foule in Winter: but the Land beyond them is all covered over with wood, as is the rest of the Country.

Being thus refreshed, in crossing ouer from the maine to other Isles we discouered, the winde and waters so much increased, with thunder, lightning, and raine, that our mast and sayle blew ouerbord and such mighty waues ouerracked vs in that small barge, that with great labour we kept her from sinking by freeing out the water.

[*p.* 111.]

Their Barge neare sunke in a gust.

Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these vninhabited Isles; which for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill wether we called *Limbo*.

Repairing our saile with our shirts, we set sayle for the maine and fell with a pretty convenient riuer on the East called *Cuskarawaok*; the people ran as amazed in troups from place to place, and diuers got into the tops of trees. They were not sparing of their arrowes, nor [of] the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an Anchor without the[i]re reatch making all the signes of friendship we could.

Cuskarawaock.

The next day they came vnarmed, with euery one a

basket, dancing in a ring, to draw vs on shore : but seeing there was nothing in them but villany, we discharged a volly of muskets charged with pistoll shot ; whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by ; where the[i]re companies lay in Ambuscado. Towards the euening we wayed, and approaching the shoare, discharging fiue or six shot among the reedes. We landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the riuer, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houses, in each a fire ; there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking glasses, and then went into the bay : but when it was darke we came backe againe. [1608]

Early in [**57**] the morning foure Salvages came to vs in their Canow, whom we vsed with such courtesie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, [they] hauing beene in the bay a fishing ; [who] bade vs stay and ere long they would returne, which they did and some twentie more with them : with whom after a little conference, two or three thousand men women and children came clustring about vs, euery one presenting vs with something, which a little bead would so well requite, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch vs water, stay with vs for hostage, conduct our men any whither, and giue vs the best content.

Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh*, *Nause*, *Arseek*, and *Nantaquak* the best Marchants of all other Salvages.

The first notice of the *Massawomeks*.

They much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes*, in search of whom we returned by *Limbo :* this riuer but onely at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of small stature as them of *Wightcocomoco*, the Land but low, yet it may proue very commodious, because it is but a ridge of land betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean. Finding this Easterne shore, [to be] shallow broken Isles, and for most part without fresh water ; we passed by the straites of *Limbo* for the Westerne shore : so broad is the bay here, we could scarce perceiue the great high clifts on the other side : by them we Anchored that night and called them *Riccards Cliftes*.

30. leagues we sayled more Northwards not finding any inhabitants, leauing all the Easterne shore, lowe Islandes, but ouergrowne with wood, as all the Coast beyond

[1608] them so farre as wee could see: the Westerne shore by which we sayled we found all along well watered, but very mountanous and barren, the vallies very fertill, but extreame thicke of small wood so well as trees, and much frequented with Wolues, Beares, Deere and other wild beasts.

Bolus Riuer. We passed many shallow creekes, but the first we found Nauigable for a ship, we called *Bolus*, for that the clay in many places vnder the clifts by the high water marke, did grow vp in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in some places so participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the coulour, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy grauell, which made vs thinke it *Bole-Armoniack* and *Terra sigillata.*

When we first set sayle some of our Gallants doubted nothing but that our Captaine would make too much hast[e] home, but hauing lien in this small barge not aboue 12. or 14. dayes, oft tyred at the Oares, our bread spoyled with wet so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could disgest it) they did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner [*about* 14 *June* 1608].

Smiths speech to his souldiers. *Gentlemen if you would remember the memorable history of Sir* Ralph Layne, *how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of* Moratico, *alleadging they had yet a dog, that being boyled with Saxafras leaues, would richly feede them in their returnes; then what a shame would it be for you (that haue bin so suspitious of my tendernesse) to force me returne, with so much provision as we haue, and scarce able to say where we haue beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seeke? You cannot say but I haue shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatsoeuer, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust; abandon these childish feares, for worse then is past is not likely to happen: and there is as much danger to returne as to proceede. Regaine therefore your old spirits, for returne I will not (if God please) till I haue seene the* Massawomeks, *found* Patawomek, *or the head of this water you conceit to be endlesse.*

[*p.* 314.]

[*p.* 112.]

Two or 3. dayes we expected [*experienced*] winde and wether, whose aduerse extremities added such discouragement, that three or foure fell sicke, whose pittifull complaints caused vs to to returne, leauing the bay some nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadome water. [1608]

The 16. of *Iune* [1608], we fell with the riuer *Patowomek*: feare being gone, and our men recovered, we were all content to take some paines, to know the name of that seuen mile broad riuer. For thirtie myles sayle, we could see no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two Savages vp a little bayed creeke, towards *Onawmanient*, where all the woods were layd with ambuscado's to the number of three or foure thousand Salvages, so strangely paynted, grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying [**58**] as so many spirits from hell could not haue shewed more terrible. The discouery of *Patawomek*. Ambuscadoes of Salvages.

Many brauado's they made, but to appease their fury, our Captaine prepared with as seeming a willingnesse (as they) to incounter them. But the grazing of our bullets vpon the water (many being shot on purpose they might see them) with the Ecc[h]o of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their bowes and arrowes; (and exchanging hostage) *Iames Watkins* was sent six myles vp the woods to their Kings habitation. We were kindly vsed of those Salvages, of whom we vnderstood, they were commanded to betray vs, by the direction of *Powhatan*; and he so directed from the discontents [*discontented*] at *Iames* towne, because our Captaine did cause them stay in their country against their wills. A trecherous proiect

The like incounters we found at *Patowomek*, *Cecocawonee* and diuers other places: but at *Moyaones*, *Nacotchtant* and *Toags* the people did their best to content vs. [*p.* 113.]

Hauing gone so high as we could with the bo[a]te, we met diuers Saluages in Canowes, well loaden with the flesh of Beares, Deere and other beasts; whereof we had part. Here we found mighty Rocks, growing in some places aboue the grownd as high as the shrubby trees, and diuers other solid quarries of diuers tinctures: and diuers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tinctured spangled skurfe, that made many bare places seeme as guilded. Digging the grown[d]e aboue in the highest clifts of rocks, we saw it was a claie sand so

[1608] mingled with yeallow spangles as if it had beene halfe pindust.

In our returne inquiring still for this *Matchqueon*, the king of *Patawomeke* gaue vs guides to conduct vs vp a little riuer called *Quiyough*, vp which we rowed so high as we could [*p.* 424]. Leauing the bo[a]te ; with six shot and diuers Salvages, he marched seuen or eight myle before they came to the mine : leading his hostages in a small chaine they were to haue for their paines, being proud so richly to be adorned.

A myne like *Antimony.* The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like *Antimony* ; wherein they digged a great hole with shells and hatchets : and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of *Christal*-like water, where they wash away the drosse and keepe the remainder, which they put in little baggs and sell it all ouer the country to paint the[i]re bodyes, faces, or Idols ; which makes them looke like Blackmores dusted over with siluer. With so much as we could carry we returned to our bo[a]te, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people.

The cause of this discovery was to search [for] this mine, of which *Newport* did assure vs that those small baggs (we had giuen him), in *England* he had tryed to hold halfe siluer ; but all we got proued of no value : also to search what furrs, the best whereof is at *Cuscarawaoke*, where is made so much *Rawranoke* or white beads that occasion as much dissention among the Salvages, as gold and siluer amongst Christians ; and what other mineralls, riuers, rocks, nations, woods, fishings, fruites, victuall, and what other commodities the land afforded : and whether the bay were endlesse or how farre it extended.

Of mines we were all ignorant, but a few Beuers, Otters, Beares, Martins and minkes [skins] we found, and in diuers places that aboundance of fish, lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driuing amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan : but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with : neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for smal fish, had any of vs euer seene in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying pans. Some small codd also we did see swim close by the shore by *Smiths* Iles, and some as high as

An aboundant plenty of fish.

Riccards Clifts. And some we haue found dead vpon the shore. [1608]

To express all our quarrels, trecheries and incounters amongst those Salvages I should be too tedious: but in breefe, at all times we so incountred them, and curbed their insolencies, that they concluded with presents to purchase peace; yet we lost not a man: at our first meeting our Captaine euer observed this order, to demand their bowes and arrowes, swordes, mantells and furrs, with some childe or two for hostage, whereby we could quickly perceiue, when they intended any villany. [p. 113.] How to deale with the Salvages.

Hauing finished this discouery (though our victuall was neere spent) he intended to see his imprisonment-acquaintances vpon the riuer of *Rapahanock*, by [**59**] many called *Toppahanock*, but our bo[a]te by reason of the ebbe, chansing to grownd vpon a many shoules lying in the entrances, we spyed many fishes lurking in the reedes: our Captaine sporting himselfe by nayling them to the grownd with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner: thus we tooke more in one houre then we could eate in a day.

But it chansed our Captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a ryding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she strucke into the wrest of his arme neere an inch and a halfe: no bloud nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swolen his hand, arme and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded [*anticipated*] his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Island by, as himselfe directed: yet it pleased God by a precious oyle Docter *Russell* at the first applyed to it when he sounded it with probe, (ere night) his tormenting paine was so well asswaged that he eate of the fish to his supper, which gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs then ease to himselfe. For which we called the Island *Stingray* Isle after the name of the fish. [p. 114.] Captaine *Smith* neare killed with a *Stingray*.

Hauing neither Chirurgian nor Chirurgery but that preseruatiue oyle, we presently set sayles for *Iames* towne, passing the mouthes of the riuers of *Payankatank*, and *Pamavnkee*, the next day we safely arriued at *Kecougtan*.

[1608] The Salvages affrighted with their owne suspition.

The simple Salvages seeing our Captaine hurt, and an other bloudy by breaking his shinne, our numbers of bowes, arrowes, swords, mantles, and furrs, would needes imagine we had beene at warres (the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them) but impatiently importuned vs to know with whom. Finding their aptnesse to beleeue, we fayled not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle we had got and made of the *Massawomeks.* This rumor went faster vp the river then our Barge, that arrived at *Waraskoyack* the 20 of Iuly; where trimming her with painted streamers, and such devises as we could, we made them at *Iames* towne iealous of a Spanish Frigot, where we all, God be thanked, safely arrived the 21 of Iuly.

Needlesse misery at *Iames* towne.

There we found the last Supply were all sicke; the rest some lame, some bruised: all vnable to doe any thing but complaine of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse crueltie of the silly President, that had riotously consumed the store: and to fulfill his follies about building him an vnnecessary building for his pleasure in the woods, had brought them all to that misery; that had we not arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge.

[*p.* 115.] But the good newes of our Discovery, and the good hope we had by the Salvages relation, that our Bay had stretched into the South Sea, or somewhat neare it, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* should be deposed, and that Captaine *Smith* would take vpon him the government, as by course it did belong.

Their request being effected, he substituted Master *Scrivener* his deare friend in the Presidency, equally distributing those private provisions the other [*Ratcliffe*] had ingrossed, appointing more honest officers to assist master *Scrivener* (who then lay exceeding sicke of a Callenture): and in regard of the weaknesse of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease, to recover their healths; but imbarked himselfe to finish his Discovery.

Written by Walter Russell, Anas Todkill, *and* Thomas Mumford.

CHAPTER VI.

The Government surrendred to Master Scrivener.

What happened the second Voyage in discovering the Bay.

THE 24 of Iuly [1608], Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery with twelue men: their names were [**60**] [1608] [*p.* 116.]

Nathaniell Powell.	Gentlemen.	*Ionas Profit.*
Thomas Momford.		*Anas Todkill.*
Richard Fetherston.		*Edward Pising.*
Mich[a]ell Sicklemore.		*Richard Keale.*
Iames Bourne.		*Iames Watkins.*
Anthony Bagnall, Chir.		*William Ward.*

Souldiers.

The wind being contrary, caused our stay two or three days at *Kecoughtan*: the King feasted vs with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged of the *Massawomeks*. In the evening we fired a few rackets, which flying in the ayre so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing vnpossible we attempted; and desired to assist vs.

The Salvages admire fireworkes.

The first night we anchored at *Stingray* Isle. The next day crossed *Patawomeks* river, and hasted to the river *Bolus*.

We went not much further before we might see the Bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided in foure, all which we searched so farre as we could sayle them.

Two of them we found [vn]inhabited, but in crossing the Bay, we incountred 7 or 8 Canowes full of *Massawomeks*. [*p.* 117.]

We seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our Oares and made way with our sayle to incounter them, yet were we but fiue with our Captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death, vntill they were seasoned to the Country. Having shut them vnder our Tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the Barges side, and

An Incounter with the *Massawomeks* at the head of the Bay.

[1608] betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make vs seeme many: and so we thinke the *Indians* supposed those hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sayling of our barge till we anchored right against them.

Long it was ere we could draw them to come vnto vs. At last they sent two of their company vnarmed in a Canow, the rest all followed to second them if neede required. These two being but each presented with a bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, presenting our Captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets, and beares-skinnes.

We vndertood them nothing at all, but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs they had beene at warres with the *Tockwoghes*, the which they confirmed by shewing vs their greene wounds.

But the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete; but after that we never saw them.

An Incounter with the *Tockwhoghs.*

Entring the river of *Tockwogh*, the Salvages all armed, in a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed us; so it chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw vs furnished with the *Massawomeks* weapons, and we faining the invention of *Kecoughtan*, to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with scaffolds like mounts, brested about with brests very formally. Their men, women, and children with daunces, songs, fruits, furres, and what they had, kindly welcommed vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, [and] stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

[*p.* 118.]

Hatchets from the *Sasquesahanocks.*

Many hatchets, kniues, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanocks*, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the *Massawomeks*.

The *Sasquesahanocks* inhabit vpon the chiefe Spring of these foure branches of the Bayes head, two dayes iourney higher then our barge could passe for rocks; yet we prevailed with the Interpreter to take with him another Interpreter, to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come visit vs, for their language[s] are different.

Three or foure dayes we expected their returne, then sixtie of those gyant-like people came downe, with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes three foot in length, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Fiue of their chiefe *Werowances* came boldly aboord vs to crosse the Bay for *Tockwhogh*, leaving their men and Canowes; the wind being so high they durst not passe. [1608]

Our order was daily to haue Prayer, with a Psalme; at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondred, our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in a most passionate [**61**] manner to hold vp their hands to the Sunne, with a most fearefull song, then imbracing our Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner; though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished: which done [one] with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce, began an Oration of their loues.

That ended, with a great painted Beares skin they covered him: then one ready with a great chayne of white Beads, weighing at least six or seaven pound, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together; all these with many other toyes they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his Creation to be their Governour and Protector, promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomeks*. The *Sasquesahanocks* offer to the *English*.

But we left them at *Tockwhogh*, sorrowing for our departure; yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them.

Many descriptions and discourses they made vs, of *Atquanachuck*, *Massawomek*, and other people, signifying they inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we vnderstood to be some great lake, or the river of *Canada*: and from the French to haue their hatchets and Commodities by trade. These know no more of the territories of *Powhatan*, then his name, and he as little of them: but the *Atquanachuks* are on the Ocean Sea. [*p.* 119.]

The highest mountaine we saw Northward wee called *Perigrines* mount, and a rocky river, where the *Massawomeks* went vp, *Willowbyes* river, in honor of the towne our Captaine was borne in, and that honorable house the

[1608] Lord *Willowby*, his most honored good friend. The *Sasquesahanocks* river we called *Smiths* falles; the next poynt to *Tockwhogh*, *Pisings* poynt; the next [to] it poynt *Bourne*. *Powells* Isles and *Smals* poynt is by the river *Bolus*; and the little Bay at the head *Profits* poole; *Watkins*, *Reads*, and *Momfords* poynts are on each side *Limbo*; *Ward*, *Cantrell*, and *Sicklemore* [points], betwixt *Patawomek* and *Pamavnkee*, after the names of the discoverers.

In all those places and the furthest we came vp the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes: and in some places crosses of brasse, to signifie to any, Englishmen had beene there.

Pawtuxunt, R. [*p.* 119.] Thus having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt*; these people we found very tractable, and more civill then any: we promised them, as also the *Patawomeks* to revenge them of the *Massawomeks*, but our purposes were crossed.

Rapahanock, R. In the discovery of this river [that] some call *Rapahanock*, we were kindly entertained by the people of *Moraughtacund*.

The exceeding loue of the Salvage *Mosco*. Here we incountered our old friend *Mosco*, a lusty Salvage of *Wighcocomoco* vpon the river of *Patawomek*. We supposed him some *French* mans sonne, because he had a thicke blacke bush beard, and the Salvages seldome haue any at all; of which he was not a little proud, to see so many of his Countrymen. Wood and water he would fetch vs, guide vs any whether, nay, cause divers of his Countrymen helpe vs [to] towe against winde or tyde from place to place till we came to *Patawomek*: there he rested till we returned from the head of the river, and occasioned our conduct to the mine we supposed *Antimony* [*p.* 418].

And in the place he fayled not to doe vs all the good he could, perswading vs in any case not to goe to the *Rapahanocks*, for they would kill vs for being friends with the *Moraughtacunds* that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women.

This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely haue our trade: so we crossed the river to the *Rapahanocks*. [*pp.* 119, 419, 426.] There some 12 or 16 standing on the shore, directed vs [to] a little Creeke where was good landing, and Commodities for vs in three or foure Canowes we saw lie there: but according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man in signe of

Our fight with the *Rapahanocks*.

loue; which after they had a little consulted, foure or fiue [1608]
came vp to the middles, to fetch our man, and leaue vs one of them, shewing we need not feare them, for they had neither clubs, bowes, nor arrowes. Notwithstanding, *Anas Todkill*, being sent on shore to see if he could discover any Ambuscadces, or what they had, desired to goe over the playne to fetch some wood; but they were vnwilling, except we would come into the Creeke, where the boat might come close ashore. *Todkill* by degrees [**62**] having got some two stones throwes vp the playne, perceived two or three hundred men (as he thought) behind the trees; so that offering to returne to the Boat, the Salvages assayed to carry him away perforce, that he called to vs we were betrayed: and by that he had spoke the word, our hostage was over-boord, but *Watkins* his keeper slew him in the water. Immediatly we let fly amongst them, so that they fled, and *Todkill* escaped; yet they shot so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the boat.

Here the *Massawomek* Targets stood vs in good stead, for vpon *Mosco's* words, we had set them about the forepart of our Boat like a forecastle; from whence we securely beat the Salvages from off the plaine without any hurt: yet they shot more then a thousand Arrowes, and then fled into the woods. Arming our selues with these light Targets (which are made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our Cloth, but so firmely that no arrow can possibly pierce them:) we rescued *Todkill*; who was all bloudy by [*from*] some of them who were shot by vs that held him, but as God pleased he had no hurt: and following them vp to the woods, we found some slaine, and in divers places much bloud. It seems all their arrowes were spent, for we heard no more of them.

Their Canows we tooke; the arrowes we found we broke, saue them we kept for *Mosco*, to whom we gaue the Canowes for his kindnesse, that entertained vs in the best trivmphing manner, and warlike order in armes of conquest he could procure of the *Moraughtacunds*. The rest of the day we spent in accomodating our Boat, in stead of thoules wee made stickes like Bedstaues, to which we fastened so many of our *Massawomek* Targets, that invironed her as wa[i]st clothes.

[1608] The next morning we went vp the river, and our friend *Mosco* followed vs along the shore, and at last desired to goe with vs in our Boat. But as we passed by *Pisacack*, *Matchopeak*, and *Mecuppom*, three Townes situated vpon high white clay clifts; the other side all a low playne marish, and the river there but narrow. Thirtie or fortie of the *Rapahanocks* had so accommodated themselues with branches, as we tooke them for little bushes growing among the sedge, till seeing their arrowes strike the Targets, and dropped in the river: whereat *Mosco* fell flat in the Boat on his face, crying the *Rapahanocks*, which presently we espied to be the bushes, which at our first volley fell downe in the sedge: when wee were neare halfe a myle from them, they shewed themselues dauncing and singing very merrily.

[*pp.* 119, 419, 424.]

The Salvages disguised like bushes fight.

The Kings of *Pissassack*, *Nandtaughtacund*, and *Cuttatawomen*, vsed vs kindly, and all their people neglected not any thing to *Mosco* to bring vs to them.

Betwixt *Secobeck* and *Massawteck* is a small Isle or two, which causeth the river to be broader then ordinary; there it pleased God to take one of our Company called Master *Fetherstone*, that all the time he had beene in this Country, had behaved himselfe, honestly, valiantly, and industriously; where in a little Bay we called *Fetherstones* Bay wee buryed him with a volley of shot: the rest notwithstanding their ill dyet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers, never resting, but alwayes tossed to and againe, had all well recovered their healths.

[*p.* 119.]

The next day wee sayled so high as our Boat would float; there setting vp crosses, and graving our names in the trees. Our Sentinell saw an arrow fall by him; though we had ranged vp and downe more then an houre, in digging in the earth, looking of stones, herbs, and springs, not seeing where a Salvage could well hide himselfe.

Our fight with the *Manahaacks*.

Vpon the alarum, by that we had recovered our armes, there was about an hundred nimble *Indians* skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows so fast as they could: the trees here served vs for Baricadoes as well as they. But *Mosco* did vs more service then we expected; for having shot away his quiver of Arrowes, he ran to the Boat for more. The Arrowes of *Mosco* at the first made them pause vpon the matter, thinking by his bruit and

skipping, there were many Salvages. About halfe an houre this continued, then they all vanished as suddainly as they approached. *Mosco* followed them so farre as he could see vs, till they were out of sight. As we returned there lay a Salvage as dead, shot in the knee; but taking him vp we found he had [**63**] life: which *Mosco* seeing, never was Dog more furious against a Beare, then *Mosco* was to haue beat out his braines. So we had him to our Boat, where our Chirurgian [*A. Bagnall*] who went with vs to cure our Captaines hurt of the *Stingray*, so dressed this Salvage that within an houre after he looked somewhat chearefully, and did eate and speake. In the meane time we contented *Mosco* in helping him to gather vp their arrowes, which were an armefull; whereof he gloried not a little. [1608]

A Salvage shot and taken prisoner.

Then we desired *Mosco* to know what he was, and what Countries were beyond the mountaines; the poore Salvage mildly answered, he and all with him were of *Hassininga*, where there are three Kings more, like vnto them, namely the King of *Stegora*, the King of *Tauxuntania*, and the King of *Shakahonea*, that were come to *Mohaskahod*, which is onely a hunting Towne, and the bounds betwixt the Kingdome of the *Mannahocks* and the *Nandtaughtacunds*, but hard by where we were.

We demanded why they came in that manner to betray vs, that came to them in peace, and to seeke their loues; he answered, they heard we were a people come from vnder the world, to take their world from them.

We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was vnder the skie that covered him, which were the *Powhatans*, with the *Monacans* and the *Massawomeks* that were higher vp in the mountaines.

His relation of their countries.

Then we asked him what was beyond the mountaines, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing; *because the woods were not burnt.

* They cannot trauell but where the woods are burnt.

These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the *Massawomeks*, the *Monacans*, their owne Country, and where were the Kings of *Stegora*, *Tauxsintania*, and the rest. The *Monacans* he sayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, liuing vpon rootes and fruits, but chiefly

[1608] by hunting. The *Massawomeks* did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world. For their Kings, they were gone every one a severall way with their men on hunting. But those with him came thither a fishing till they saw vs, notwithstanding they would be al[l] together at night at *Mahaskahod.*

For his relation we gaue him many toyes, with perswasions to goe with vs: and he as earnestly desired vs to stay the comming of those Kings that for his good vsage should be friends with vs, for he was brother to *Hassininga.* But *Mosco* advised vs presently to be gone, for they were all naught; yet we told him we would not till it was night. All things we made ready to entertain what came, and *Mosco* was as diligent in trimming his arrowes.

The night being come we all imbarked; for the riuer was so narrow, had it beene light the land on the one side was so high, they might haue done vs exceeding much mischiefe. All this while the K[ing]. of *Hassininga* was seeking the rest, and had consultation a good time what to doe. But by their espies seeing we were gone, it was not long before we heard their arrowes dropping on every side the Boat; we caused our Salvages to call vnto them, but such a yelling and hallowing they made that they heard nothing, but now and then [we shot off] a peece, ayming so neare as we could where we heard the most voyces. More then 12 myles they followed vs in this manner; then the day appearing, we found our selues in a broad Bay, out of danger of their shot, where wee came to an anchor, and fell to breakfast. Not so much as speaking to them till the Sunne was risen.

Being well refreshed, we vntyed our Targets that couered vs as a Deck, and all shewed our selues with those shields on our armes, and swords in our hands, and also our prisoner *Amoroleck.* A long discourse there was betwixt his Countrimen and him, how good wee were, how well wee vsed him, how wee had a *Patawomek* with vs, [who] loued vs as his life, that would haue slaine him had we not preserued him, and that he should haue his libertie would they be but friends; and to doe vs any hurt it was impossible.

[1608]

Vpon this they all hung their Bowes and Quivers vpon the trees, and one came swimming aboord vs with a Bow tyed on his head, and another with a Quiver of Arrowes, which they deliuered our Captaine as a present: the Captaine hauing vsed them so kindly as he could, told them the other three Kings should doe the like, and then the great King of our world should be their friend; whose men we were. It was no sooner demanded but performed, so [**64**] vpon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and receiued *Amoroleck*: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to giue vs, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities. And so we left foure or fiue hundred of our merry *Mannahocks*, singing, dauncing, and making merry, and set sayle for *Moraughtacund*.

How we concluded peace with the foure kings of *Monahoke*.

In our returnes we visited all our friends, that reioyced much at our Victory against the *Mannahocks*, who many times had Warres also with them, but now they were friends; and desired we would be friends with the *Rapahanocks*, as we were with the *Mannahocks*. Our Captaine told them, they had twise assaulted him that came onely in loue to doe them good, and therefore he would now burne all their houses, destroy their corne, and for euer hold them his enemies, till they made him satisfaction. They desired to know what that should be. He told them they should present him the Kings Bow and Arrowes, and not offer to come armed where he was; that they should be friends with the *Moraughtacunds* his friends and giue him their Kings sonne in pledge to performe it; and then all King *Iames* his men should be their friends. Vpon this they presently sent to the *Rapahanocks* to meete him at the place where they first fought, where would be the Kings of *Nantautacund* and *Pissassac*: which according to their promise were there so soone as we; where *Rapahanock* presented his Bow and Arrowes, and confirmed all we desired, except his sonne, having no more but him he could not liue without him, but in stead of his sonne he would giue him the three women *Moraughtacund* had

How we became friends with the *Rapahanocks*.

[1608] stolne. This was accepted: and so in three or foure Canowes, so many as could went with vs to *Moraughtacund*, where *Mosco* made them such relations, and gaue to his friends so many Bowes and Arrowes, that they no lesse loued him then admired vs. The 3 women were brought our Captaine, to each he gaue a chayne of Beads: and then causing *Moraughtacund*, *Mosco*, and *Rapahanock* stand before him, bid *Rapahanock* take her he loued best, and *Moraughtacund* chuse next, and to *Mosco* he gaue the third. Vpon this, away went their Canowes over the water, to fetch their venison, and all the provision they could; and they that wanted Boats swam over the river. The darke [*darkness*] commanded vs then to rest.

The next day there was of men, women, and children, as we coniectured, six or seauen hundred, dauncing, and singing; and not a Bow nor Arrow seene amongst them. *Mosco* changed his name *Vttasantasough*, which we interpret *Stranger*, for so they call vs. All promising ever to be our friends, and to plant Corne purposely for vs; and we to provide hatchets, beads, and copper for them, we departed: giuing them a Volley of shot, and they vs as loud shouts and cryes as their strengths could vtter.

The discovery of *Payankatank*. [*p.* 119.]

That night we anchored in the river of *Payankatank*, and discovered it so high as it was navigable; but the people were most[ly] a hunting, saue a few old men, women, and children, that were tending their corne: of which they promised vs part when we would fetch it, as had done all the Nations where ever we had yet beene.

In a fayre calme, rowing towards poynt *Comfort*, we anchored in *Gosnolls* Bay, but such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night with thunder and rayne, that we never thought more to haue seene *Iames* Towne. Yet running before the wind, we sometimes saw the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely we kept from the splitting shore, vntill it pleased God in that blacke darknesse to preserue vs by that light to finde poynt *Comfort*.

There refreshing our selues, because we had onely but heard of the *Chisapeacks* and *Nandsamunds*, we thought it as fit to know all our neighbours neare home, as so many Nations abroad. So setting sayle for the Southerne shore, we sayled vp a narrow river vp the

country of *Chisapeack*; it hath a good channell, but many shoules about the entrance. By that we had sayled six or seauen myles, we saw two or three little garden plots with their houses, the shores overgrowne with the greatest Pyne and Firre trees wee ever saw in the Country. But not seeing nor hearing any people, and the riuer very narrow, we returned to the great riuer, to see if we could finde any of them. Coasting [**65**] the shore towards *Nandsamund*, which is most[ly] Oyster-bankes; at the mouth of that riuer, we espied six or seauen Salvages making their wires [*weirs*], who presently fled: ashore we went, and where they wrought we threw diuers toyes, and so departed. Farre we were not gone ere they came againe, and began to sing, and daunce, and recall vs: and thus we began our first acquaintance. At last one of them desired vs to goe to his house vp that riuer; into our Boat voluntarily he came, the rest ran after vs by the shore with all shew of loue that could be. Seauen or eight myles we sayled vp this narrow riuer: at last on the Westerne shore we saw large Cornefields, in the midst a little Isle, and in it was abundance of Corne. The people he told vs were all a hunting, but in the Isle was his house, to which he inuited vs with much kindnesse: to him, his wife, and children, we gaue such things as they seemed much contented them. The others being come, desired vs also to goe but a little higher to see their houses: here our host left vs, the rest rowed by vs in a Canow, till we were so far past the Isle the riuer became very narrow. [1608]

A notable treachery of the *Nandsamunds.*

Here we desired some of them to come abord vs, wherat pausing a little, they told vs they would but fetch their bows and arrowes and goe all with vs: but being a shore and thus armed, they perswaded vs to goe forward, but we could neither perswade them into their Canow, nor into our Boat. This gaue vs cause to prouide for the worst. Farre we went not ere seauen or eight Canowes full of men armed appeared following vs, staying to see the conclusion. Presently from each side the riuer came arrowes so fast as two or three hundred could shoot them, whereat we returned to get the open. They in the Canowes let fly also as fast; but amongst them we bestowed so many shot; the most of them leaped overboord and swam ashore, but two

The fight with the *Chisapeacks* and *Nandsamunds.*

[1608] or three escaped by rowing. Being against their playnes: our Muskets they found shot further then their Bowes, for wee made not twentie shot ere they all retyred behind the next trees. Being thus got out of their trap, we seised on all their Canowes, and moored them in the midst of the open. More then an hundred arrowes stucke in our Targets, and about the boat; yet none hurt, onely *Anthony Bagnall* was shot in his Hat, and another in his sleeue. But seeing their multitudes, and suspecting as it was, that both the *Nandsamunds*, and the *Chisapeacks* were together; we thought it best to ryde by their Canowes a while, to bethinke if it were better to burne all in the Isle, or draw them to composition till we were prouided to take all they had, which was sufficient to feed all our *Colony*: but to burne the Isle at night it was concluded.

How they became friends.

In the interim we began to cut in peeces their Canowes, and they presently to lay downe their bowes, making signes of peace. Peace we told them we would accept it, would they bring vs their Kings bowes and arrowes, with a chayne of pearle; and when we came againe giue vs foure hundred baskets full of Corne: otherwise we would breake all their boats, and burne their houses, and corne, and all they had. To performe all this they alledged onely the want of a Canow; so we put one a drift and bad them swim to fetch her: and till they performed their promise, wee would but onely breake their Canowes. They cryed to vs to doe no more, all should be as we would: which presently they performed. Away went their bowes and arrowes, and tagge and ragge came with their baskets: so much as we could carry we tooke, and so departing good friends, we returned to *Iames* Towne, where we safely arrived the 7. of September, 1608.

The proceeding at *Iames* Towne.

There we found Master *Scrivener*, and divers others well recovered: many dead; some sicke: the late President [*Ratcliffe*] [a] prisoner for mutiny: by the honest diligence of Master *Scrivener*, the haruest gathered; but the provision in the store much spoyled with rayne.

Thus was that summer (when little wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the gouernment of Captaine *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*) but onely this discovery; [*p.* 120.] wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and in-

counters this small number passed in that small Barge, [1608]
by the scale of proportion, about three thousand myles, with such watery dyet in those great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious or partiall being a partie. [**66**]

But to this place to come who will adventure,
with iudgements guide and reason how to enter:
Finds in this worlds broad sea, with winde and tyde,
Ther's safer sayle then any where beside.
But 'cause to wanton novices it is
A Province full of fearefulnesse I wiss;
Into the great vast deepe to venter out:
Those shallow rivers let them coast about.
And by a small Boat learne there first, and marke,
How they may come to make a greater Barke.

Written by *Anthony Bagnall, Nathanaell Powell,* and *Anas Todkill.*

CHAPTER VII. [p. 121.]

The Presidency surrendred to Captaine Smith: *the Arrivall and returne of the second Supply. And what happened.*

THe tenth of September, by the Election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Captaine *Smith* receiued the Letters Patents: which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he was often importuned therevnto.

Now the building of *Rat[c]liffes* Pallace stayed, as a thing needlesse; the Church was repaired; the Store-house recouered; buildings prepared for the Supplyes we expected; the Fort reduced to a fiue-square forme; the order of the Watch renewed; the squadrons (each setting of the Watch) trained; the whole Company euery Saturday

[1608] exercised, in the plaine by the west Bulwarke, prepared for that purpose, we called *Smithfield*: where sometimes more then an hundred Salvages would stand in an amazement to behold, how a fyle would batter a tree, where he would make them a marke to shoot at; the boats trimmed for trade, which being sent out with Lieutenant *Percy*, in their Iourney incountred [? *Oct.* 1608] the second Supply, that brought them backe to discover the Country of *Monacan*.

How or why Captaine *Newport* obtained such a private Commission, as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South sea, or one of the lost company sent out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I know not; nor why he brought such a fiue peeced Barge, not to beare vs to that South sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines, which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne.

Powhatans scorne when his courtesie was most deserved. [*p.* 122.]

As for the Coronation of *Powhatan*, and his presents of Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, Clothes, and such costly nouelties, they had beene much better well spared then so ill spent, for wee had his favour much better onely for a playne peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting, made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all.

As for the hyring of the *Poles* and *Dutch* men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles, and Sope ashes, when the Country is replenished with people, and necessaries, would haue done well: but to send them and seauentie more without victualls to worke, was not so well aduised nor considered of, as it should haue beene. Yet this could not haue hurt vs had they beene 200. though then we were 130 that wanted for our selues. For we had the Salvages in that *decorum* (their harvest being newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuals for 500.

No better way to overthrow the busines then by our instructors.

Now was there no way to make vs miserable, but to neglect that time to make prouision whilst it was to be had, the which was done by the direction from *England* to performe this strange discovery, but a more strange Coronation, to loose that time, spend that victualls we had, tyre and starue our men, hauing no meanes to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or sicke, but on their owne backes. How or by whom they were inuented I know not.

But Captaine *Newport* we onely accounted the Author, who

to effect these proiects, had so guilded mens hopes with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution [**67**] for the most part. God doth know they little knew what they did, nor vnderstood their owne estates to conclude his conclusions, against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President [*Smith*] alledged. [1608]

Of this Supply there was added to the Councell, one Captaine *Richard Waldo*, and Captaine *Wynne*, two auncient Souldiers, and valiant Gentlemen; but yet ignorant of the busines, (being but newly arriued.) *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* was also permitted to haue his voyce, and Master *Scrivener*, desirous to see strange Countries: so that although *Smith* was President, yet the Maior part of the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed. A consultation, where all the Councell was against the President.

As for clearing *Smiths* obiections, how Pitch and Tarre, Wainscot, Clapbord, Glasse, and Sope ashes, could be provided, to relade the ship: or provision got to liue withall, when none was in the Country; and that we had, spent, before the ship departed to effect these projects. The answer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertooke to fraught the Pinnace of twentie tunnes with Corne in going and returning in his Discovery, and to refraught her againe from *Werowocomoco* of *Powhatan*. Also promising a great proportion of victualls from the Ship; inferring that *Smiths* propositions were onely devices to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie he had vsed to the Salvages might well be the occasion to hinder these Designes, and seeke revenge on him. For which taxation, all workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for *Newports* guard in this Discovery. [*p.* 123.]

But Captaine *Smith* to make cleare all those seeming suspitions, that the Salvages were not so desperate as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing (since by their authoritie they would haue it so) he was to assist them what he could, because the Coronation would consume much time, he vndertooke himselfe their message to *Powhatan*, to intreat him to come to *Iames* Towne to receiue his presents.

And where *Newport* durst not goe with lesse then 120. he onely tooke with him Captaine *Waldo*, Master *Andrew* Captaine *Smith* goeth with 4. to

[1608] *Buckler, Edward Brinton,* and *Samuel Collier*: with these foure he went over land to *Werowocomoco*, some 12 myles; there he passed the river of *Pamavnkee* in a Salvage Canow.

Powhatan, when *Newport* feared with 120.

Powhatan being 30 myles of[f], was presently sent for: in the meane time, *Pocahontas* and her women entertained Captaine *Smith* in this manner.

In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting vpon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the [five] English betooke themselues to their armes, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently *Pocahontas* came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended; and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter.

A *Virginia* Maske.

Then presently they were presented with this anticke; thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few greene leaues, their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing, their leader [? *Pocahontas*] had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-sticke; all horned alike: the rest every one with their severall devises.

These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing [*p.* 124.] from among the trees, cast themselues in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and solemnly againe to sing and daunce; having spent neare an houre in this Mascarado, as they entred, in like manner they departed.

The Womens entertainement.

Having reaccommodated themselues, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, Loue you not me? loue you not me?

This saluation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the Salvage dainties they could devise: some attending, others singing and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended, with fire-brands in stead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging.

Thus did they shew their feats of armes, and others art in dauncing: [1608]
Some other vs'd there oaten pipe, and others voyces chanting. [68]

Captaine *Smiths* message.

The next day came *Powhatan*. *Smith* delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him *Namontack* he had sent for *England*; desiring him to come to his Father *Newport*, to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the *Monacans*.

Wherevnto this subtile Savage thus replied.

Powhatans answer.

If your King haue sent me Presents, I also am a King, and this is my land: eight dayes I will stay to receiue them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a bait: as for the Monacans *I can revenge my owne iniuries, and as for* Atquanachuk, *where you say your brother was slaine, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it; but for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the Relations you haue had from my people are false.*

Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those Regions.

Many other discourses they had (yet both content to giue each other content in complementall Courtesies) and so Captaine *Smith* returned with this Answer.

Powhatans Coronation. [*p.* 125.]

Vpon this, the Presents were sent by water which is neare an hundred myles, and the Captains went by land with fiftie good shot.

All being met at *Werowocomoco*, the next day was appointed for his Coronation, then the presents were brought him, his Bason and Ewer, Bed and furniture set vp, his scarlet Cloke and apparell with much adoe put on him, being perswaded by *Namontack* they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his Crowne, he neither knowing the maiesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the crowne in their hands put it on his head, when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembring himselfe, to

[1608] congratulate their kindnesse, he gaue his old shooes and his mantell to Captaine *Newport.*

But perceiving his purpose was to discover the *Monacans*, he laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides more then *Namontack*; and so after some small complementall kindnesse on both sides, in requitall of his presents he presented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares that might containe some 7 or 8 Bushels, and as much more we bought in the Towne: wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The discovery of *Monacan.*

The Ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first Gentlewoman and woman-seruant that arrived in our *Colony*. Captaine *Newport* with 120 chosen men, led by Captaine *Waldo*, Lieutenant *Percie*, Captaine *Winne*, Master *West*, and Master *Scrivener*, set forward for the discovery of *Monacan*, leaving the President at the Fort with about 80. or 90. (such as they were) to relade the Ship.

Arriving at the Falles, we marched by land some fortie myles in two dayes and a halfe; and so returned downe the same path we went. Two townes we discovered of the *Monacans*, called *Massinacak* and *Mowhemenchouch*; the people neither vsed vs well nor ill, yet for our securitie we tooke one of their petty Kings, and led him bound to conduct vs the way.

And in our returnes [we] searched many places we supposed Mines, about which we spent some time in refyning, having one *William Callicut*, a refyner fitted for that pur-
[*p.* 126.] pose. From that crust of earth we digged, he perswaded vs to beleeue he extracted some small quantitie of silver; and (not vnlikely) better stuffe might be had for the digging.

With this poore tryall, being contented to leaue this fayre, fertile, well watered Country; and comming to the Falles, the Salvages fayned there were divers ships come into the
How the Salvages deluded Captaine *Newport.* Bay, to kill them at *Iames* Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not; for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arrived at *Iames* Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tyred with toyle, famine, and discontent, to haue onely but discovered our guilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certainties, as Captaine *Smith* fortold vs.

But those that hunger seeke to slake,
Which thus abounding wealth would rake:

[1608]

Not all the gemmes of Ister *shore,*
Nor all the gold of Lydia's *store,* [**69**]
Can fill their greedie appetite;
It is a thing so infinite.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed so many as were able, some for Glasse, others for Tarre, Pitch, and Sope-ashes, leauing them with the Fort to the Councels oversight.

But 30 of vs he conducted downe the river some 5 myles from *Iames* towne, to learne to make Clapbord, cut downe trees, and lye in woods. Amongst the rest he had chosen *Gabriel Beadle*, and *Iohn Russell*, the onely two gallants of this last Supply, and both proper Gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating, and drinking, working or playing, they but doing as the President did himselfe. All these things were carried so pleasantly as within a weeke they became Masters: making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell; but the Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drowne the eccho; for remedie of which sinne, the President devised how to haue every mans othes numbred, and at night for every othe to haue a Cann of water powred downe his sleeue, with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an othe in a weeke.

A punishment for swearing.

For he who scornes and makes but iests of cursings, and his othe,
He doth contemne, not man but God; nor God, nor man, but both.

By this, let no man thinke that the President and these Gentlemen spent their times as common Wood haggers at felling of trees, or such other like labours; or that they were pressed to it as hirelings, or common slaues; for what they did, after they were but once a little invred, it seemed and some conceited it, onely as a pleasure and recreation: yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary Gentleman would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion; but twentie good workemen had beene better then them all.

[*p.* 127.] 3[o]. Men better then 100.

[1608] Master *Scrivener,* Captaine *Waldo,* and Captaine *Winne* at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the woods, seeing the time consumed and no provision gotten, (and the Ship lay idle at a great charge and did nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the discovery barge, giving order to the Councell to send Lieutenant *Percie* after him with the next barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges he had himselfe and 18 men, but arriving at *Chickahamania,* that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolency as they could expresse. The President perceiuing it was *Powhatans* policy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their Corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murthered by them; and so landing his men and readie to charge them, they immediately fled: and presently after sent their Ambassadors with corne, fish, foule, and what they had to make their peace; (their Corne being that yeare but bad) they complained extreamely of their owne wants, yet fraughted our Boats with an hundred Bushels of Corne, and in like manner Lieutenant *Percies* that not long after arrived, and having done the best they could to content vs, we parted good friends, and returned to *Iames* towne.

The *Chickahamania's* forced to contribution.

Though this much contented the Company (that feared nothing more then starving), yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to hazzard a starving, then his paines should proue so much more effectuall then theirs. Some proiects there were invented by *Newport* and *Rat[c]liffe,* not onely to haue deposed him, but to haue kept him out of the Fort; for that being President, he would leaue his place and the Fort without their consents: but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselues more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

A bad reward for well-doing.

All this time our old Taverne made as much of all them that had either money or ware as could be desired: by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane the souldiers, saylers, and Salvages) as there was tenne times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the *Colony* things [70]

A good Taverne in *Virginia.*

that were necessary. Neither was it a small policy in *Newport* and the Marriners to report in *England* we had such plentie, and bring vs so many men without victuals, when they had so many private Factors in the Fort, that within six or seauen weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Chissels, Hows, and Pick-axes, scarce twentie could be found: and for Pike-heads, shot, Powder, or any thing they could steale from their fellowes, was vendible; they knew as well (and as secretly) how to convey them to trade with the Salvages for Furres, Baskets, *Mussaneeks*, young Beasts, or such like Commodities, as exchange them with the Saylers for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, *Aqua vitæ*, Beere, Bisket, Oatmeale, and Oyle: and then fayne all was sent them from their friends. And though *Virginia* affoorded no Furres for the Store, yet one Master in one voyage hath got so many by this indirect meanes, as he confessed to haue sold in *England* for 30*l.* [1608] [*p.* 128.] A bad trade of the masters and saylers.

Those are the Saint-seeming Worthies of *Virgina* (that haue notwithstanding all this, meate, drinke, and wages); but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented.

None hath beene in *Virginia*, that hath observed any thing, which knowes not this to be true: and yet the losse, the scorne, the misery, and shame, was the poore Officers, Gentlemen, and carelesse Governours, who were all thus bought and sold; the adventurers cousened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all men iudge, how this businesse could prosper, being thus abused by such pilfring occasions. And had not Captaine *Newport* cryed *Peccavi*, the President would haue discharged the ship, and caused him to haue stayed one yeare in *Virginia*, to learne to speake of his owne experience.

Master *Scrivener* was sent with the Barges and Pinnace to *Werowocomoco*, where he found the Salvages more readie to fight then trade: but his vigilancy was such as prevented their proiects, and by the meanes of *Namontack*, [he] got three or foure hogsheads of Corne; and as much *Pocones*, which is a red roote, which then was esteemed an excellent Dye. Master *Scriveners* voyage to *Werowocomoco*.

Captaine *Newport* being dispatched, with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, Sope ashes; with

[1608] that Clapboord and Waynscot that could be provided ;
[*p.* 129.] met with Master *Scrivener* at poynt *Comfort*, and so returned for *England*. We remaining were about two hundred.

¶ The Copy of a Letter sent to the Treasurer and Councell of *Virginia* from Captaine *Smith*, then President in VIRGINIA.

Right Honorable, &c.

I Received your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are so set vpon faction, and idle conceits in diuiding the Country without your consents, and that we feed You *but with ifs and ands, hopes, and some few proofes ; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to our selues : and that we must expresly follow your instructions sent by Captaine* Newport : *the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare two thousand pounds, the which*
[*p.* 928.] *if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer.*

For our factions, vnlesse you would haue me run away and leaue the Country, I cannot prevent them : because I do make many stay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter sent [? by Captain *Newport's* ship in April 1608, *p.* 389] *to my Lord of* Salisbury, *by the President* [Ratcliffe] *and his confederats, for diuiding the Country &c. What it was I know not, for you saw no hand* [**71**] *of mine to it ; nor euer dream't I of any such matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no scholer, I am past a schoole-boy ; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here, doe know but that I haue learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I haue not concealed from you any thing I know ; but I feare some cause you to beleeue much more then is true.*

Expresly to follow your directions by Captaine Newport, *though they be performed, I was directly against it ; but according to our Commission, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of vs all ; which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Onely Captaine*

Winne *and Captaine* Waldo *I haue sworne of the Councell,* [1608]
and Crowned Powhatan *according to your instructions.*

For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thousand pounds, we haue not receiued the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred Boat to be borne by the Souldiers over the Falles, Newport *had* 120 *of the best men he could chuse. If he had burnt her to ashes, one might haue carried her in a bag; but as she is, fiue hundred cannot, to a navigable place aboue the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of gold, or any of them sent by Sir* Walter Raleigh: *at our Consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirtie myles, (which might as well haue beene done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a seasonable tyme) they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to serue the Fort.*

In their absence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Sope-ashes, and Clapboord; whereof some small quantities we haue sent you. But if you rightly consider, what an infinite toyle it is in Russia *and* Swethland, *where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe both of man and beast in those ancient Common-wealths, which many an hundred yeares haue vsed it; yet thousands of those poore people can scarce get necessaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from vs any such matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get wherewith to liue, and defend our selues against the inconstant* Salvages: *finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things els the* Russians *haue.*

For the Coronation of Powhatan, *by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this giue me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the* Salvages *harvest was newly gathered, and we going to buy it; our owne not being halfe sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships loading of Corne* Newport *promised to provide vs from* Powhatan, *he brought vs but foureteene Bushels; and from the* Monacans *nothing, but the most of the men sicke*

[1608] *and neare famished. From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to liue vpon this: the one halfe sicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confesse) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wilde, and we so weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captaine* Newport *we much suspect to be the Authour of those inventions.*

Now that you should know, I haue made you as great a discovery as he, for lesse charge then he spendeth you every meale; I haue sent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed [**72**] *Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good Iron ore at the least; so devided, as by their notes yon may see in what places I found them.*

The Souldiers say many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you send vs: and that Newport *hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every master you haue yet sent can find the way as well as he, so that an hundred pound might be spared, which is more then we haue all, that helps to pay him wages.*

Captaine Rat[c]liffe *is now called* Sicklemore, *a poore counterfeited Imposture. I haue sent you him home, least the company should cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you: if he and* Archer *returne againe, they are sufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions.*

When you send againe I intreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fisher men, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers vp of trees, roots, well provided; then a thousand of such as we haue: for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for any thing.

Thus if you please to consider this account, and of the vnnecessary wages to Captaine Newport, *or his ships so long lingering and staying here (for notwithstanding his boasting to leaue vs victuals for* 12 *moneths; though we had* 89 *by this discovery lame and sicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to giue him three hogsheads of that to victuall him homeward) or yet to send into* Germany *or* Poleland *for glasse-men and the rest, till we be able to sustaine*

our selues, and relieue them when they come. It were better to giue fiue hundred pound a tun for those grosse Commodities in Denmarke, *then send for them hither, till more necessary things be provided. For in over-toyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selues from one Supply to another.* [1608]

And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let vs know what we should receiue, and not stand to the Saylers courtesie to leaue vs what they please; els you may charge vs with what you will, but we not you with any thing.

These are the causes that haue kept vs in Virginia, *from laying such a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes: so I humbly rest.*

The Names of those in this Supply, were these: with their Proceedings and Accidents. [p. 129.]

Captaine *Peter Winne*, Captaine *Richard Waldo*, } were appoynted to be of the Councell.

Master *Francis VVest*, brother to the Lord *La VVarre*.

Gent.:
Thomas Graues.
Raleigh Chroshaw.
Gabriel Beadle.
Iohn Beadle.
Iohn Russell.
William Russell.
Iohn Cuderington.
William Sambage.
Henry Leigh.

Gent.:
George Burton.
Thomas Abbay.
William Dowman.
Thomas Maxes.
Michael Lowick.
Master *Hunt.*
Thomas Forrest.
Iohn Dauxe.

Tradesmen [*i.e., Artizans*]:
Henry Philpot.
Harmon Harrison.
Daniel Tucker.
Henry Collings.
Hugh Wolleston.
Iohn Hoult.
Thomas Norton.
George Yarington.

Tradesmen [*i.e., Artizans*]:
Thomas Phelps.
Iohn Prat.
Iohn Clarke.
Ieffrey Shortridge.
Dionis Oconor.
Hugh Winne.
Dauid ap Hugh.
Thomas Bradley.

[1608]

Iohn Burras.	Tradesmen.	*Nicholas Hancock.*	Labourers.
Thomas Lavander.		*Walker.*	
Henry Bell.		*Williams.*	
Master *Powell.*		*Floud.*	
David Ellis.		*Morley.*	
Thomas Gibson.		*Rose.*	
Thomas Dawse.	Labourers.	*Scot.*	
Thomas Mallard.		*Hardwyn.*	
William Tayler.		*Milman.*	Boyes.
Thomas Fox.		*Hilliard.*	

Mistresse *Forrest,* and *Anne Burras* her maide; eight *Dutch* men and *Poles,* with some others, to the number of seaventie persons, &c.

Nandsamund forced to contribution. [*p.* 130.]

These poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine, that the President provided for *Nandsamund,* and tooke with him Captaine *Winne,* and Master *Scrivener,* then returning from Captaine *Newport.*

These people also long denied him not onely the 400 Baskets of Corne they promised [*p.* 432], but any trade at all; (excusing themselues they had spent most they had; and were commanded by *Powhatan* to keepe that they had, and not to let vs come into their river) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce.

Vpon the discharging of our Muskets they all fled and shot not an Arrow; the first house we came to we set on fire, which when they perceiued, they desired we would make no more spoyle, and they would giue vs halfe they had: how they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three Boats.

And so we returned to our quarter some foure myles downe the River, which was onely the open woods vnder the lay of a hill, where all the ground was covered with snow, and hard frozen; the snow we digged away and made a great fire in the place; when the ground was well dryed, we turned away the fire; and covering the place with a mat, there we lay very warme. To keepe vs from the winde we made a shade of another Mat; as the winde turned we turned our shade: and when the ground grew cold we remoued the fire. And thus many a cold winter night haue wee laine in this miserable manner, yet those

that most commonly went vpon all those occasions, were alwayes in health, lusty, and fat. [1608]

For sparing them this yeare, the next yeare they promised to plant purposely for vs; and so we returned to *Iames* towne.

About this time there was a marriage betwixt *Iohn Laydon* and *Anne Burras*; which was the first marriage we had in *Virginia*. The first marriage in *Virginia*.

Long he stayed not, but fitting himselfe and Captaine *Waldo* with two Barges. From *Chawopoweanock*, and all parts thereabouts, all the people were fled, as being iealous of our intents; till we discovered the river and people of *Apamatuck*; where we found not much: that they had we equally divided; but gaue them copper and such things as contented them in consideration. *Apamatuck* discovered.

Master *Scrivener* and Lieutenant *Percie* went also abroad, but could find nothing.

The President seeing the procrastinating of time, was no course to liue, resolved with Captaine *Waldo* (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprise *Powhatan*, and all his provision, but the vnwillingnesse of Captaine *Winne*, and Master *Scrivener* (for some private respect, plotted in *England* to ruine Captaine *Smith*) [*p.* 460], did their best to hinder their proiect.

But the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, giue him a gryndstone, fiftie swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads, he would load his Ship with Corne.

The President not ignorant of his devises and subtiltie, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunitie, presently sent three *Dutch*-men and two *English*; having so small allowance, [that] few were able to doe any thing to purpose: knowing there needed no better a Castle to effect this proiect, tooke order with Captaine *Waldo* to second him, if need required. *Scrivener* he left his substitute, and set forth with the Pinnace, two Barges, and fortie six men, which onely were such as voluntarily offered themselues for his Iourney, the which [*p* 131.] by reason of Master *Scriveners* ill successe, was censured very desperate: they all knowing *Smith* would not returne emptie, if it were to be had; howsoever, it caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behinde. [74]

CHAPTER VIII.

Captaine Smiths *Iourney to* Pamavnkee.

[1608-9] THe twentie-nine of December [1608] he set forward for *Werowocomoco:* his Company were these;

In the Discovery Barge himselfe.

Robert Behethland.	Gent.	*Anas Todkill.*	Souldiers.
Nathanael Graues.		*William Loue.*	
Iohn Russell.		*William Bentley.*	
Raleigh Chrashow.		*Ieffrey Shortridge.*	
Michael Sicklemore.		*Edward Pising.*	
Richard Worley.		*William Ward.*	

In the Pinnace.

Lieutenant *Percie,* brother to the Earle of Northumberland.
Master *Francis West,* brother to the Lord *La Warre.*
William Phittiplace, Captaine of the Pinnace.

Michael Phittiplace.	Gent.	*Ionas Profit,* Master.	
Ieffrey Abbot, Serieant.		*Robert Ford,* Clarke of the Councell.	
William Tankard.			
George Yarington.			
Iames Browne.	Souldiers.	*Iohn Dods,* Souldier.	
Edward Brinton.		*Henry Powell,* Souldier.	
George Burton.			
Thomas Coe.			

Thomas Gipson, David Ellis, Nathanael Peacock, Saylers;
[*f.* 132.] *Iohn Prat, George Acrig, Iames Read, Nicholas Hancock, Iames Watkins, Thomas Lambert,* foure *Dutch*-men, and *Richard Salvage* were sent by land before, to build the house for *Powhatan* against our Arrivall.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes, lodged the first night at *Warraskoyack,* where the President tooke sufficient provision.

This kind King did his best to divert him from seeing *Powhatan*; but perceiuing he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner.

Captaine *Smith*, you shall find *Powhatan* to vse you kindly: but trust him not, and be sure he haue no oportunitie to seize on your Armes; for he hath sent for you onely to cut your throats. [1608–9]

The good counsell of *Warrastoyack*.

The Captaine thanking him for his good counsell: yet the better to try his loue, desired guides to *Chawwonock*; for he would send a present to that King, to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney was sent Master *Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honest, and a painefull Souldier: with him two guides, and directions how to seeke for the lost company of Sir *Walter Raleighs*, and silke Grasse.

Then we departed thence, the President assuring the King [of his] perpetuall loue; and left with him *Samuel Collier* his Page to learne the Language.

So this Kings deeds by sacred Oath adiur'd.
More wary proues, and circumspect by ods:
Fearing at least his double forfeiture;
To offend his friends, and sin against his Gods.

Plentie of victualls.

The next night [30 *Dec.* 1608], being lodged at *Kecoughtan*; six or seaven dayes the extreame winde, rayne, frost and snow caused vs to keepe Christmas [31 *Dec.* 1608—6 *Jan.* 1609] among the Salvages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wild-foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in *England*, then in the dry smoaky houses of *Kecoughtan*.

148 Foules killed at three shootes.

But departing thence, when we found no houses we were not curious in any weather to lye three or foure nights together vnder the trees by a fire, as formerly is sayd [*p.* 446]. An hundred fortie eight foules the President, *Anthony Bagnall*, and Serieant *Pising* did kill at three shoots.

[*p.* 133.]

At *Kiskiack* the frost and contrary winds forced vs three or foure dayes also (to suppresse the insolency of those proud Salvages) to quarter in their houses, yet guard our Barge, and cause them [to] giue vs what we wanted; though we were but twelue and himselfe, yet we never wanted shelter where we found any houses.

The 12 of Ianuary [1609] we arrived at *Werowocomoco*, where the river was frozen neare halfe a myle from the shore; but to neglect [**75**] no time, the President with his Barge so far had approached by breaking the ice, as the ebbe left him

[1609] amongst those oasie shoules, yet rather then to lye there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march neere middle deepe, a flight shot through this muddy frozen oase. When the Barge floated, he appoynted two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace. Where for want of water, in melting the ice, they made fresh water, for the river there was salt. But in this march Master *Russell*, (whom none could perswade to stay behinde) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heauie, so overtoyled himselfe as the rest had much adoe (ere he got ashore) to regaine life into his dead benummed spirits.

Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to *Powhatan* for provision; who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison.

The next day [13 *Jan.*] having feasted vs after his ordinary manner, he began to aske vs when we would be gone: fayning he sent not for vs, neither had he any corne; and his people much lesse: yet for fortie swords he would procure vs fortie Baskets.

The President shewing him the men there present that brought him the message and conditions, asked *Powhatan* how it chanced he became so forgetfull; thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none he liked without gunnes and swords, valuing a Basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper; saying he could rate [*eat*] his Corne, but not the Copper.

Captaine *Smiths* discourse to *Powhatan.*

Captaine *Smith* seeing the intent of this subtill Salvage, began to deale with him after this manner.

Powhatan, though I had many courses to haue made my provision, yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all to satisfie your desire: and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting mine owne. What your people had, you haue engrossed, forbidding them our trade: and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not having to fulfill your strange demands. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe I had none to spare; and you must know those I haue can keepe me from want: yet steale or wrong you I will not, nor dissolue that friendship we haue mutually promised, except you constraine me by our bad vsage.

[*f.* 134.]

Powhatans reply and flattery.

The King having attentively listned to this Discourse, promised that *both he and his Country would spare him what he could, the which within two dayes they should receiue. Yet*

Captaine Smith, sayth the King, *some doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would: for many doe informe me, your comming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people, and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To free vs of this feare, leaue aboord your weapons, for here they are needlesse, we being all friends, and for ever* Powhatans. [1609]

With many such discourses, they spent the day; quartering that night in the Kings houses.

The next day [14 *Jan.*] he renewed his building, which hee little intended should proceede. For the *Dutch*-men finding his plentie, and knowing our want; and perceiving his preparations to surprise vs, little thinking we could escape both him and famine; (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him so much as they knew of our estates and proiects, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so great a spirit, iudgement, and resolution; and a hireling that was certaine of his wages for his labour, and ever well vsed both he and his Countrymen; that the President knew not whom better to trust: and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, he sent him as a spy to discover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villa[i]ny till neare halfe a yeare after [*p.* 467].

Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a copper Kettell, the which the President perceiving him much to affect, valued it at a much greater rate; but in regard of his scarcity he would accept it, provided we should haue as much more the next yeare, or els the Country of *Monacan.* Wherewith each seemed well contented, and *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference of Peace and Warre after this manner. [*p.* 135.]

Powhatans discourse of peace and warre.

Captaine Smith, *you may vnderstand that I having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not any one liuing of those three generations but my selfe; I know the difference of Peace and Warre better then any in my Country. But now I am old and ere long must die, my brethren* [**76**], *namely* Opitchapam, Opechancanough, *and* Kekataugh, *my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors. I wish their experience no lesse then mine, and your loue to them no*

[1609] *lesse then mine to you. But this bruit from* Nandsamund, *that you are come to destroy my Country, so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly haue by loue, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging vs your friends. And why are you thus iealous of our loues seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede vpon Acornes, rootes, and such trash; and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eate, nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine* Smith: *then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with miserable feare, end my* [f. 136.] *miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash vnaduisednesse may quickly as miserably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and every yeere our friendly trade shall furnish you with Corne; and now also, if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your guns and swords as to invade your foes.*

Captaine *Smiths* Reply. To this subtill discourse, the President thus replyed. *Seeing you will not rightly conceiue of our words, we striue to make you know our thoughts by our deeds; the vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept. As for your promise I find it euery day violated by some of your subiects: yet we finding your loue and kindenesse, our custome is so far from being vngratefull, that for your sake onely, we haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge; els had they knowne as well the crueltie we vse to our enemies, as our true loue and courtesie to our friends. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue, as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue (by our Armes) of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this we could haue effected it. Your people comming to* Iames Towne *are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without any exceptions; we esteeming it with you as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell. As*

for the danger of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure: for your riches we haue no vse: as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the woods, we shall not so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge. [1609]

Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade. But the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard [not] dispersed, nor our men disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his minde once more in this manner.

Captaine Smith, *I neuer vse any Werowance so kindely as your selfe, yet from you I receiue the least kindnesse of any.* Captaine Newport *gaue me swords, copper, cloathes, a bed, towels, or what I desired; euer taking what I offered him, and would send away his gunnes when I intreated him: none doth deny to lye* [lay] *at my feet, or refuse to doe, what I desire, but onely you; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will haue whatsoeuer you demand.* Captaine Newport *you call father, and so you call me; but I see for all vs both you will doe what you list, and we must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your armes, that I may beleeue you; for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause me thus nakedly to forget my selfe.* [p. 137.] *Powhatans* importunity to haue vs vnarmed to betray vs.

Smith seeing this Salvage but trifle the time to cut his throat, procured the Salvages to breake the ice, that his Boate might come to fetch his corne and him; and gaue order for more men to come on shore, to surprise the King, with whom also he but trifled the time till his men were landed: and to keepe him from suspicion, entertained the time with this reply.

Powhatan *you must know, as I haue but one God, I honour but one King; and I liue not here as your subiect, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visit mee as I doe you, you should know it is not our custome, to sell our curtesies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your* [77] *countrey with you for your guard, I will not dislike it as being ouer iealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leaue my Armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will loue you: but the small care you haue of such a childe caused my men to perswade me to looke to my selfe.* Captaine *Smiths* discourse to delay time, till he found oportunity to surprise the King. [The last time *Smith* sees *Powhatan.*]

By this time *Powhatan* hauing knowledge his men were

[1609] ready; whilest the ice was a breaking, with his luggage women and children, fled. Yet to auoyd suspicion, left two or three of the women talking with the Captaine, whilest hee secretly ran away, and that his men secretly beset the house. Which being presently discouered to *Captaine Smith*, with his pistoll, sword, and target hee made such a passage among these naked Diuels; that at his first shoot, they next him tumbled one ouer another, and the rest quickly fled some one way, some another: so that without any hurt, onely accompanied with *Iohn Russell*, hee obtained the *corps du guard*.

Powhatans plot to haue murdered *Smith*.

[*p.* 138.]

When they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his eighteene men (for he had no more with him a shore), to the vttermost of their skill they sought excuses to dissemble the matter: and *Powhatan* to excuse his flight and the sudden comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a great bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Oratour that bespoke vs to this purpose; perceiuing euen then from our Pinnace, a Barge and men departing and comming vnto vs.

A chaine of pearle sent the Captaine for a present.

Captaine Smith, *our Werowance is fled, fearing your gunnes, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, sent these numbers but to guard his corne from stealing, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet* Powhatan *is your friend and so will for euer continue. Now since the ice is open, he would haue you send away your corne; and if you would haue his company, send away also your gunnes, which so affrighteth his people, that they dare not come to you as hee promised they should.*

Then hauing prouided baskets for our men to carry our corne to the boats, they kindly offered their seruice to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were of goodly well proportioned fellowes, as grim as Diuels; yet [at] the very sight of cocking our matches, and being to let fly, a few wordes caused them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our corne on their backes; wee needed not importune them to make dispatch.

Pretending to kill our men loaded with baskets, we caused them do it themselues.

But our Barges being left on the oase by the ebbe, caused vs stay till the next high-water; so that wee returned againe to our old quarter.

Powhatan and his Dutch-men brusting with desire to haue

the head of Captaine *Smith*; for if they could but kill him, they thought all was theirs, neglected not any op[p]ortunity to effect his purpose. The Indians with all the merry sports they could deuise, spent the time till night: then they all returned to *Powhatan*, who all this time was making ready his forces to surprise the house and him at supper. [1609]

Notwithstanding the eternall all-seeing God did preuent him, and by a strange meanes. For *Pocahontas* his dearest iewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent vs by and by: but *Powhatan* and all the power he could make, would after come kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with our owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore if we would liue, shee wished vs presently to bee gone. Such things as shee delighted in, he would haue giuen her: but with the teares running downe her cheekes, shee said shee durst not be seene to haue any: for if *Powhatan* should know it, she were but dead, and so shee ranne away by her selfe as she came.

Pocahontas bewrayes her fathers deceit to kill vs.

Within lesse than an houre came eight or ten lusty fellowes, with great platters of venison and other victuall, very importunate to haue vs put out our matches (whose smoake made them sicke) and sit down to our victuall. But the Captaine made them taste euery dish, which done hee sent some of them backe to *Powhatan*, to bid him make haste for hee was prepared for his comming. As for them hee knew they came to betray him at his supper: but hee would prevent them and all their other intended villanies: so that they might be gone. Not long after came more messengers, to see what newes; not long after them, others.

Thus wee spent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high-water, yet seemed to the saluages [78] as friendly as they to vs: and that wee were so desirous to giue *Powhatan* content, as hee requested, wee did leaue him *Edward Brynton* to kill him foule, and the Dutch-men to finish his house; thinking at our returne from *Pamavnkee* the frost would be gone, and then we might finde a better op[p]ortunity if necessity did occasion it, little dreaming yet of the Dutch-mens treachery, whose humor well su[i]ted this verse:

Is any free, that may not liue as freely as he list?
Let vs liue so, then w'are as free, and bruitish as the best.

[*p.* 139.]

CHAPTER IX.

How wee escaped surprising at Pamavnkee.

[1609]

The Dutch men deceiue Captaine *Winne.*

WE had no sooner set sayle but *Powhatan* returned, and sent *Adam* and *Francis* (two stout Dutch-men [*pp.* 467, 487]) to *Iames* towne: who faining to Captaine *Winne* that all things were well, and that Captaine *Smith* had vse of their armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were giuen them). They told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles, and shift of apparell; by which colourable excuse they obtained sixe or seauen more to their confederacie, such expert theeues, that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder and such like: Saluages they had at hand to carry it away; and the next day they returned vnsuspected, leauing their confederates to follow, and in the interim to convay them such things as they could: for which seruice they should liue with *Powhatan* as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen [to] the Colony.

The Dutch men furnish the Saluages with Armes.

Samuel their other consort *Powhatan* kept for their pledge, whose diligence had prouided them three hundred of their kinde of hatchets; the rest fifty swords, eight peeces, and eight pikes.

Brynton and *Richard Salvage* seeing the Dutch-men so diligent to accommodate the Saluages with weapons, attempted to haue gotten to *Iames* towne; but they were apprehended, and expected euer when to be put to death.

Within two or three dayes, we arriued at *Pamavnkee*, the King as many dayes entertained vs with feasting and much mirth.

And the day appointed to beginne our trade, the President, Lieutenant *Percie*, Master *West*, Master *Russell*, Master *Behethland*, Master *Crashaw*, Master *Powell*, Master *Ford*, and some others to the number of fifteene, went vp to *Opechancanoughs* house a quarter of a mile from the riuer; where wee found nothing but a lame fellow and a boy: and all the houses round about of all things abandoned.

[*p.* 140.]

Not long wee stayed ere the King arriued, and after him came diuerse of his people loaden with bowes and arrowes: but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at

such a value, as our Captaine began with the King after this manner. [1609]

Smiths Speech to *Opechancanough.*

Opechancanough, the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceit by your actions. Last yeere you kindly fraughted our ship: but now you haue inuited mee to starue with hunger: you know my want, and I your plenty; of which by some meanes I must haue part: remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the rest I will proportion fit bargains for your people.

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer, and the better to colour his proiect, sold vs what they had to our owne content; promising the next day, more company, better prouided.

The Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of Master *Phetiplace*; the President [*the next day*] with his old fifteene marched vp to the Kings house: where wee found foure or fiue men newly arriued, each with a great basket.

700. Saluages beset the English being but 16.

Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerfulnesse held vs with discourse what paines he had taken to keep his promise; till Master *Russell* brought vs in newes that we were all betrayed: for at least seuen hundred Saluages well armed, had inuironed [**79**] the house, and beset the fields.

The King coniecturing what *Russell* related, wee could well perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismaied with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine encouraged vs to this effect.

Smiths speech to his Company.

Worthy Countrey-men, were the mischiefes of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared were they as many more: if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councell with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace-breaker (in their opinions in England) as will breake my necke. [*p.* 141.] *I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein I pray you aid mee with your opinions. Should wee beginne with them and surprise the King, we cannot keepe him and defend well our selues. If wee should each kill our man, and so proceed with all in the house; the rest will all fly: then shall wee get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and so starue for victuall. As for their fury it is the least danger; for well you know, being*

[1609] *alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them by the helpe of God compound to saue my life. And wee are sixteene, and they but seauen hundred at the most; and assure your selues, God will so assist vs, that if you dare stand but to discharge your pieces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoeuer, let vs fight like men, and not die like sheepe: for by that meanes you know God hath oft deliuered mee, and so I trust will now. But first, I will deale with them, to bring it to passe wee may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me you will be valiant.*

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoeuer hee attempted or die: whereupon the Captaine in plaine tearmes told the King this.

Smiths offer to *Opechancanough.*

I see Opechancanough *your plot to murder me, but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme, but by our direction. Take therefore your Armes, you see mine, my body shall bee as naked as yours: the Isle in your riuer is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of vs two) shall be Lord and Master ouer all our men. If you haue not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will; so euery one bring a basket of corne, against all which I will stake the value in copper: you see I haue but fifteene, and our game shall be, the Conquerour take all.*

Opechancanoughs deuice to betray *Smith.*

The King being guarded with forty or fifty of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease *Smiths* suspicion of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him out of the doore, where the bait was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart as a barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to shoot.

[*p.* 142.]

The President commanded one [*evidently a soldier*] to go see what kind of deceit this was, and to receiue the present; but hee refused to doe it; yet the Gentlemen and all the rest were importunate to goe, but he would not permit them, being vexed at that Coward: and commanded Lieutenant *Percie,* Master *West,* and the rest to make good the house; Master *Powell* and Master *Behethland* he commanded to guard the doore; and in such a rage snatched the King by his long locke in the middest of his men, with his Pistoll readie bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling King, neare dead with feare amongst all his people: who delivering the Captaine

Smith taketh the King prisoner.

his Vambrace, Bow, and Arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner haue vsed their King: who then to escape himselfe bestowed his presents in good sadnesse. [1609]

And causing a great many of them come before him vnarmed, holding the King by the hayre (as is sayd), he spake to them to this effect.

Smiths discourse to the *Pamavnkees.*

I see (you Pamavnkees*) the great desire you haue to kill me, and my long suffering your iniuries hath imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serue) to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to be your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me; if I breake it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow to shed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or steale the least of these Beads, or Copper, I spurne here before you with my foot; you shall see I will not cease revenge (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to finde one of* [**80**] *your Nation that will not deny the name of* Pamavnk. *I am not now at* Rassaweak *halfe drowned with myre, where you tooke me prisoner; yet then for keeping your promise and your good vsage and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denyals of your trechery doe halfe perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you ayme at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my Ship ere I departed, and so you shall; or I meane to load her with your dead carcasses: yet if as friends you will* [*p.* 143.] *come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion; and your King shall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you.*

The Salvages dissemble their intent.

Vpon this, away went their Bowes and Arrowes; and men, women, and children brought in their Commodities: two or three houres they so thronged about the President and so overwearied him, as he retyred himselfe to rest, leauing Master *Behethland* and Master *Powell* to receiue their presents.

But some Salvages perceiuing him fast asleepe, and the guard somewhat carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choise men each with a club or an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house with two or hundred others, that pressed to second them. The noyse and hast they made in, did so shake the house they awoke him from his sleepe; and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, [he] betooke him

[1609] strait to his sword and Target; Master *Crashaw* and some others charged in like manner; whereat they quickly thronged faster backe than before forward. The house thus cleansed, the King and some of his auncients we kept yet with him, who with a long Oration, excused this intrusion.

Their excuse and reconcilement.

The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the companie againe renewing their presents with their best provisions, and whatsoever he gaue them they seemed therewith well contented.

Now in the meane while, since our departure, this hapned at our Fort.

The losse of Master *Scrivener* and others with a Skiff.

Master *Scrivener* having receiued Letters from *England* to make himselfe either *Cæsar* or nothing, he began to decline in his affection to Captaine *Smith* [*p.* 447], that ever regarded him as himselfe; and was willing to crosse the surprising of *Powhatan*. Some certaine daies after the Presidents departure, he would needs goe visit the Isle of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the President had appointed him to be ready to second his occasions) with Master *Anthony Gosnoll* and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat sunke, but where or how none doth know. The Skiff was much over-loaden, and would scarce haue liued in that extreame tempest had she beene empty: but by no perswasion he could be diverted, though both *Waldo* and an hundred others doubted as it hapned.

[*p.* 144.]

The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects.

To advertise the President of this heavie newes, none could be found would vndertake it, but the Iorney was often refused of all in the Fort, vntill Master *Richard Wyffin* vndertooke alone the performance thereof. In this Iourney he was incountred with many dangers and difficulties in all parts as he passed. As for that night he lodged with *Powhatan*, [*at Werowocomoco, see pp.* 456, 463] perceiuing such preparation for warre, not finding the President there: he did assure himselfe some mischiefe was intended. *Pocahontas* hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the cleane contrary way to seeke him; but by her meanes and extraordinry bribes and much trouble in three dayes [? 19–22 *Jan.* 1609] travell, at length he found

Master *Wyffins* desperate iourney.

vs in the middest of these turmoyles [*apparently about 22 Jan.* 1609, *i.e., on the day Smith had seized* Opechancanough]. [1609]

This vnhappy newes the President swore him to conceale from the company, and so dissembling his sorrow with the best countenances he could, when the night approched [he] went safely aboord with all his Souldiers; leauing *Opechancanough* at libertie, according to his promise, the better to haue *Powhatan* in his returne.

Powhatan constraineth his men to be trecherous.

Now so extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine *Smith*: that the next day, they appointed all the countrey should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be trecherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting with him almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe.

The next morning, the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people and Baskets, to tempt vs on shore: but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a gun. [81]

The third attempt to betray vs.

When the President saw them begin to depart, being vnwilling to loose such a bootie, he so well contrived the Pinnace and his Barges with Ambuscadoes, as onely with Lieutenant *Percie*, Master *West*, and Master *Russell*, with their Armes [he] went on shore; others he appointed vnarmed to receiue what was brought. The Salvages flocked before him in heapes, and the banke serving as a trench for a retreat, he drew them fayre open to his Ambuscado's.

For he not being to be perswaded to goe [and] visit their King, the King knowing the most of them [to be] vnarmed, came to visit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones; and with some twentie men, and many women loaden with painted Baskets. But when they approached somewhat neare vs, their women and [*p.* 145] children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure, yet so trembled with feare as they were scarse able to nock their Arrowes: *Smith* standing, with his three men ready bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our Ambuscado's; who vpon the word discovered themselues, and he retyred to the Barge. Which the Salvages

[1609] no sooner perceived, then away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage.

That night we sent Master *Chrashaw*, and Master *Ford* [*evidently in a barge*], to *Iames* towne to Captaine *Winne*. In the way betweene *Werowocomoco* and the Fort, they met foure or fiue of the *Dutch*-mens Confederates going to *Powhatan:* the which to excuse those Gentlemens suspition of their running to the Salvages, returned to the Fort and there continued.

The Salvages hearing our Barge goe downe the river in the night, were so terribly affrayde, that we sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and wires [*weirs*]), that the next day the King sent our Captaine a chayne of Pearle, to alter his purpose and stay his men: promising though they wanted themselues, to fraught our ship and bring it aboord to avoyd suspition: so that, fiue or six dayes after, from all parts of the Country within ten or twelue myles, in the extreame frost and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes.

A chayne of pearle sent to obtaine peace.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poyson beene sufficient, the President, with Master *West,* and some others had beene poysoned; it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe.

The President poysoned: the offender punished.

Wecuttanow, a stout young fellow, knowing he was suspected for bringing this present of poyson, with fortie or fiftie of his chiefe companions (seeing the President but with a few men at *Potavncak*) so proudly braued it, as though he expected to incounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving, in the midst of his company, did not onely beate, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe. Wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue so well escaped: and the townsmen remaining presently fraughted our Barge to be rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse *Wecuttanow*, (being sonne to their chiefe King, but [*excepting*] *Powhatan*) and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to vs to punish as we pleased.

[*P.* 146.]

Men may thinke it strange there should be such a stirre for a little corne, but had it beene gold with more ease wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole *Colony* had

starued. Wee may be thought very patient to endure all those iniuries, yet onely with fearing them wee got what they had. Whereas if we had taken revenge; then by their losse, we should haue lost our selues. [1609]

We searched also the Countries of *Youghtanund* and *Mattapanient*, where the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and teares from the eyes of women and children, as he had beene too cruell to haue beene a Christian, that would not haue beene satisfied and moued with compassion. The Salvages want and povertie.

But had this hapned in October, November, and December, when that vnhappie discovery of *Monacan* was made, we might haue fraughted a ship of fortie tuns, and twise as much might haue beene had from the Rivers of *Rapahanock*, *Patawomek*, and *Pawtuxunt*.

The maine occasion of our thus temporizing with them was, to part friends as we did, to giue the lesse cause of suspition to *Powhatan* to fly [*i.e.*, *from Werowocomoco*]; by whom we now returned [**82**] with a purpose to haue surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof (when we came against the Towne) the President sent Master *Wyffin* and Master *Coe* ashore to discover and make way for his intended proiect.

But they found that those damned *Dutch*-men had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house and *Werowocomoco*, and to carry away all his corne and provision: and the people they found so ill affected, that they were in great doubt how to escape with their liues. The *Dutch*-men did much hurt.

So the President finding his intent frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfit time to revenge their abuses, sent Master *Michael Phittiplace* by Land to *Iames* towne, whether we sayled with all the speed we could; wee having in this Iourney (for 25l[bs]. of Copper, and 50l[bs]. of Iron and Beads) enough to keepe 46 men six weekes [*i.e.*, *from* 29 *Dec.* 1608 *to about* 8 *Feb.* 1609], and every man for his reward a moneths provision extraordinary (no Trade being allowed but for the store). We got neare 200l[b]. waight of deere suet, and delivered to the Cape Merchant 479 Bushels of Corne. [*p.* 147.]

Those temporizing proceedings to some may seeme too

[1609] charitable, to such a daily daring trecherous people: to others not pleasing, that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransacking, and destroying (as did the *Spanyards*) the simple bodies of such ignorant soules; nor delightfull, because not stuffed with Relations of heapes and mynes of gold and silver, nor such rare commodities, as the *Portugals* and *Spanyards* found in the East and West *Indies*. The want whereof hath begot vs (that were the first vndertakers) no lesse scorne and contempt, then the noble conquests and valiant adventures beautified with it, prayse and honour. Too much I confesse the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit: and to cleare vs from the blind worlds ignorant censure, these few words may suffice any reasonable vnderstanding.

An Apology for the first Planters.

It was the *Spanyards* good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, who had manured the ground with that providence, it affoorded victualls at all times. And time had brought them to that perfection, they had the vse of gold and silver, and the most of such commodities as those Countries affoorded: so that, what the *Spanyard* got was chiefely the spoyle and pillage of those Countrey people, and not the labours of their owne hands. But had those fruitfull Countries beene as salvage, as barbarous, as ill peopled, as little planted, laboured, and manured, as *Virginia*: their proper labours it is likely would haue produced as small profit as ours.

But had *Virginia* beene peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of precious Iewels, and rich commodities as was the *Indies*: then had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might be expected from vs, the [*p* 148.] world might then haue traduced vs and our merits, and haue made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a Land even as God made it, where we found onely an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold and silver, or any commodities, and carelesse of any thing but from hand to mouth, except ba[u]bles of no worth; nothing to incourage vs, but what accidentally we found Nature afforded. Which ere we could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our Adventurers; we were

to discover the Countrey, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable, civill, and industrious, and teach them trades, that the fruits of their labours might make vs some recompence; or plant such *Colonies* of our owne, that must first make prouision how to liue of themselues, ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the Country: which doubtlesse will be as commodious for *England* as the west *Indies* for *Spaine*, if it be rightly mannaged: notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions, that will argue the contrary, as formerly some haue done against the *Spanyards* and *Portugalls*. [1609]

But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion, I onely say this, for those that the three first yeares began this Plantation; notwithstanding all their factions, mutinies, and miseries, so gently corrected, and well prevented: pervse the *Spanish Decades*; the Relations of Master *Hackluit*, and tell me how many ever with such small meanes as a Barge of 22 [*or rather* two] tuns, sometimes with seauen, eight, or nine, or but at most, twelue or sixteene men, did ever discover so [**83**] many fayre and navigable Rivers, subiect so many severall Kings, people, and Nations, to obedience and contribution, with so little bloudshed.

And if in the search of those Countries we had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it as obedience and contribution; but if we haue overskipped it, we will not enuie them that shall find it: yet can we not but lament, it was our fortunes to end when we had but onely learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

By *Richard Wyffin*, *William Phittiplace*, *Ieffrey Abbot*, and *Anas Todkill*.

CHAPTER X. [*p.* 145

How the Salvages *became subiect to the* English.

WHen the Ships departed, all the provision of the Store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers rayne, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges

[1609] would scarcely eate it. Yet it was the Souldiers dyet till our returnes [*about* 8 *Feb.* 1609], so that we found nothing done, but our victuals spent; and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our Armes conveyed to the Salvages.

But now casting vp the Store, and finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned, and the company divided into tens, fifteens, or as the businesse required; six houres each day was spent in worke, the rest in Pastime and merry exercises.

But the vntowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President [to] advise as followeth.

The Presidents advice to the Company.

Countrymen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe, and thinke not that either my pains, nor the Adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloath. I speake not this to you all, for divers of you I know deserue both honour and reward, better then is yet here to be had: but the greater part must be more industrious, or starue, how euer you haue beene heretofore tollerated by the authoritie of the Councell, from that I haue often commanded you. You see now that power resteth wholly in my selfe: you must obey this now for a Law, that he that will not worke shall not eate (except by sicknesse he be disabled:) for the labours of thirtie or fortie honest and industrious men shall not be consumed to maintaine an hundred and fiftie idle loyterers. And though you presume the authoritie here is but a shadow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any but my owne must answer it: the Letters patents shall each weeke be read to you, whose Contents will tell you the contrary. I would wish you therefore without contempt seeke to obserue these orders set downe, for there are now no more Counsellers to protect you, nor curbe my endevours. Therefore he that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment.

[*pp.* 149, 157, and 473.]

[*p.* 150.]

He made also a Table [*notice board*], as a publicke memoriall of every mans deserts, to incourage the good, and with shame to spurre on the rest to amendment. By this many became very industrious, yet more by punishment performed their businesse; for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevaile to deceiue him.

Yet the *Dutch*-mens consorts so closely convayed them

powder, shot, swords, and tooles, that though we could find the defect, we could not finde by whom, till it was too late. [1609]

All this time [*Feb.–Mar.* 1609] the *Dutch* men remaining with *Powhatan* (who kindly entertained them to instruct the Salvages the vse of our Armes), and their consorts not following them as they expected; to know the cause, they sent *Francis* their companion [*p.* 447, 456], a stout young fellow, disguised like a Salvage, to the Glasse-house, a place in the woods neare a myle from *Iames* Towne; where was their *Randezvous* for all their vnsuspected villany. The *Dutch*-mens plot to murther Captaine *Smith.*

Fortie men they procured to lie in Ambuscado for Captaine *Smith*, who no sooner heard of this *Dutch*-man, but he sent to apprehend him (but he was gone): yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, the Captaine presently dispatched 20. [84] shot after him; himselfe returning from the Glasse-house alone.

By the way he incountred the King of *Paspahegh*, a most strong stout Salvage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his Ambush, seeing him onely armed but with a faucheon, attempted to haue shot him, but the President prevented his shoot by grapling with him, and the Salvage as well prevented him for drawing his faucheon, and perforce bore him into the River to haue drowned him. Long they strugled in the water, till the President got such hold on his throat, he had neare strangled the King; but having drawne his faucheon to cut off his head, seeing how pittifully he begged his life, he led him prisoner to *Iames* Towne, and put him in chaynes. *Smith* taketh the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner. [*p.* 151.]

The *Dutch*-man ere long was also brought in, whose villa[i]ny though all this time it was suspected, yet he fayned such a formall excuse, that for want of language Captaine *Winne* vnderstood him not rightly, and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues they were constrained to accommodate [him with] his armes, of whom he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce, and that he made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but was onely walking in the woods to gather Walnuts.

Yet for all this faire tale, there was so small appearance of truth, and [also] the plaine confession of *Pasbahegh* of

[1609] his trechery, [that] he went by the heeles: *Smith* purposing to regaine the *Dutch*-men, by the saving his [*i.e.*, *Paspahegh*'s] life.

The poore Salvage did his best by his daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the *Dutch*-men would not returne, neither did *Powhatan* stay them; and to bring them fiftie myles [*from Orapaks*] on his mens backes they were not able. Daily this Kings wiues, children, and people came to visit him with presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the King finding his guard negligent, though fettered yet escaped. Captaine *Winne* thinking to pursue him found such troupes of Salvages to hinder his passage, as they exchanged many vollies of shot for flights of Arrowes.

Captaine *Smith* taketh two Salvages prisoners.

Captaine *Smith* hearing of this, in returning to the Fort tooke two Salvages prisoners, called *Kemps* and *Tussore*, the two most exact villaines in all the Country.

With these he sent Captaine *Winne* and fiftie choise men, and Lieutenant *Percie*, to haue regained the King, and revenged this iniury.

And so [he] had done, if they had followed his directions, or beene advised with those two villaines, that would haue betrayed both King and kindred for a peece of Copper: but he trifling away the night, the Salvages the next morning by the rising of the Sunne, braved him to come ashore to [*p.* 152.] fight. A good time both sides let fly at other, but we heard of no hurt; onely they tooke two Canowes, burnt the Kings house, and so returned to *Iames* towne.

The President fearing those Bravado's would but incourage the Salvages, began againe himselfe to try his conclusions; whereby six or seauen were slaine, [and] as many made prisoners. He burnt their houses, tooke their Boats, with all their fishing wires [*weirs*], and planted some of them at *Iames* towne for his owne vse, and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe of all them [that] had iniured him.

But in his iourney passing by *Paspahegh* towards *Chickahamania*, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their Ambuscadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Country, all shewed themselues in their bravest manner.

To try their valours he could not but let fly; and ere he could land, they no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator was a lustie young fellow called *Okaning*, whose worthy discourse deserveth to be remembred. And thus it was: [1609]

The Salvages desire Peace.

Okaning his Oration.

Captaine Smith, *my Master is here present in the company, thinking it Captaine* Winne, *and not you, (of him he intended to haue beene revenged) having never offended him. If he hath offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the foules fly, and the very beasts striue to escape the snare and liue. Then blame not him being a man. He would intreat you remember, you being a prisoner, what paines he tooke to saue your life* [*pp.* 16, 396]. *If since he hath iniured you, he was compelled to it: but howsoeuer, you haue revenged it with our too great losse. We perceiue and well know you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship; and to enioy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will haue the worse by our absence; for we can plant any where,* [**85**] *though with more labour, and we know you cannot liue if you want our harvest, and that reliefe we bring you. If you promise vs peace, we will beleeue you; if you proceed in revenge, we will abandon the Country.*

Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they should bring in provision. Thus all departed good friends, and so continued till *Smith* left the Countrey [4 *Oct.* 1609]. [*A.* 153.]

Arriving at *Iames* Towne, complaint was made to the President, that the *Chickahamanians*, who all this while continued trade and seemed our friends, by colour thereof were the onely theeues. And amongst other things a Pistoll being stolne and the theefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes, that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates.

Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one was imprisoned, the other was sent to returne the Pistoll againe within twelue houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-coale for a fire.

A Salvage smoothered at *Iames* towne, and recovered.

Ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smoothered with

[1609] the smoake he had made, and so pittiously burnt, that wee found him dead. The other most lamentably beway[l]ed his death, and broke forth into such bitter agonies, that the President to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him aliue againe: but he little thought he could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with *Aqua vitæ* and *Vineger,* it pleased God to restore him againe to life; but so drunke and affrighted, that he seemed Lunaticke: the which as much tormented and grieued the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie vpon promise of their good behaviour, the President promised to recover him: and so caused him to be layd by a fire to sleepe; who in the morning having well slept, had recovered his perfect senses, and then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of Copper giuen them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread among all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that was dead.

Two or three Salvages slaine in drying Powder.

Another ingenuous Salvage of *Powhatans,* having gotten a great bag of Powder, and the backe of an Armour, at *Werowocomoco* amongst a many of his companions, to shew his extraordinary skill, he did dry it on the backe as he had seene the Souldiers at *Iames* Towne. But he dryed it so long, they peeping over it to see his skill, it tooke fire, and blew him to death, and one or two more; and the rest [were] so scorched, they had little pleasure to meddle any more with powder.

These and many other such pretty Accidents, so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan,* and all his people, that [*p.* 154.] from all parts with presents they desired peace; returning many stolne things which we never demanded nor thought of: and after that, those that were taken stealing, both *Powhatan* and his people haue sent them backe to *Iames* towne, to receiue their punishment; and all the Country became absolute[ly] as free for vs, as for themselues.

CHAPTER XI.

What was done in three moneths having Victualls. The Store devoured by Rats, how we liued three moneths of such naturall fruits as the Country affoorded.

NOw we so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths [*Feb.—April* 1609] wee made three or foure Last of Tarre, Pitch, and Sope ashes; produced a tryall of Glasse; made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water, which till then was wanting; built some twentie houses; re-covered our Church: provided Nets and W[e]ires for fishing; and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues, and the Salvages, built a Blockhouse in the neck of our Isle, kept by a Garrison to entertaine [**86**] the Saluages trade, and none to passe nor repasse Saluage nor Christian without the presidents order. Thirtie or forty Acres of ground we digged and planted. Of three sowes in eighteene moneths, increased 60 and od Piggs. And neere 500. chickings brought vp themselues without hauing any meat giuen them: but the Hogs were transported to Hog. Isle: where also we built a block-house with a garison to giue vs notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clapbord and waynscot, and cut downe trees. [1609]

We built also a fort for a retreat neere a conuenient Riuer vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assalted and easie to be defended; but ere it was finished this defect caused a stay.

In searching our casked corne [*April* 1609], we found it halfe rotten, and the rest so consumed with so many thousands of Rats that increased so fast, but the[i]re originall was from the ships, as we knew not how to keepe that little we had. This did driue vs all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Great extremitie by Rats. [*p.* 155.]

Vntill this time *Kemps* and *Tassore* were fettered prisoners, and did double taske and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now for want of victuall we set at liberty, but so well they liked our companies they did not desire to goe from us.

[1609] And to expresse their loues, for 16. dayes continuance, the Countrie people brought vs (when least) 100. a day, of Squirrils, Turkyes, Deere and other wilde beasts.

But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our works, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall. 60. or 80. with *Ensigne Laxon* was sent downe the riuer to liue vpon Oysters, and 20. with liutenant *Percy* to try for fishing at *Poynt Comfort*: but in six weekes they would not agree once to cast out the net, he being sicke and burnt sore with Gunpouder. Master *West* with as many went vp to the falls, but nothing could be found but a few Acornes; of that in store euery man had their equall proportion.

Bread made of dried Sturgeon.

Till this present, by the hazard and indeuours of some thirtie or fortie, this whole Colony had ever beene fed. We had more Sturgeon, then could be deuoured by Dog and Man, of which the industrious by drying and pounding, mingled with Caviare, Sorell and other wholesome hearbes would make bread and good meate: others would gather as much *Tockwhogh* roots in a day as would make them bread a weeke, so that of those wilde fruites, and what we caught, we liued very well in regard of such a diet.

The[i]re desire to destroy themselues.

But such was the strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced *nolens, volens*, perforce to gather and prepare their victuall they would all haue starued or haue eaten one another. Of those wild fruits the Salvages often brought vs, and for that the President would not fullfill the vnreasonable desire of those distracted Gluttonous Loyterers, to sell not only our kettells, hows, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, pieces, and the very Ordnance and howses, might they haue prevayled to haue beene but Idle: for those Saluage fruites, they would haue had imparted all to the [*p.* 156.] Saluages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of to be at *Powhatans* [*his house at Orapaks*], fifty myles from our Fort. Though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humors; yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sould their soules, though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thousands were the[i]re exclamations, suggestions and deuises, to force him to those base inventions to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Country.

Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one *Dyer* [*p.* 168] a most

crafty fellow and his ancient Maligner, whom he worthily punished, and with the rest he argued the case in this maner. [1609]

The Presidents order for the drones.

Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many to be so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you, or that Powhatan *at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as now I see a great many; yet it shal not so passionate me, but I will doe my best for my most maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from* Powhatan, *not* [nor] *that I will longer forbeare to force you from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you rayle. But if I finde any more runners for Newfoundland with the Pinnace, let him assuredly looke to ar*[r]*iue at the Gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life many a time I haue saued yours, when (might your owne wills haue preuailed) you* [**87**] *would haue starued; and will doe still whether I will or noe; But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selues those fruites the earth doth yeeld, you shall not onely gather for your selues, but those that are sicke. As yet I neuer had more from the store then the worst of you: and all my English extraordinary prouision that I haue, you shall see me diuide it amongst the sick.*

And this Saluage trash you so scornfully repine at; being put in your mouthes your stomackes can disgest: if you would haue better, you should haue brought it; and therefore I will take a course you shall prouide what is to be had. The sick shall not starue, but equally share of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next day [*p.* 157.] *shall be set beyond the riuer, and be banished from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions or starue.*

But some would say with *Seneca.*

I know those things thou sayst are true good Nurse,
But fury forceth me to follow worse.
My minde is hurried headlong vp and downe:
Desiring better counsell, yet finds none.

But seuen of 200 dyed in nine moneths [*Oct* 1608–10 *July* 1609].

This order many murmured was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well [to] bestirre themselues, that of 200. (except they were drowned) there died not past seuen:

As for Captaine *Winne* and Master *Leigh* they were dead

[1609] ere this want hapned, and the rest dyed not for want of such as preserued the rest.

Many were billetted amongst the Saluages, whereby we knew all their passages, fields and habitations, how to gather and vse the[i]re fruits as well as themselues; for they did know wee had such a commanding power at *Iames* towne they durst not wrong vs of a pin.

The Salvages returne our fugitiues.

So well those poore Salvages vsed vs that were thus billetted, that diuers of the Souldiers ran away to search *Kemps* and *Tassore* our old prisoners. Glad were these Salvages to haue such an oportunity to testifie their loue vnto vs, for in stead of entertaining them, and such things as they had stollen, with all their great Offers, and promises they made them how to reuenge their iniuryes vpon Captaine *Smith*; *Kemps* first made himselfe sport, in shewing his countrie men (by them) how he was vsed, feeding them with this law, who would not work must not eat, till they were neere starued indeede, continually threatning to beate them to death: neither could they get from him, till hee and his consorts brought them perforce to our Captaine, that so well contented him and punished them, as many others that intended also to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, then aduenture to liue idlely amongst the Salvages; (of whom there was more hope to make better Christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both.)

For so affraide was al those kings and the better sort of the people to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that we haue extreamly hurt and punished for the[i]re villanies would hire vs, [that] we should not tell it to their kings, or countrymen; who would also repunish them, and yet returne them to *Iames* towne to content the President, for a testimony of their loues.

[*p.* 158.] Master *Sicklemores* Iourney to *Chawwonoke.*

Master *Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawwonoke*; but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them [that] were left by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The riuer, he saw was not great, the people few, the countrey most[ly] over growne with pynes, where there did grow here and there straglingly *Pemminaw*, we call silke grasse. But by the riuer the ground was good, and exceeding furtill.

Master *Nathanael powell* and *Anas Todkill* were also by the *Quiyoughquohanocks* conducted to the *Mangoags* to search them there: but nothing could they learne but they were all dead. [1609]

Master *Powels* iorney to the *Mangoags*.

This honest proper good promise-keeping king, of all the rest did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods he was very zealous, yet he would confesse our God as much exceeded his as our Gunns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many presents, to pray to his God for raine or his corne would perish, for his Gods were angry.

Three dayes iorney they conducted [**88**] them through the woods, into a high country towards the Southwest: where they saw here and there a little corne field, by some little spring or smal brooke, but no riuer they could see: the people in all respects like the rest, except the[i]re language: they liue most[ly] vpon rootes, fruites and wilde beasts; and trade with them towards the sea and the fatter countryes for dryed fish and corne, for [*with*] skins.

All this time to recouer the *Dutch*-men and one *Bentley* another fugitiue, we imployed one *William Volday*, a *Zwitzar* by birth, with Pardons and promises to regaine them. Little we then suspected this double villaine of any villa[i]ny; who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason; for this wicked hypocrite, by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his cursed country men, (hauing this oportunity by his imployment to regaine them) conuayed them euery thing they desired to effect their proiects, to distroy the Colony.

The *Dutch* mens proiects.

With much deuotion they expected the *Spaniard*, to whom they intended good seruice, or any other that would but carry them from vs. But to begin with the first oportunity; they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not onely distroy our Hoggs, fire our towne, and betray our Pinnace; but bring to his seruice and subiection the most of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many Discontents, and many were agreed to their Deuilish practise. But one *Thomas Douse*, and *Thomas Mallard* (whose christian hearts relented at such an vnchristian act) voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine

[1609] *Smith*, who caused them to conceale it, perswading *Douse* and *Mallard* to proceed in their confed[e]racie: onely to bring the irrecla[i]mable *Dutch* men and the inconstant [*p.* 159.] Salvages in such a maner amongst such Ambuscado's as he had prepared, that not many of them should returne from our *Peninsula* [*i.e., of James Town*].

But this bru[i]te comming to the eares of the impatient multitude they so importuned the President to cut off those *Dutch* men, as amongst many that offred to cut their throats before the face of *Powhatan*, the first was Lieutenant *Percy*, and Master *Iohn Cuderington*, two Gentlemen of as bold resolute spirits as could possibly be found. But the President had occasion of other imploiment for them, and gaue way to Master *Wyffin* and Sarieant *Ieffrey Abbot*, to goe and stab them or shoot them.

Two Gentlemen sent to the *Germans*.

[*p.* 508.]

But the *Dutch* men made such excuses, accusing *Volday* whom they supposed had reuealed their proiect, as *Abbot* would not; yet *Wyffing* would, perceiuing it but deceit.

The King vnderstanding of this their imployment, sent presently his messengers to Captaine *Smith* to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command: nor did he nor would he maintaine them or any, to occasion his displeasure.

The first arriuall of Captaine *Argall*.

But whilst this businesse was in hand, Arriued [10 *July* 1609, *see p.* xcvi] one Captaine *Argall*, and Master *Thomas Sedan*, sent by Master *Cornelius* to truck with the *Colony*, and fish for Sturgeon, with a ship well furnished with wine and much other good provision. Though it was not sent vs, our necessities was such as inforced vs to take it. He brought vs newes of a great supply and preparation for the Lord *La Warre*, with letters that much taxed our President for his hard dealing with the Salvages, and not returning the shippes fraughted. Notwithstanding we kept this ship till the fleete arriued [11–18 *August* 1609].

True it is *Argall* lost his voyage, but we reuictualled him, and sent him for England, with a true relation of the causes of our defailments, and how imposible it was to returne that wealth they expected, or obserue the[i]re instructions to indure the Salvages insolencies, or doe any thing to any purpose, except they would send vs men and meanes that could produce that they so much desired:

otherwises all they did was lost, and could not but come to confusion. [1609]

The villany of *Volday* we still dissembled. *Adam* vpon his pardon came home, but *Samuell* still stayed with *Powhatan* to heare further of their estates by this supply. Now all their plots *Smith* so well vnderstood, they were his best advantages to secure vs from any trechery, [that] could be done by them or the Salvages: which with facility he could revenge when he would, because all those countreyes more feared him then *Powhatan*, and hee had such parties with all his bordering neighbours: and many of the rest for loue or feare would haue done any thing he would haue them, vpon any commotion, [89] though these fugitiues had done all they could to perswade *Powhatan*, [that] King *Iames* would kill *Smith*, for vsing him and his people so vnkindly.

By this you may see for all those crosses, trecheries, and dissentions, how hee wrestled and overcame (without bloudshed) all that happened: also what good was done; how few dyed; what food the Countrey naturally affoordeth; what small cause there is men should starue, or be murthered by the Salvages, that haue discretion to mannage them with courage and industrie. Note these inconveniences.

The two first yeares, though by his adventures, he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade; yet you see how the envious authoritie ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endevours. But it wrought in him that experience and estimation amongst the Salvages, as otherwise it had bin impossible, he had ever effected that he did.

Notwithstanding the many miserable, yet generous and worthy adventures, he had oft and long endured in the wide world; yet in this case he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience. Which with thus much adoe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but onely learned how to begin. [*p.* 160.]

And though he left those vnknowne difficulties (made easie and familiar) to his vnlawfull successors, (who onely by liuing in *Iames* Towne, presumed to know more then all the world could direct them:) Now though they had all his Souldiers, with a tripple power, and twice tripple better

[1609] meanes; by what they haue done in his absence, the world may see what they would haue done in his presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions: it doth iustly proue, what cause he had to send them for *England* [*pp.* 408, 411, 444]; and that he was neither factious, mutinous, nor dishonest.

But they haue made it more plaine since his returne for *England*; having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunitie that his labours had effected. As I am sorry their actions haue made it so manifest, so I am vnwilling to say what reason doth compell me, but onely to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partiall, reasonlesse, and malicious.

p. 161.]

CHAPTER XII.

The Arrivall of the third Supply.

The alteration of the gouernament.

TO redresse those jarres and ill proceedings, the Treasurer, Councell, and Company of *Virginia*, not finding that returne and profit they expected; and them ingaged there, not having meanes to subsist of themselues; made meanes to his Maiestie, to call in their Commission, and take a new in their owne names, as in their owne publication, 1610. you may reade at large.

Having thus annihilated the old by vertue of a Commission made to the right Honourable, Sir *Thomas West*, Lord *de la Warre*, to be Generall of *Virginia*; Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant; Sir *George Somers*, Admirall; Sir *Thomas Dale*, high Marshall; Sir *Fardinando Wainman*, Generall of the Horse; and so all other offices to many other worthy Gentlemen, for their liues: (though not any of them had ever beene in *Virginia*, except Captaine *Newport*, who was also by Patent made vice-Admirall:) those noble Gentlemen drew in such great summes of money, that they sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Newport* with nine shippes, and fiue hundred people: who [*Gates, Somers, and Newport*] had each of them a Commission, who first arrived to call in the old [Commission], without the knowledge or consent of them that had endured all

those former dangers to beat the path, not any regard [being] had at all of them. [1609]

All things being ready, because those three Captaines oculd not agree for place, it was concluded they should goe all in one ship, so all their three Commissions were in that Ship with them, called the *Sea-Venture*.

They set sayle from *England* in May 1609.

A small Catch perished at Sea in a Hericano: the Admirall [*flag-ship*] with an hundred and fiftie men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bils of Loading, with all manner of directions, and the most part of their provision, arrived not. 1609. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

With the other [**90**] seaven Ships as Captaines arrived *Rat[c]liffe*, whose right name (as is sayd [*p.* 444]) was *Sicklemore, Martin*, and *Archer*, with Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Captaine *Moone*, Captaine *King*, Captaine *Davis*, and divers Gentlemen of good meanes, and great parentage. But the first [*i.e.*, *Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer*] as they had beene troublesome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore: for though (as is said) they were formerly sent for *England* [*pp.* 105, 107, 408, 411, 444], yet now returning againe, graced by the titles of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strengthened themselues with those new companies, sc exclaiming against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him ere ever they saw him. The losse of *Virginia*.

Who vnderstanding by his Scouts [of] the arrivall of such a Fleet, little dreaming of any such supply, supposed them *Spanyards*. But he quickly so determined and ordered our affaires, as we little feared their Arrivall, nor the successe of our incounter; nor were the Salvages any way negligent for the most part, to ayd and assist vs with their best power. [*p.* 162.]

Had it so beene we had beene happy; for we would not haue trusted them but as our foes, where[as] receiuing them as our Countreymen and friends, they did what they could to murther our President, to surprise the Store, the Fort, and our lodgings, to vsurpe the government, and make vs all their servants and slaues, till they could consume vs and our remembrance; and rather indeed to supplant vs then supply vs, as master *William Box* an honest Gentleman in this voyage thus relateth. The Salvages offer to fight vnder our colours. [*p.* 504.]

[1609] In the tayle of a *Hericano* wee were separated from the Admirall, which although it was but the remainder of that Storme, there is seldome any such in *England*, or those Northerne parts of *Europe*. Some lost their Masts, some their Sayles blowne from their Yards; the Seas so over-raking our Ships, much of our prouision was spoyled, our Fleet separated, and our men sicke, and many dyed: and in this miserable estate we arrived in *Virginia*.

But in this Storme,

When ratling Thunder ran along the Clouds;
Did not the Saylers poore, and Masters proud
A terror feele as strucke with feare of God?
Did not their trembling ioynts then dread his rod?
Least for foule deeds and black mouth'd blasphemies,
The ru[e]full time be come that vengeance cryes.

Mutinies. To a thousand mischiefes those lewd Captaines [*Ratcliffe &c.*] led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly Gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another; to day the old Commission must rule, to morrow the new, the next day neither; in fine they would rule all, or ruine all: yet in charitie we must endure them thus to destroy vs; or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds censure vpon vs to be guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and as we were left to our fortunes: for on earth, for the number, was never more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned.

The President seeing the desire those Braues had to rule; seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all, and haue returned for *England*. But seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arriue, longer he would not suffer those factious spirits to proceede.

It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible; should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practices, he daily escaped amongst this factious crew; the chiefe whereof he quickly layd by the heeles, till his leasure

better served to doe them iustice: and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master *Percie* had his request granted to returne for *England*, being very sicke; and Master *West* with an hundred and twentie of the best he could chuse, he sent to the Falles; *Martin* with neare as many to *Nandsamund*, with their due proportions of all provisions according to th[e]ir numbers. [**91**] [1609]

The planting [of] *Nandsamund.*

Now the Presidents yeare being neare expired, he made Captaine *Martin* President, to follow the order for the election of a President every yeare: but he knowing his owne insufficiency, and the companies vntowardnesse and little regard of him within three houres after resigned, it againe to Captaine *Smith*; and at *Nandsamund* thus proceeded. [*p.* 163.]

The people being contributers vsed him kindly; yet such was his iealous feare, in the midst of their mirth, he did surprise this poore naked King, with his Monuments, houses, and the Isle he inhabited, and there fortified himselfe; but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldened the Salvages to assault him, kill his men, release their King, gather and carry away a thousand bushels of Corne, he not once offering to intercept them; but sent to the President, then at the Falles, for thirtie good shot; which from *Iames* Towne immediately was sent him. But he so well imployed them they did iust nothing, but returned complaining of his tendernesse: yet he came away with them to *Iames* Towne, leauing his company to their fortunes.

The breach of peace with the Salvages.

Here I cannot omit the courage of *George Forrest*, that had seauenteene Arrowes sticking in him, and one shot through him, yet liued sixe or seauen dayes, as if he had small hurt; then for want of Chirurgery dyed.

Master *West* having seated his men by the Falles, presently returned to reuisit *Iames* Towne: the President followed him to see that company seated; met him by the way, wondering at his so quicke returne; and found his company planted so inconsiderately, in a place not onely subiect to the rivers invndation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconueniences.

For remedie whereof he presently sent to *Powhatan* to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*. And these should be his Conditions

Powhatan bought for Copper.

[1609] [He] (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and houses, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper; that all stealing offenders should be sent him, there to receiue their punishment; that every house as a Custome should pay him a Bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of *Pocones*, as a yearely tribute to King *Iames* for their protection, as a dutie; what else they could spare to barter at their best discretions.

Mutinies. But both this excellent place and those good Conditions did those furies refuse; contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie. So much they depended on the Lord Generals new Commission, as they regarded none: the worst they could doe to shew their spights they did; supposing all the *Monacans* Country, gold; and none should come there but whom they pleased. I doe more then wonder to thinke how onely with fiue men, he either durst or would adventure as he did, (knowing how greedie [*p.* 164.] they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit to imprisonment all the Chieftaines of those mutinies, till Fiue suppresse an hundred and twentie. by their multitudes being an hundred and twentie they forced him to retyre: yet in that interim he surprised one of their Boates, wherewith he returned to their ship, where in deed was their prouision; which also he tooke, and well it chanced he found the Marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie he had ever escaped.

There were divers other of better reason and experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Webbe*, Captaine *Moone*, Captaine *Fitz Iames*, Master *William Powell*, Master *Partridge*, Master *White*, and divers others, when they perceiued the malice of *Rat*[*c*]*liffe* and *Archer*, and their faction, left their companies, and ever rested his faithfull friends.

Breach of peace with the Salvages at the Falles. But the worst was that the poore Salvages, that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complained to Captaine *Smith*, he had brought

them for Protectors, worse enemies then the *Monacans* themselues: which though till then, for his loue they had endured, they desired pardon if hereafter they defended themselues; since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So [**92**] much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanors, as they offered (if he would leade them) to fight for him against them. [1609]

But having spent nine dayes [*Aug.–Sept.* 1609] in seeking to reclaime them; shewing them how much they did abuse themselues with these great guilded hopes of the South Sea Mines, commodities, or victories, they so madly conceived; then seeing nothing would prevaile, he set sayle for *Iames* Towne.

Thus oft we see from small greene wounds, and from a little griefe,
A greater sore and sicknesse growes, then will admit reliefe:
For thus themselues they did beguile, and with the rest play'd theefe.

An assalt by the Salvages

Now no sooner was the Ship vnder sayle, but the Salvages assaulted those hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some stragling abroad in the woods: they slew many, and so affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they safely retyred, with the swords and cloakes of those they had slaine. [*p.* 165]

But ere wee had sayled halfe a league, our ship grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parley; where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore silly assault of twelue Saluages, that they submitted themselues vpon any tearmes to the Presidents mercy; who presently put by the heeles sixe or seauen of the chiefe offenders.

The rest he seated gallantly at *Powhatan*, in that Salvage Fort, readie built, and prettily fortified with poles and barkes of trees, sufficient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in *Virginia*, dry houses for lodgings, and neere two hundred acres of ground ready to be planted, and no place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in *Virginia* for which we called it *Non-such*.

The planting of *Non-such*.

The Salvages also hee presently appeased, redeliuering to either party their former losses.

The Salvages appeased.

[1609] Thus all were friends. New officers appointed to command, and the President againe ready to depart.

At that instant arriued Captaine *West,* whose gentle nature, by the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners (alledging they had onely done this for his honor) was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboyles did arise. For they a-shore being possessed of all the[i]re victuall, munition, and euery thing, grew to that height in their former factions, as the President left them to their fortunes: they returned againe to the open ayre at *Wests* Fort, abandoning *Non-such,* and he to *Iames* towne with his best expedition.

Captaine *Smith* blowne vp with powder.

But this hapned him in that Iourney. Sleeping in his Boate, (for the ship was returned two daies before) accidentallie, one fired his powder-bag, which tore the flesh from his body and thighes, nine or ten inches square in a most pittifull manner; but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths he leaped over-board into the deepe river, where ere they could recouer him he was neere drowned. In this estate without either Chirurgian, or Chirurgery he was to goe [*by water*] neere an hundred myles.

Arriving at *Iames* towne, causing all things to be prepared for peace or warres [and] to obtaine provision.

[*p.* 166.] Whilest those things were providing, *Rat*[*c*]*liffe, Archer,* and the rest of their Confederates, being to come to their trials; their guiltie consciences fearing a iust reward for their deserts, seeing the President vnable to stand, and neere bereft of his senses by reason of his torment, they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that should haue giuen fire to that mercilesse Pistoll.

A bloudy intent.

So not finding that course to be the best, they ioyned together to vsurpe the government, thereby to escape their punishment.

The President had notice of their proiects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but permit them to take their heads that would resist his command, yet he would not suffer them; but sent for the Masters of the ships, and tooke order with them for his returne for England.

The causes why *Smith* left the Countrey and his Commission

Seeing there was neither Chirurgian, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ship to depart the next

day [*about* 13 *Sept.* 1609, *see p.* 486], his Commission to be suppressed he knew not why, himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded he knew not how, and a [**93**] new commission granted they knew not to whom (the which disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies as they did :) besides so grievous were his wounds, and so cruell his torments (few expecting he could liue) nor was hee able to follow his busines to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the countries for provision as he intended ; and well he knew in those affaires his owne actions and presence was as requisit as his directions, which now could not be: he went presently abroad, resoluing there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutine[e]rs ; but he could finde none hee thought fit for it, would accept it. In the meane time, seeing him gone, they perswaded Master *Percy* to stay, who was then to goe for England, and be their President. [1609]

Within lesse then an houre was this mutation begun and concluded.

For when the Company vnderstood *Smith* would leaue them, and saw the rest in Armes called Presidents and Councellors, divers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him [to] resigne them his Commission: who after much adoe and many bitter repulses; [*p.* 167.] that their confusion (which he tould them was at their elbowes) should not be attributed to him, for leauing the Colony without a Commission, he was not vnwilling they should steale it, but never would he giue it to such as they.

And thus, *Strange violent forces drew vs on vnwilling :*
Reason perswading 'gainst our loues rebelling.
We saw and knew the better, ah curse accurst!
That notwithstanding we imbrace the worst.

But had that vnhappie blast not hapned, he would quickly haue qualified the heate of those humors and factions, had the ships but once left them and vs to our fortunes; and haue made that provision from among the Salvages, as we neither feared *Spanyard*, Salvage, nor famine; nor would haue left *Virginia*, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and payd for it.

What shall I say, but thus we left [*lost*] him, that in

[1609] all his proceedings, made Iustice his first guide, and experience his second, even hating basenesse, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that neuer allowed more for himselfe, then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see vs want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loued action more then words, and hated falshood and covetousnesse worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deaths.

Leaving vs thus with three ships, seaven boats, commodities readie to trade, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and od persons, twentie-foure Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets Snaphances and Firelockes; Shot Powder and Match sufficient; Curats Pikes Swords and Morrio[n]s, more then men; the Salvages, their language, and habitations well knowne to an hundred well trayned and expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing; Tooles of all sorts to worke; apparell to supply our wants; six Mares and a Horse; fiue or sixe hundred Swine; as many Hennes and Chickens; some Goats; some sheepe. What was brought or bred there, remained.

But they, regarding nothing but from hand to mouth, did consume that wee had, tooke care for nothing but to perfect some colourable complaints against Captaine *Smith.* For effecting whereof three weekes longer [*i.e.*, *from about* 13 *Sept. to* 4 *Oct.* 1609, *see p.* xcviii] they stayed the Ships, till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beene spent, but it su[i]ted well with the rest of their discretions.

[*p.* 168.]

Besides *Iames* towne that was strongly Pallizadoed, containing some fiftie or sixtie houses, he left fiue or sixe other severall Forts and Plantations: though they were not so sumptuous as our successors expected, they were better then they provided any for vs. All this time we had but one Carpenter in the Countrey, and three others [**94**] that could doe little, but desired to be learners; two Blacksmiths; two saylers; and those we write labourers were for most part footmen, and such as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they

could perswade to goe with them, that neuer did know what a dayes worke was: except the *Dutch*-men and *Poles*, and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore Gentlemen, Trad[e]smen, Serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Common-wealth, then either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one. For when neither the feare of God, nor the law, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends could rule them here [*in England*], there is small hope ever to bring one in twentie of them ever to be good there [*in Virginia*]. Notwithstanding, I confesse divers amongst them, had better mindes and grew much more industrious then was expected: yet ten good workemen would haue done more substantiall worke in a day, then ten of them in a weeke. Therefore men may rather wonder how we could doe so much, then vse vs so badly because we did no more, but leaue those examples to make others beware; and the fruits of all, we know not for whom. [1609] [*pp.* 616, 930.]

The ends of the *Dutch*-men.

But to see the justice of God vpon these *Dutch*-men; *Valdo* before spoke of, made a shift to get for *England*, where perswading the Merchants what rich Mines he had found, and great service he would doe them, was very well rewarded, and returned with the Lord *La Warre* [*June* 1610]: but being found a meere Impostor, he dyed most miserably.

Adam and *Francis* his two consorts were fled againe [*in the winter* 1609–10] to *Powhatan*, to whom they promised at the arrivall of my Lord [*June* 1610], what wonders they would doe, would he suffer them but to goe to him. But the King seeing they would be gone, replyed; You that would haue betrayed Captaine *Smith* to mee, will certainely betray me to this great Lord for your peace: so caused his men to beat out their braines.

To conclude, the greatest honour that ever belonged to the greatest Monarkes, was the inlarging their Dominions, and erecting Common-weales. Yet howsoever any of them haue attributed to themselues, the Conquerors of the world: there is more of the world never heard of them, then ever any of them all had in subiection: for the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Assyrians*, never Conquered all *Asia*; nor the *Grecians* but part of *Europe* and *Asia*. The *Romans* indeed had a great part of both, as well as *Affrica*: but as for all

[1609] the Northerne parts of *Europe* and *Asia*, the interior Southern and Westerne parts of *Affrica*, all *America* and *Terra incognita*, they were all ignorant: nor is our knowledge yet but superficiall. That their beginnings, ending, and limitations were proportioned by the Almightie is most evident: but to consider of what small meanes many of them haue begun is wonderfull. For some write that even *Rome* her selfe, during the Raigne of *Romulus*, exceeded not the number of a thousand houses. And *Carthage* grew so great a Potentate, that at first was but incirculed in the thongs of a Bulls skinne, as to fight with *Rome* for the Empire of the world. Yea *Venice* at this time the admiration of the earth, was at first but a Marish, inhabited by poore Fishermen. And likewise *Ninivie*, *Thebes*, *Babylon*, *Delus*, *Troy*, *Athens*, *Mycena* and *Sparta*, grew from small beginnings to be most famous States, though now they retaine little more then a naked name. Now this our yong Common-wealth in *Virginia*, as you haue read once consisted but of 38 persons [*p.* 402], and in two yeares increased but to 200. yet by this small meanes so highly was approved the Plantation in *Virginia*, as how many Lords, with worthy Knights, and braue Gentlemen pretended [*intended*] to see it, and some did; and now after the expence of fifteene yeares more [1609–1624], and such massie summes of men and money, grow they disanimated? If we truely consider our Proceedings with the *Spanyards*, and the rest, we haue no reason to despayre, for with so small charge, they never had either greater Discoveries, with such certaine tryals of more severall Commodities, then in this short time hath beene returned from *Virginia*, and by much lesse meanes. *New England* was brought out of obscuritie, and affoorded fraught for neare 200 sayle of ships, where there is now erected a braue Plantation [*the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth*]. For the happines of *Summer Isles*, they are no lesse then either, and yet those haue had a far lesse, and a more difficult beginning, then either *Rome*, *Carthage*, or *Venice*.

[*pp.* 240–242, 256–259.]

[*p.* 749.]

Written by *Richard Pots*, Clarke of the Councell
William Tankard, and *G. P.* [95]

The two intercalated pages, **95** and **96.**

A reprint of Complimentary Verses.]

[It will be convenient here to deal with the bibliographical myth, that *Sig.* O, *being* pages **97** *to* **104**, *was suppressed in all copies.*

SMITH, in his *Prospectus* of 1623, *p.* cxxvi, estimated the matter of the *General History*, as "composed in [*i.e.*, *written to fill*] less than eighty sheets," which, at four pages to the folio, or eight pages to the signature, equals 320 *pp.* The actual printed text occupies 12 un numbered, and **240** pages, wrongly numbered after *p.* **96**; or 252 printed *pp.* in all: that is, nearly a fourth less than the original estimate.

The explanation of this is very simple, and is due to the acuteness of H. STEVENS, Esq., F.S.A.

The manuscript had passed the licenser by the 12 July 1624 (as the entry at Stationers' Hall, *p.* 274, proves); and it being desired to print it with all possible speed, it was given out to two out of the twenty to twenty-five printing houses then existing in London: the "copy" being roughly divided between them. This is confirmed by the variation of the initial letters, and of the style of the headings, on and after *p.* **105** of the original edition, from those before that page.

If the matter fell short for the latter part of the book, that would make no difference; but if it fell short in the earlier part, there would be a hiatus: and a hiatus there was, of 10 folio pages. Two of these, the Author filled up with this reprint of Complimentary Verses from the *Description of New England*, presumably, by then, out of print, beginning with the words on the opposite page.

"Now seeing there is thus much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed upon *New England*, I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reiect, nor omit their courtesies."

The remaining two sheets or eight pages, which should have made Sig. O, he left simply a gap, without any explanation at all.

That the *General History* was pushed through the press with all possible speed, is hard to prove now: but it seems to be confirmed by the above; and it is manifest from the *Preface of foure Poynts* at *p.* 278, that the *History* was written to sustain the public interest in the Colonizing movement, after the disgraceful collapse of the London Virginia Company and while its legal dissolution was in progress.

"The which losse [*of the Massacre on 22 March* 1622] to repaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke [*capital*] as is said; then they broke [*became bankrupt*], not making any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any; whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businesse to a few that lost not by it. So that his Maiesty recalled their Commission [*June* 1624]." *p.* 931.

In the original edition of 1624, the Fourth Book has, by an error of the second printer, not got *Lib.* 4 in the headline. We have inserted it in the present edition, for the sake of uniformity.]

Now seeing there is thus much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed vpon New England, *I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reiect, nor omit their courtesies.*

In the deserued Honour of the Author, Captaine *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

[p. 181.]

Damn'd Envie *is a sp'rite, that ever haunts* [1616]
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or Ignorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deare WORTH
(Maugre her malice) sets their glory forth.
If this faire Overture, then, take not; It
Is Envie's *spight (deare friend) in men of wit;*
Or Feare, *lest morsels, which our mouths possesse,*
Might fall from thence; or else, tis Sottishnesse.
If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;
*Thy *Letters are as Letters in thy praise;* * Hinderers
Who, by their vice, improue *(when they* reprooue*)*
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.
Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any Smith to forge *such fame.*

Iohn Davies, *Heref:*

[*p.* 181.]

To his worthy Captaine the Author.

[1616]

THat which wee call the subiect of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight
Of Envie; *which doth no mans Merits right.*
My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this; I'aue said enough before.

Your sometime Souldier, *I. Codrinton,* now Templer.

[*p.* 182.]

To my Worthy Friend and Cosen, Captaine *Iohn Smith.*

IT over-ioyes my heart, when as thy Words
Of these designes, with deeds I doe compare.
Here is a Booke, such worthy truth affords,
None should the due desert thereof impare:
Sith thou, the man, deserving of these Ages,
Much paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdomes good,
In Climes vnknowne, 'Mongst Turks *and Salvages,*
T'inlarge our bounds; though with thy losse of blood.
Hence damn'd Detraction: stand not in our way.
Envie, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay.

N. Smith.

In the deserved Honour of my honest and worthy Captaine, *Iohn Smith*, and his Worke.

[p. 184]

[1616]

Captaine and friend; when I pervse thy Booke
(*With* Iudgements *eyes*) *into my* heart *I looke:*
And there I finde (*what sometimes* Albion *knew*)
A Souldier, *to his* Countries-honour, *true.*
Some fight for wealth; *and some for* emptie praise;
But thou alone thy Countries Fame *to raise.* [96]
With due discretion, *and* vnda[u]nted heart,
I (*oft*) *so well haue seene thee act thy Part*
In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
As forc't the troups of proudest foes to flie.
Though men of greater Ranke *and lesse* desert
Would Pish *away thy* Praise, *it can not start*
From the true Owner: *for, all good mens tongues*
Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
If, then, Wit, Courage, *and* Successe *should get*
Thee Fame; *the Muse for* that *is in thy* debt:
A part whereof (*least able though I be*)
Thus here I doe disburse, to honor Thee.

Raleigh Crashaw.

Michael Phettiplace, Wil: Phettiplace, and *Richard Wiffing*, Gentlemen, and Souldiers vnder Captaine *Smiths* command: In his deserved honour for his Worke, and Worth.

[p. 185]

Why may not wee in this Worke haue our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and night,
When thou Virginia *foild'st, yet kept'st vnstaind;*
And held'st the King of Paspeheh *enchaind.*

[1616] *Thou all alone this* Salvage *sterne didst take.*
Pamavnkees *King wee saw thee captiue make*
Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,
To murther thee and vs resolved; when
Fast by the hayre thou ledst this Salvage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to governe him:
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(Sith their drad Soveraigne thou had'st so distrest)
That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd
Vnto our helplesse Ships. *Thou (thus admir'd)*
Didst make proud Powhatan, *his subiects send*
To Iames *his Towne, thy censure to attend:*
And all Virginia's *Lords, and pettie Kings,*
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings
To gaine thy grace; so dreaded thou hast beene:
And yet a heart more milde is seldome seene;
So, making Valour Vertue, really;
Who hast nought in thee counterfeit, or slie;
If in the sleight be not the truest Art,
That makes men famoused for faire desert.
Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie,
Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true Storie.
If it be ill in Thee, so well to doe;
Then, is ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
But, if the first be well done; it is well,
To say it doth (if so it doth) excell.
Praise is the guerdon of each deare desert
Making the praised act the praised part
With more alacritie: Honours *Spurre is* Praise;
Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decaies.
And for this paines of thine wee praise thee rather,
That future Times may know who was the father
Of that rare Worke (New England) *which may bring,*
Praise to thy God, *and profit to thy* King. [**105**]

The History of Virginia.

1609–1624.]

[This History of Virginia from the departure of Captain SMITH from James town, on 4 October 1609, to the dissolution of the London Virginia Company, in June 1624; is in nothing like the detail of the previous part of this Volume. It should be supplemented by a study of the Works specified on *p.* cxxxiii.]

The Fovrth Booke.

TO MAKE PLAINE THE TRVE PROCEEDINGS OF THE HISTORIE

for 1609. we must follow the examinations of Doctor *Simons*, and two learned Orations published by the Companie; with the relation of the Right Honourable the Lord *De la Ware*.

What happened in the first gouernment after the alteration, in the time of Captaine George Piercie *their Gouernour.*

THE day before [3 *Oct.* 1609] Captaine *Smith* returned [4 *Oct.* 1609, *see pp.* 167, 170] for *England* with the ships, Captaine *Dauis* arriued in a small Pinace, with some sixteene proper men more: To these were added a company from *Iames* towne, vnder the command of Captaine *Iohn Sickelmore* alias *Rat*[*c*]*liffe*, to inhabit *Point Comfort*. Captaine *Martin* and Captaine *West*, hauing lost their boats and neere halfe their men among the Saluages, were returned to *Iames* towne; for the Saluages no sooner vnderstood *Smith* was gone, but they all reuolted, and did spoile and murther all they incountered. [1609] [*p.* 170.] The planting *Point Comfort*. 1609

[1609] Now wee were all constrained to liue onely on that *Smith* had onely for his owne Companie, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now they had twentie Presidents with all their appurtenances: Master *Piercie*, our new President, was so sicke hee could neither goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Captaine *West* and Captaine *Sickelmore*, each with a small ship and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade. *Sickelmore* vpon the confidence of *Powhatan*, with about thirtie others as carelesse as himselfe; were all slaine; onely *Ieffrey Shortridge* escaped; and *Pokahontas* the Kings daughter saued a boy called *Henry Spilman* [*pp.* 172, 503, 528, 586, 606], that liued many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongst the *Patawomekes*.

[*pp.* 445, 508.]

Powhatan still, as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade: so that Captaine *West* set saile for *England*.

Now we all found the losse of Captaine *Smith*, yea his greatest maligners could now curse his losse: as for corne prouision and contribution from the Saluages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes; as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what liued, our commanders, officers and Saluages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was deuoured; then swords, armes, pieces, or any thing, wee traded with the Saluages, whose cruell fingers were so oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Gouernours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships, of fiue hundred within six moneths after Captaine *Smiths* departure [*Oct.* 1609—*Mar.* 1610], there remained not past sixtie men, women and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserued for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had startch in these extremities, made no small vse of it; yea, euen the very skinnes of our horses.

Nay, so great was our famine, that a Saluage we slew and buried, the poorer sort tooke him vp againe and eat him; and so did diuers [**106**] one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest

did kill his wife, powdered [*salted*] her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne; for which hee was executed, as hee well deserued: now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not; but of such a dish as powdered wife I neuer heard of. [1609-10]

This was that time, which still to this day [1624] we called the staruing time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be beleeued, what we endured: but the occasion was our owne, for want of prouidence industrie and gouernment, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrie, as is generally supposed; for till then in three yeeres, for the numbers were landed vs, we had neuer from *England* prouision sufficient for six moneths, though it seemed by the bils of loading sufficient was sent vs, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners; we as little tasted of the great proportion sent vs, as they of our want and miseries, yet notwithstanding they euer ouerswayed and ruled the businesse, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly liued on what this good Countrie naturally afforded. Yet had wee beene euen in Paradice it selfe with these Gouernours, it would not haue beene much better withe vs; yet there was amongst vs, who had they had the gouernment as Captaine *Smith* appointed, but that they could not maintaine it, would surely haue kept vs from those extremities of miseries. This in ten daies more, would haue supplanted vs all with death. [The Starving Time.]

But God that would not this Countrie should be vnplanted, sent Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Sommers* with one hundred and fiftie people most happily preserued by the *Bermudas* to preserue vs [21 *May* 1610]: strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserued in a leaking ship, as at large you may reade in the insuing Historie of those Ilands [*p.* 635]. [*p.* 171.] The arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates.*

1610. *The gouernment resigned to Sir* Thomas Gates, 1610.

[1610] WHen these two Noble Knights did see our miseries, being but strangers in that Countrie, and could vnderstand no more of the cause, but by coniecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing and excusing one another: They embarked vs with themselues, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning *Iames* towne [7 *June* 1610], set saile for *England*: whereby you may see the euent of the gouernment of the former Commanders [*Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer*] left to themselues; although they had liued there many yeeres, as formerly hath beene spoken (who hindred now their proceedings, Captaine *Smith* being gone).

Iames towne abandoned.

At noone they fell to the Ile of *Hogs*, and the next morning [8 *June*] to *Mulbery point*, at what time they descried the Long-boat of the Lord *la Ware*; for God would not haue it so abandoned. For this honourable Lord, then Gouernour of the Countrie, met them with three ships exceedingly well furnished with all necessaries fitting; who againe returned them to the abandoned *Iames* towne.

Out of the obseruations of William Simmons *Doctor of Diuinitie.*

The gouernment devolued to the Lord la Ware.

The arriuall of the Lord *la Ware.* [*p.* 171.]

HIs Lordship arriued the ninth of Iune 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, Captaine *Houlcroft*, Captaine *Lawson*, and diuers other Gentlemen of sort; the tenth he came vp with his fleet, went on shore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entred into consultation for the good of the Colonie: in which secret counsell we will a little leaue them, that we may duly obserue the reuealed counsell of God.

Hee that shall but turne vp his eie, and behold the

spangled canopie of heauen, or shall but cast downe his eie, and consider the embroydered carpet of the earth, and withall shall marke how the heauens heare the earth, and the earth the Corne and Oile, and they relieue the necessities of man, that man will acknowledge Gods infinite [**107**] prouidence. But hee that shall further obserue, how God inclineth all casuall euents to worke the necessary helpe of his Saints, must needs adore the Lords infinite goodnesse. [1610]

Neuer had any people more iust cause, to cast themselues at the very foot-stoole of God, and to reuerence his mercie, than this distressed Colonie; for if God had not sent Sir *Thomas Gates* from the *Bermudas*, within foure daies they had almost beene famished; if God had not directed the heart of that noble Knight to saue the Fort from fiering at their shipping [*embarkation*], for many were very importunate to haue burnt it, they had beene destitute of a present harbour and succour: if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not so soone returned, questionlesse the Indians would haue destroied the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our safeties amongst them and a terror. If they had set saile sooner, and had lanched into the vast Ocean; who would haue promised they should haue incountered the Fleet of the Lord *la Ware*: especially when they made for *Newfound land*, as they intended; a course contrarie to our Nauie approaching. If the Lord *la Ware* had not brought with him a yeeres prouision, what comfort would those poore soules haue receiued, to haue beene relanded to a second distruction? This was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would haue his people passe the red Sea and Wildernesse, and then to possesse the land of *Canaan:* It was diuinely spoken of Heathen *Socrates*, If God for man be carefull, why should man bee ouer-distrustfull? for he hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the Elements,

That neither cold things want heat, nor moist things dry,
Nor sad things spirits, to quicken them thereby,
Yet make they music all content of contrarietie,
Which conquer'd, knits them in such links together,
They doe produce euen all this whatsoeuer.

The Lord Gouernour, after mature deliberation, deliuered

[1610] some few words to the Companie, laying iust blame vpon them, for their haughtie vanities and sluggish idlenesse, earnestly intreating them to amend those desperate follies lest hee should be compelled to draw the sword of Iustice and to cut off such delinquents, which he had rather draw to the shedding of his vitall bloud, to protect them from iniuries; heartning them with relation of that store hee had brought with him, constituting officers of all conditions, to rule ouer them, allotting euery man his particular place, to watch vigilantly, and worke painfully.

This Oration and direction being receiued with a generall applause, you might shortly behold the idle and restie diseases of a diuided multitude, by the vnitie and authoritie of this gouernment to be substantially cured. Those that knew not the way to goodnesse before, but cherished singularitie and faction, can now chalke out the path of all respectiue dutie and seruice: euery man endeuoureth to outstrip other in diligence: the *French* preparing to plant the Vines, the *English* labouring in the Woods and grounds; euery man knoweth his charge, and dischargeth the same with alacritie.

Neither let any man be discouraged, by the relation of their daily labour (as though the sap of their bodies should bee spent for other mens profit) the setled times of working, to effect all themselues, or as the Aduenturers need desire, required no more paines than from six of the clocke in the morning, vntill ten, and from two in the afternoone, till foure; at both which times they arè prouided of spirituall and corporall reliefe. First, they enter into the Church, and make their praiers vnto God; next they returne to their houses and receiue their proportion of food. Nor should it bee conceiued that this businesse excludeth Gentlemen, whose breeding neuer knew what a daies labour meant: for though they cannot digge, vse the Spade, nor practice the Axe, yet may the staied spirits of any condition, finde how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of counsell, the operation and power of their best breeding and qualities.

[Divine Service at 10 *a.m.* and 4 *p.m.*]

[*p.* 957.]

[*p.* 957.] The houses which are built, are as warme and defensiue against wind and [**108**] weather, as if they were tiled and slated, being couered aboue with strong boards, and some

matted round with Indian mats. Our forces are now such as are able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Saluages: Our Forts assure the Inhabitants, and frustrate all assaylants. [1610]

And to leaue no discouragement in the heart of any, who personally shall enter into this great action, I [*i.e.*, *W. Box*] will communicate a double comfort; first, Sir *George Sommers*, that worthy Admirall hath vndertaken a dangerous aduenture for the good of the Colonie. Sir *George Sommers* returne to the *Bermudas*.

Vpon the 15. [*or* 19, *p.* 639] of Iune [1610], accompanied with Captaine *Samuel Argall*, hee returned in two Pinaces vnto the *Bermudas*, promising (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rocks) that he would soone returne with six moneths prouision of flesh; with much crosse weather at last hee there safely arriued, but Captaine *Argall* was forced backe againe to *Iames* towne: whom the Lord *De la Ware* not long after sent to the Riuer of *Patawomeke*, to trade for Corne; where finding [*in Sept.* 1610] an *English* boy, one *Henry Spilman* [*pp.* 172, 498, 528, 586, 606], a young Gentleman well descended, by those people preserued from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance had such good vsage of those kinde Saluages, that they fraughted his ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to *Iames* towne. [*p.* 172.]

The other comfort is, that the Lord *la Ware* hath built two new Forts, the one called Fort *Henry*, the other Fort *Charles*, in honour of our most noble Prince, and his hopefull brother, vpon a pleasant plaine, and neare a little Riuilet they call *Southampton* Riuer; they stand in a wholsome aire, hauing plentie of Springs of sweet water, they command a great circuit of ground, containing Wood, Pasture and Marsh, with apt places for Vines, Corne and Gardens; in which Forts it is resolued, that all those that come out of *England*, shall be at their first landing quartered, that the wearisomnesse of the Sea may bee refreshed in this pleasing part of the Countrie. The building Fort *Henry* and Fort *Charles*.

And Sir *Thomas Gates* hee sent for *England* [15 *July* 1610].

But to correct some iniuries of the *Paspahegs*, he sent Captaine *Pearcie*, Master *Stacy*, and fiftie or threescore shot: where the Saluages flying, they burnt their houses, tooke the Queene and her children prisoners, whom not long after they slew.

The fertilitie of the soile, the temperature of the climate

[1611] the forme of gouernment, the condition of our people, their daily inuocating of the Name of God being thus expressed; why should the successe, by the rules of mortall iudgement, bee disparaged? why should not the rich haruest of our hopes be seasonably expected? I dare say, that the resolution of *Cæsar* in *France*, the designes of *Alexander*, the discoueries of *Hernando Cortes* in the West, and of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* in the East, were not encouraged vpon so firme grounds of state and possibilitie.

But his Lordship being at the fal[l]es, the Saluages assaulted his troopes and slew three or foure of his men.

Not long after, his Honour growing very sicke, he returned for *England* the 28. of March [1611]; in the ship were about fiue and fiftie men, but ere we arriued at *Fyall*, fortie of vs were neare sicke to death, of the Scuruie, Callenture, and other diseases: the Gouernour, being an *English-man*, kindly vsed vs, but small reliefe we could get but Oranges, of which we had plenty; whereby within eight daies wee recouered, and all were well and strong by that they came into *England*.

Written by William Box.

The Counsell of *Virginia* finding the smalnesse of that returne which they hoped should haue defrayed the charge of a new supply, entred into a deep consultation, whether it were fit to enter into a new Contribution, or in time to send for them home and giue ouer the action, and therefore they adiured Sir *Thomas Gates* to deale plainly with them, who with a solemne and a sacred oath replyed,

That all things before reported were true: and that all men know that wee stand at the deuotion of politicke Princes and States, who for their proper vtilitie, deuise all courses to grind our Merchants, and by all pretences to confiscate their goods, and to draw from vs all manner of gaine by their inquisitiue inuentions; when in *Virginia*, a few yeeres labour by planting and husbandry, will furnish all [**109**] our defects with honour and securitie.

Out of a Declaration published by the Counsell, 1610.

The gouernment left againe to Captaine George Piercie, *and the returne of the Lord* la Ware, *with his Relation to the Councell.*

1611.

[1611]

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

MY Lords, now by accident returned from my charge at *Virginia*, contrary either to my owne desire, or other mens expectations, who spare not to censure me, in point of dutie, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne; I am forced out of a willingnesse to satisfie euery man, to deliuer vnto your Lordships and the rest of this assemblie, in what state I haue liued euer since my arriuall to the Colonie, what hath beene the iust cause of my sudden departure, and on what tearmes I haue left the same: the rather because I perceiue, that since my comming into *England*, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred in many of the Aduenturers, that some of them seeke to withdraw their payments, by which the action must be supported, making this my returne colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and vniust protraction: which that you may the better vnderstand, I was welcomed to *Iames* towne by a violent ague; being cured of it, within three weekes after I began to be distempered with other grieuous sicknesses which successiuely and seuerally assailed me, for besides a relapse into the former disease, which with much more violence held me more than a moneth, and brought me to greater weaknesse; the flux surprised mee, and kept me many daies; then the crampe assaulted my weake body with strong paines; and after, the gout: all those drew me to that weaknesse, being vnable to stirre, [that] brought vpon me the scuruie; which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was it in me an effect of weaknesse, which neuer left me, till I was ready to leave the world.

The Relation of the Lord *la Ware.*

In these extremities I resolued to consult with my

[1611] friends, who finding nature spent in me, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily increasing, gaue me aduice to preferre a hopefull recouerie before an assured ruine ; which must necessarily haue ensued, had I liued but twentie daies longer in *Virginia*, wanting at that instant both food and Physicke fit to remedie such extraordinary diseases: wherefore I shipped [28 *Mar.* 1611] myselfe with Doctor *Bohun* and Captaine *Argall* for *Meuis* in the West *Indies*. But being crossed with Southerly winds, I was forced to shape my course for the Westerne Iles [*Azores*], where I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by the meanes of fresh dyet, especially Oranges and Limons, an vndoubted remedie for that disease: then I intended to haue returned backe againe to *Virginia*, but I was aduised not to hazard my selfe, before I had perfectly recouered my strength: so I came for *England*. In which accident, I doubt not but men of iudgement will imagine, there would more preiudice haue happened by my death there, than I hope can doe by my returne.

For the Colony, I left it to the charge of Captaine *George Piercie*, a Gentleman of honour and resolution, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Dale*, whose Commission was likewise to bee determined vpon the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates*, according to the order your Lordships appointed: the number I left were about two hundred, the most in health, and prouided of at least ten moneths victuall, and the Countrie people tractable and friendly.

What other defects they had, I found by Sir *Thomas Gates*, at the Cowes, his Fleet was sufficiently furnished with supplies: but when it shall please God that Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Thomas Gates* shall arriue in *Virginia* with the extraordinarie supply of 100. Kine, and 200. Swine, besides store of other prouision, for the maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that successe in the action, as shall giue no man cause of distrust, that hath already aduentured, but incourage euery good minde to further so good a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our [**110**] nation, and the comfort of all those that haue beene instruments in the furthering of it.

100. Kine and 200. Swine sent to *Virginia*.

Out of the Lord la Wares *discourse, published by Authoritie*, 1611.

The gouernment surrendred to Sir Thomas Dale, *who arriued in* Virginia *the tenth of May*, 1611. *out of Master* Hamors *Booke.*

1611.

[1611]

Before the Lord *la Ware* arriued in *England*, the Councell and Companie had dispatched away Sir *Thomas Dale* with three ships, men, and cattell, and all other prouisions necessarie for a yeere; all which arriued well the tenth of May 1611: where he found them growing againe to their former estate of penurie, being so improuident as not to put Corne in the ground for their bread; but trusted to the store, then furnished but with three moneths prouision. His first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne, at the two Forts at *Kecoughtan*, *Henry* and *Charles*; whereby, the season then not [being] fully past, though about the end of May, wee had an indifferent crop of good Corne.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

The arriuall of Sir *Thomas Dale.*

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his vnder-Officers, to *Iames* towne he hastened, where most of the companie were at their daily and vsuall works, bowling in the streets: these hee imployed about necessarie workes, as felling of Timber, repayring their houses ready to fall on their heads, and prouiding pales, posts and railes, to impale his purposed new towne, which by reason of his ignorance, being but newly arriued, hee had not resolued where to seat. Therefore to better his knowledge, with one hundred men he spent some time in viewing the Riuer

His preparation to build a new towne.

[1611] of *Nansamund*, in despight of the *Indians* then our enemies; then our owne Riuer to the Fal[l]es, where vpon a high land, inuironed with the maine Riuer, some twelue miles from the Fal[l]es, by *Arsahattock*, he resolued to plant his new towne.

It was no small trouble to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition, as may well witnesse his seueritie and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all extremitie to be executed; now much mitigated: so as if his Lawes had not beene so strictly executed, I see not how the vtter subuersion of the Colonie should haue beene preuented, witnesse *Webbes* and *Prices* designe the first yeere, since that of *Abbots* and others, more dangerous than the former.

Here I entreat your patience for an Apologie, though not a pardon. This *Ieffrey Abbots*, how euer this Author censures him, and the Gouernour executes him; I know he had long serued both in *Ireland* and *Netherlands*. Here hee was a Sargeant of my Companie, and I neuer saw in *Virginia* a more sufficient Souldier, lesse turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or industrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that sought to abandon the Countrie, or wrong the Colonie; how ingratefully those deserts might bee rewarded, enuied or neglected, or his farre inferiors preferred to ouer-top him, I know not: but such occasions might moue a Saint, much more a man, to an vnaduised passionate impatience, but how euer, it seemes he hath beene punished for his offences, that was neuer rewarded for his deserts.

[*pp.* 108, 131, 152, 411, 448, 476.

Diuers mutinie[s] suppressed.

And euen this Summer *Cole* and *Kitchins* plot with three more, bending their course to *Ocanahowan*, fiue daies iourney from vs, where they report are *Spaniards* inhabiting. These were cut off by the Saluages, hired by vs to hunt them home to receiue their deserts.

So as Sir *Thomas Dale* hath not beene so tyrannous nor seuere by the halfe, as there was occasion, and iust cause for it; and though the manner was not vsuall, wee were rather to haue regard to those, whom we would haue terrified and made fearefull to commit the like offences, than to the offenders iustly condemned: for amongst them so hardned in

euill, the feare of a cruell painfull and vnusuall death more restraines them, than death it selfe. This much I haue proceeded of his endeuours, vntill the comming of Sir *Thomas Gates*, in preparing himselfe to proceed as he intended. [**111**] [1611]

Now in *England* againe, to second this noble Knight, the Counsell and Companie with all possible expedition prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates* six tall ships, with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine and other Cattell, with munition and all other manner of prouision that could be thought needfull; and about the first or second of August, 1611. [they] arriued safely at *Iames* towne.

The gouernment returned againe to Sir Thomas Gates, 1611.

THese worthy Knights being met, after their welcoming salutations, Sir *Thomas Dale* acquainted him what he had done, and what he intended: which designe Sir *Thomas Gates* well approuing, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of. The second arriuall of Sir *Thomas Gates.*

In the beginning of September, 1611. hee set saile, and arriued where hee intended to build his new towne: within ten or twelue daies he had inuironed it with a pale, and in honour of our noble Prince *Henry*, called it *Henrico.* The next worke he did, was building at each corner of the Towne a high commanding Watch-house, a Church, and Store-houses: which finished, hee began to thinke vpon conuenient houses for himselfe and men, which, with all possible speed hee could, he effected, to the great content of his companie, and all the Colonie.

This towne is situated vpon a necke of a plaine rising land, three parts inuironed with the maine Riuer, the necke of land well impaled, makes it like an Ile; it hath three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church, and the foundation of a better laid (to bee built of Bricke), besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like. Vpon the verge of the Riuer there are fiue houses, wherein liue the honester sort of people, as Farmers in *England*, and they keepe continuall centinell for the townes securitie. The building of *Henrico.*

[1611] About two miles from the towne, into the Maine, is another pale, neere two miles in length, from Riuer to Riuer, guarded with seuerall Commanders, with a good quantitie of Corne-ground impailed, sufficiently secured to maintaine more than I suppose will come this three yeeres.

On the other side of the Riuer, for the securitie of the towne, is intended to be impaled for the securitie of our Hogs, about two miles and a halfe, by the name of *Hope in Faith*, and *Coxendale*, secured by fiue of our manner of Forts, which are but Palisadoes, called *Charitie* Fort, *Mount Malado* (a guest house [*hospital*] for sicke people) a high seat and wholsome aire, *Elisabeth* Fort, and Fort *Patience*: And here hath Master *Whitaker* chosen his Parsonage, impaled a faire framed Parsonage, and one hundred acres called *Rocke hall*, but these are not halfe finished.

The building the *Bermudas*. About Christmas following, in this same yeere 1611. in regard of the iniurie done vs by them of *Apamatuck*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, without the losse of any, except some few Saluages, tooke it and their Corne, being but fiue miles by land from *Henrico*: and considering how commodious it might be for vs, resolued to possesse and plant it, and at the instant called it the new *Bermudas*; whereunto hee hath laid out and annexed to the belonging freedome and corporation for euer, many miles of Champian and Woodland ground in seuerall hundreds, as the vpper and nether hundreds, *Rochdale* hundred, West *Sherly* hundred, and *Digs* his hundred.

In the nether hundred he first began to plant, for there is the most Corne-ground, and with a pale of two miles, cut ouer from Riuer to Riuer, whereby we haue secured eight *English* miles in compasse: vpon which circuit, within halfe a mile of each other, are many faire houses already built; besides particular mens houses neere to the number of fiftie. *Rochdale*, by a crosse pale welnigh foure miles long, is also planted with houses along the pale, in which hundred our Hogs and Cattell haue twentie miles circuit to graze in securely. The building of the Citie is referred till our haruest [1612] be in, which he intends to make a retreat against any forraigne enemie.

About fiftie miles from these is *Iames* towne, vpon a fertill *peninsula*, which although [**112**] formerly scandaled

for an vnhealthfull aire, wee finde it as healthfull as any other part of the Countrie; it hath two rowes of houses of framed timber, and some of them two stories and a garret higher, three large Store-houses ioined together in length, and hee hath newly strongly impaled the towne. This Ile, and much ground about it, is much inhabited. [1611-12]

To *Kecoughtan* we accounted it fortie miles, where they liue well with halfe that allowance the rest haue from the store, because of the extraordinarie quantitie of Fish, Fowle and Deere; as you may reade at large in the Discoueries of Captaine *Smith*. And thus I haue truly related vnto you the present estate of that small part of *Virginia* wee frequent and possesse.

1612. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer. Captaine *Argals* arriuall.

Since there was a ship fraughted with prouision, and fortie men; and another since then with the like number and prouision, to stay twelue moneths in the Countrie, with Captaine *Argall*, which was sent not long after. After hee had recreated and refreshed his Companie, hee was sent to the Riuer *Patawomeake*, to trade for Corne: the Saluages about vs hauing small quarter, but friends and foes as they found aduantage and opportunitie.

But to conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine *Argall*, hauing entred into a great acquaintance with *Iapazaws*, an old friend of Captaine *Smiths*, and so to all our Nation, euer since hee discouered the Countrie: h[e]ard by him there was *Pocahontas*, whom Captaine *Smiths* Relations intituleth the Numparell of *Virginia* [*pp.* 38, 169], and though she had beene many times a preseruer of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident shee was neuer seene at *Iames* towne since his departure [4 *Oct.* 1609].

Being at *Patawomeke*, as it seemes, thinking her selfe vnknowne, was easily by her friend *Iapazaws* perswaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to see the ship: for Captaine *Argall* had promised him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace with her father; the Saluage for this Copper Kettle would haue done any thing, it seemed by the Relation.

How *Pocahontas* was taken prisoner.

For though she had seene and beene in many ships, yet hee caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, that hee offered to beat her for her importunitie, till

[1613] she wept. But at last he told her, if *Pocahontas* would goe with her, hee was content: and thus they betraied the poore innocent *Pocahontas* aboord, where they were all kindly feasted in the Cabbin. *Iapazaws* treading oft on the Captaines foot, to remember he had done his part; the Captaine when he saw his time, perswaded *Pocahontas* to the Gun-roome, faining to haue some conference with *Iapazaws*, which was onely that she should not perceiue hee was any way guiltie of her captiuitie: so sending for her againe, hee told her before her friends, she must goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and vs, before she euer should see *Powhatan*; whereat the old Iew and his wife began to howle and crie as fast as *Pocahontas*, that vpon the Captaines faire perswasions, by degrees pacifying her selfe, and *Iapazaws* and his wife, with the Kettle and other toies, went merrily on shore; and shee to *Iames* towne.

[By *Argal*'s letter of June 1613 (in *Purchas* iv., 1764, *Ed.* 1625), it would appear that *Pocahontas* was captured in the beginning of April 1613.]

A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter *Pocahontas* he loued so dearely, he must ransome with our men, swords, peeces, tooles, &c. hee trecherously had stolne.

This vnwelcome newes much troubled *Powhatan*, because hee loued both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three moneths after [*July* 1613] ere hee returned vs any answer: then by the perswasion of the Councell, he returned seuen of our men, with each of them an vnseruiceable Musket, and sent vs word, that when wee would deliuer his daughter, hee would make vs satisfaction for all iniuries done vs, and giue vs fiue hundred bushels of Corne, and for euer be friends with vs.

Seuen *English* returned from *Powhatan* prisoners.

That he sent, we receiued in part of payment, and returned him this answer: That his daughter should be well vsed; but we could not beleeue the rest of our armes were either lost or stolne from him, and therefore till hee sent them, we would keepe his daughter.

Sir *Thomas Dale* his voyage to *Pamaunke.*

This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for we heard no more from him for a [**113**] long time after: when with Captaine *Argals* ship, and some other vessels belonging to the Colonie; Sir *Thomas Dale*, with a hundred and fiftie men well appointed, went vp into his owne Riuer, to his chiefe habitation, with his daughter.

With many scornfull brauado's they affronted vs, proudly demanding Why wee came thither; our reply was, Wee had brought his daughter, and to receiue the ransome for her that was promised, or to haue it perforce. [1613]

They nothing dismayed thereat, told vs, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were prouided for vs: but aduised vs, if wee loued our liues to retire; else they would vse vs as they had done Captaine *Ratcliffe:* We told them, Wee would presently haue a better answer; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let flie their Arrowes among vs in the ship. [*4.* ciii.]

Being thus iustly prouoked, wee presently manned our Boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could finde; and so the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, where they demanded Why wee burnt their houses, and wee, Why they shot at vs: They replyed, it was some stragling Saluage, with many other excuses, they intended no hurt, but were our friends: We told them, Wee came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also. A man shot in the forehead.

Vpon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they dispatched messengers to *Powhatan*; whose answer, they told vs, wee must expect foure and twentie houres ere the messengers could returne: Then they told vs, our men were runne away for feare we would hang them, yet *Powhatans* men were runne after them; as for our Swords and Peeces, they should be brought vs the next day, which was only but to delay time; for the next day they came not.

Then we went higher, to a house of *Powhatans*, called *Matchot*, where we saw about foure hundred men well appointed; here they dared vs to come on shore, which wee did; no shew of feare they made at all, nor offered to resist our landing, but walking boldly vp and downe amongst vs, demanded to conferre with our Captaine, of his comming in that manner, and to haue truce till they could but once more send to their King to know his pleasure, which if it were not agreeable to their expectation, then they would fight with vs, and defend their owne as they could. Which was but onely to deferre the time, to carrie away their prouision; yet wee pro-

[1613-14] mised them truce till the next day at noone, and then if they would fight with vs, they should know when we would begin by our Drums and Trumpets.

Two of *Powhatans* sonnes come to see *Pocahontas.*

Vpon this promise, two of *Powhatans* sonnes came vnto vs to see their sister: at whose sight, seeing her well, though they heard to the contrarie, they much reioiced, promising they would perswade her father to redeeme her, and for euer be friends with vs. And vpon this, the two brethren went aboord with vs; and we sent Master *Iohn Rolfe* and Master *Sparkes* to *Powhatan*, to acquaint him with the businesse: kindly they were entertained, but not admitted [to] the presence of *Powhatan*, but they spoke with *Opechancanough*, his brother and successor; hee promised to doe the best he could to *Powhatan*, all might be well.

So it being Aprill [1613], and time to prepare our ground and set our Corne, we returned to *Iames* Towne, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next haruest.

The mariage of *Pocahontas* to Master *Iohn Rolfe.*

1613. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Long before this, Master *Iohn Rolfe*, an honest Gentleman, and of good behauiour, had beene in loue with *Pocahontas*, and she with him: which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir *Thomas Dale* by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his aduice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir *Thomas Dale* well approued: the bru[i]te of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of *Powhatan*, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent *Opachisco*, an old Vncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the mariage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill [1614]. And euer since wee haue had friendly trade and commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himselfe, as all his subiects. [**114**]

The *Chicahamanias* desire friendship.

Besides this, by the meanes of *Powhatan*, we became in league with our next neighbours, the *Chicahamanias*, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselues. These people, so soone as they heard of or peace with *Powhatan*, sent two messengers with presents to Sir *Thomas*

Dale, and offered them his [*him their*] seruice, excusing all former iniuries, hereafter they would euer be King *Iames* his subiects, and relinquish the name of *Chickahamania*, to be called *Tassautessus*, as they call vs; and Sir *Thomas Dale* the[i]re Gouernour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be gouerned by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to visit them. [1614]

When the appointed day came, Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* with fiftie men well appointed, went to *Chickahamania*, where wee found the people expecting our comming; they vsed vs kindly, and the next morning sate in counsell, to conclude their peace vpon these conditions:

Articles of Peace.

First, they should for euer bee called Englishmen, *and bee true subiects to King* Iames *and his Deputies.*

Secondly, neither to kill nor detaine any of our men, nor cattell, but bring them home.

Thirdly, to bee alwaies ready to furnish vs with three hundred men, against the Spaniards or any.

Fourthly, they shall not enter our townes, but send word they are new Englishmen.

Fiftly, that euery fighting man, at the beginning of haruest, shall bring to our store two bushels of Corne, for tribute, for which they shall receiue so many Hatchets.

Lastly, the eight chiefe men should see all this performed, or receiue the punishment themselues: for their diligence they should haue a red coat, a copper chaine, and King Iames *his picture, and be accounted his Noblemen.*

All this they concluded with a generall assent, and a great shout to confirme it: then one of the old men began an Oration, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the young, and then to the women and children, to make them vnderstand how strictly they were to obserue these conditions, and we would defend them from the furie of *Powhatan*, or any enemie whatsoeuer, and furnish them with Copper, Beads, and Hatchets: but all this was rather for feare *Powhatan* and we, being so linked together, would bring them againe to his subiection; the which to preuent, they did rather chuse to be protected by vs, than tormented by him, whom they held a Tyrant.

And thus wee returned againe to *Iames* towne.

[1613-14] When our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured iointly together, glad was he could slip from his labour, or slumber ouer his taske he cared not how, nay, the most honest among them would hardly take so much true paines in a weeke, as now for themselues they will doe in a day: neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoeuer the haruest prospered, the generall store must maintaine them, so that wee reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie, as now three or foure doe prouide for themselues.

The benefit of libertie in the planters.

To preuent which, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath allotted euery man three Acres of cleare ground, in the nature of Farmes, except the *Bermudas* [*p.* 510]: who are exempted, but for one moneths seruice in the yeere, which must neither bee in seed-time, nor haruest; for which doing, no other dutie they pay yeerely to the store, but two barrels and a halfe of Corne.

From all those Farmers (whereof the first was *William Spence*, an honest, valiant, and an industrious man, and hath continued from 1607. to this present [1614]) from those is expected such a contribution to the store, as wee shall neither want for our selues, nor to entertaine our supplies; for the rest, they are to worke eleuen moneths for the store, and hath one moneth onely allowed them to get prouision to keepe them for twelue, except two bushels of Corne they haue out of the store. If those can liue so, why should any feare staruing; and it were much better to denie them passage that would not, ere they come, bee content to ingage themselues to those conditions: for onely from the slothfull and idle [**115**] drones, and none else, hath sprung the manifold imputations, *Virginia* innocently hath vndergone; and therefore I would deter such from comming here, that cannot well brooke labour, except they will vndergoe much punishment and penurie, if they escape the skuruie: but for the industrious, there is reward sufficient, and if any thinke there is nothing but bread, I referre you to his [*Smith's*] relations that discouered the Countrie first.

Ensigne *Spence* the first Farmer in *Virginia*.

The gouernment left to Sir Thomas Dale, *vpon Sir* Thomas Gates *returne for* England.

SIr *Thomas Dale* vnderstanding there was a plantation of *Frenchmen* in the north part of *Virginia*, about the degrees of 45. sent Captaine *Argall* to Port *Royall* and *Sancta Crux*; where finding the *Frenchmen* abroad dispersed in the Woods, [he] surprized their Ship and Pinnace, which was but newly come from *France*, wherein was much good apparel and other prouision, which he brought to *Iames* towne: but the men escaped, and liued among the Saluages of those Countries. [1614]

Captaine *Argals* voyage to Port *Royall.*

It pleased Sir *Thomas Dale*, before my returne to *England*, because I would be able to speake somewhat of my owne knowledge, to giue mee leaue to visit *Powhatan* and his Court: being prouided, I had *Thomas Saluage* with mee, for my Interpreter; with him and two Saluages for guides, I went from the *Bermuda* [*p.* 510] in the morning, and came to *Matchot* the next night, where the King lay vpon the Riuer of *Pamavnke*. His entertainment was strange to me, the boy he knew well, and told him; My child, I gaue you leaue [*pp.* cii–ciii, 27, 31, 37, 102], being my boy, to goe see your friends, and these foure yeeres [1610–1614] I haue not seene you, nor heard of my owne man *Namoutack* I sent to *England* [*pp.* 31, 102, 124; *he had been murdered by another Indian at the Bermuda Islands in* 1610, *see p.* 638], though many ships since haue beene returned thence. 1614.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Hauing done with him, hee began with mee, and demanded for the chaine of pearle he sent his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* at his first arriuall, which was a token betwixt them, when euer hee should send a messenger from himselfe to him, he should weare that chaine about his necke, since the peace was concluded, otherwaies he was to binde him and send him home.

It is true Sir *Thomas Dale* had sent him such word, and gaue his Page order to giue it me, but he forgot it, and till this present I neuer heard of it, yet I replyed

Master *Hamars* iourney to *Powhatan.*

I did know there was such an order, but that was when vpon a sudden he should haue occasion to send

[1614] an *Englishman* without an *Indian* Guide; but if his owne people should conduct his messenger, as two of his did me who knew my message, it was sufficient; with which answer he was contented, and so conducted vs to his house, where was a guard of two hundred Bow-men that alwaies attend his person.

The first thing he did, he offered me a pipe of Tobacco, then asked mee how his brother Sir *Thomas Dale* did, and his daughter, and vnknowne sonne, and how they liued, loued and liked; I told him his brother was well, and his daughter so contented, she would not liue againe with him; whereat he laughed, and demanded the cause of my comming: I told him my message was priuate, and I was to deliuer it onely to himselfe and *Papaschicher*, one of my guides that was acquainted with it; instantly he commanded all out of the house, but onely his two Queenes, that alwaies sit by him, and bade me speake on.

His message to *Powhatan.*

I told him, by my Interpreter, Sir *Thomas Dale* hath sent you two pieces of Copper, fiue strings of white and blue Beads, fiue woodden Combes, ten Fish-hookes, a paire of Kniues, and that when you would send for it, hee would giue you a Grind-stone; all this pleased him: but then I told him his brother *Dale*, hearing of the fame of his youngest daughter, desiring in any case he would send her by me vnto him, in testimonie of his loue, as well for that he intended to marry her, as the desire her sister had to see her, because being now one people, and hee desirous for euer to dwell in his Countrie, he conceiued there could not be a truer assurance of peace and friendship, than in such a naturall band of an vnited vnion. [**116**]

I needed not entreat his answer by his oft interrupting mee in my speech, and presently with much grauitie he thus replyed.

Powhatans answer.

I gladly accept your salute of loue and peace, which while I liue, I shall exactly keepe; his pledges thereof I receiue with no lesse thanks, although they are not so ample as formerly he had receiued: but for my daughter, I haue sold her within this few daies to a great Werowance, for two bushels of Rawrenoke, three daies iournie from me.

I replyed, I knew his greatnesse in restoring the Rawrenoke, might call her againe to gratifie his brother, and the rather, because she was but twelue yeeres old, assuring him, besides the band of peace, hee should haue for her, three times the worth of the Rawrenoke, in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c. [1614]

His answer was, he loued his daughter as his life, and though hee had many children, hee delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he should not often behold, he could not possibly liue, which she liuing with vs he could not do, hauing resolued vpon no termes to put himselfe into our hands, or come amongst vs; therefore desired me to vrge him no further, but returne his brother this answer: That I desire no former assurance of his friendship than the promise hee hath made, from me he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she liues shall be sufficient, when she dies, he shall haue another: I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereaue me of my two children at once. Farther, tell him though he had no pledge at all, hee need not distrust any iniurie from me or my people; there haue beene too many of his men and mine slaine, and by my occasion there shall neuer be more, (I which haue power to performe it, haue said it) although I should haue iust cause, for I am now old, and would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me iniurie, my countrie is large enough to goe from you: Thus much I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because you are wearie, and I sleepie, wee will thus end.

So commanding vs victuall and lodging, we rested that night, and the next morning he came to visit vs, and kindly conducted vs to the best cheere hee had.

William Parker.

William Parker recouered.

WHile I here remained, by chance came an *Englishman*, whom there had beene surprized three yeeres agoe [1611] at Fort *Henry*, growne so like, both in complexion and habit like a Saluage, I knew him not, but by his tongue: hee desired mee to procure his libertie, which I intended, and so farre vrged

[1614] *Powhatan*, that he grew discontented, and told mee, You haue one of my daughters, and I am content: but you cannot see one of your men with mee, but you must haue him away, or breake friendship; if you must needs haue him, you shall goe home without guides, and if any euill befall you, thanke your selues.

I told him I would, but if I returned not well, hee must expect a reuenge; and his brother might haue iust cause to suspect him.

So in passion he left me till supper, and then gaue me such as hee had with a cheerefull countenance:

About midnight he awaked vs, and promised in the morning my returne with *Parker*; but I must remember his brother to send him ten great pieces of Copper, a Shauing-knife, a Frowe, a Grind-stone, a Net, Fish-hookes, and such toies; which lest I should forget, he caused me [to] write in a table-booke he had; how euer he got it, it was a faire one, I desired hee would giue it me; he told me, no, it did him much good in shewing to strangers, yet in the morning when we departed, hauing furnished vs well with prouision, he gaue each of vs a Bucks skin as well dressed as could be, and sent two more to his sonne and daughter:

And so we returned to *Iames* towne.

Written by Master Ralph Hamor *and* Iohn Rolph.

From a letter of Sir *Thomas Dale* and Master *Whitakers.*

IHaue read the substance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir *Thomas Dale*, another by Master *Whitaker*, and a third by Master *Iohn Rolfe*; how carefull they were to instruct her in Christianity, and how capable and desirous shee was thereof, after she had beene some time thus tutored, shee neuer had desire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the society of her owne nation: the true affection she constantly bare her husband was much, and the strange apparitions and violent passions he endured for her loue, as he deeply protested, was wonderful [**117**], and she openly renounced her countries idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized.

But either the coldnesse of the aduenturers, or the bad vsage of that was collected, or both, caused this worthy Knight [*Sir Thomas Dale*] to write thus.

Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselues, and thereby intermedling herein, haue caused a number of soules transport themselues, and be transported hither? Why should they, I say, relinquish this so glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to perseuere; if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant; howsoeuer they stand affected, here is enough to content them. These are the things [which] haue animated me to stay a little season from them, I am bound in conscience to returne vnto; leauing all contenting pleasures and mundall delights, to reside here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than see Gods glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore soules I haue in charge reuiued, which would quickly happen if I should leaue them; so few I haue with me fit to command or manage the businesse: [1614]

Master *Whitaker* their Preacher complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English Ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hether, where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keepe themselues at home, for feare of losing a few pleasures; be there not any among them of *Moses* his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ, but I refer them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to his talent.

From Virginia, Iune 18. 1614.

The businesse being brought to this perfection, Captaine *Argall* returned for *England*, in the latter end of *Iune*, 1614. ariuing in *England*, and bringing this good tidings to the Councell and company by the assistances of Sir *Thomas Gates*, that also had returned from *Virginia* but the March before [1614]; it was presently concluded, that to supply this good successe with all expedition, the standing Lottery should be drawne with all diligent conueniency, and that posterity may remember vpon occasion to vse the like according to the declaration, I thinke it not amisse to remember thus much.

1615.

The Contents of the declaration of the Lottery published by the Counsell.

[1616] Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer. [Feb. 1616.]

IT is apparent to the world, by how many former Proclamations, we manifested our intents, to haue drawn out the great standing Lottery long before this, which not falling out as we desired, and others expected whose monies are aduentured therein, we thought good therefore for the auoiding all vniust and sinister constructions, to resolue the doubts of all indifferent minded, in three speciall points for their better satisfaction.

But ere I goe any farther, let vs remember there was a running Lottery vsed a long time in Saint *Pauls* Churchyard, where this stood, that brought into the Treasury good summes of mony dayly, though the Lot was but small.

Now for the points, the first is, for as much as the Aduenturers came in so slackly for the yeere past, without preiudice to the generality; in losing the blankes and prises, we were forced to petition to the honourable Lords, who out of their noble care to further this Plantation, haue recommended their Letsenters to the Countries, Cities, and good townes in *England*, which we hope by [ad]ding in their voluntary Aduenturers, will sufficiently supply vs.

The second for satisfaction to all honest well affected minds, is, that though this expectation answer not our hopes, yet wee haue not failed in our Christian care, the

good of that Colony, to whom we haue lately sent two sundry supplies, and were they but now supplied with more hands, wee should soone resolue the diuision of the Country by Lot, and so lessen the generall charge. [1616]

The third is our constant resolution, that seeing our credits are so farre ingaged [**118**] to the honourable Lords and the whole State, for the drawing this great Lottery, which we intend shall be without delay, the 26. of Iune next [1616], desiring all such as haue vndertaken with bookes to solicit their friends, that they will not with-hold their monies till the last moneth be expired, lest we be vnwillingly forced to proportion a lesse value and number of our Blankes and Prises which hereafter followeth. [*ɸ.* cxxv.]

Welcomes.

	Crownes.
TO him that first shall be drawne out with a blanke,	100
To the second,	50
To the third,	25
To him that euery day during the drawing of this Lottery, shall bee first drawne out with a blanke,	10

Prizes.

	Crownes.
1 Great Prize of	4500
2 Great Prizes, each of	2000
4 Great Prizes, each of	1000
6 Great Prizes, each of	500
10 Prizes, each of	300
20 Prizes, each of	200
100 Prizes, each of	100
200 Prizes, each of	50
400 Prizes, each of	20
1000 Prizes, each of	10
1000 Prizes, each of	8
1000 Prizes, each of	6
4000 Prizes, each of	4
1000 Prizes, each of	3
1000 Prizes, each of	2

Rewards.

Crownes.

[1616] TO him that shall be last drawne out with a blanke, 25
To him that putteth in the greatest Lot, vnder one name, 400
To him that putteth in the second greatest number, 300
To him that putteth in the third greatest number, 200
To him that putteth in the fourth greatest number, 100

If diuers be of equall number, their rewards are to be diuided proportionally.

Addition of new Rewards.

Crownes.

THe blanke that shall bee drawne out next before the great Prize shall haue 25
The blanke that shall be drawne out next after the said great Prize 25
The blancks that shall be drawne out immediatly before the two next great Prizes, shall haue each of them 20
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue 20
The seuerall blankes next before the foure great Prizes [*of* 1000 *crowns each*], each shall haue 15
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue 15
The seuerall blankes next before the six great Prizes [*of* 500 *crowns each*], each shall haue 10
The seuerall blankes next after them, each shall haue 10 [119]

The prizes, welcomes, and rewards, shall be payed in ready Mony, Plate, or other goods reasonably rated; if any dislike of the plate or goods, he shall haue mony, abating only the tenth part, except in small prizes of ten Crownes or vnder.

The mony for the Aduenturers is to be paied to Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knight, and Treasurer for *Virginia*, or

such Officers as he shall apoint in City or Country, vnder the common seale of the company for the receit thereof. [1616]

All prizes, welcomes and rewards drawne where euer they dwell, shall of the Treasurer haue present pay, and whosoeuer vnder one name or poesie payeth three pound in ready money, shall receiue six shillings and eight pence, or a siluer spoone of that value at his choice.

A Spanish Ship in *Virginia.*

About this time it chanced a Spanish ship, beat too and againe before point *Comfort*, and at last sent a shore their boat, as desirous of a Pilot. Captaine *Iames Dauis* the gouernor, immediatly gaue them one: but he was no sooner in the boat, but a way they went with him, leauing three of their companions behind them; this sudden accident occasioned some distrust, and a strict examination of those three thus left, yet with as good vsage as our estate could afford them. They only confessed, hauing lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts; and two of them were Captaines, and in chiefe authority in the fleet: thus they liued till one of them was found to be an Englishman, and had been the Spaniards Pilot for *England* in [15]88. and hauing here induced some male-contents, to beleeue his proiects, to run away with a small barke, which was [*who were*] apprehended, some executed, and he expecting but the Hangmans curtesie, directly confessed that two or three Spanish ships was at Sea, purposely to discouer the estate of the Colony: but their Commission was not to be opened till they arriued in the Bay, so that of any thing more he was vtterly ignorant.

One of the Spaniards at last dyed; the other was sent for *England*, but this reprieued, till Sir *Thomas Dale* hanged him at Sea in his voyage homeward: the English Pilot they carried for Spaine, whom after a long time imprisonment, with much su[i]te was returned for *England*.

1616. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Whilst those things were effecting, Sir *Thomas Dale*, hauing setled to his thinking all things in good order, made choice of one Master *George Yearly*, to be Deputy-Gouernour in his absence, and so returned for *England*; accompanied with *Pocahontas* the Kings Daughter, and Master *Rolfe* her husband: and arriued at *Plimmoth* the 12. of *Iune*. 1616. [*pp.* 529, 533.]

The gouernment left to Captaine Yearly.

[1616] A degression.

NOw a little to commentary vpon all these proceedings, let me leaue but this as a caueat by the way; if the alteration of gouernment hath subuerted great Empires, how dangerous is it then in the infancy of a common-weale? The multiplicity of Gouernors is a great damage to any State; but vncertaine daily changes are burdensome, because their entertainments are chargeable, and many will make hay whilst the sunne doth shine, how euer it shall faire with the generality.

This deare bought Land with so much bloud and cost, hath onely made some few rich, and all the rest losers. But it was intended at the first, the first vndertakers should be first preferred and rewarded, and the first aduenturers satisfied, and they of all the rest are the most neglected; and those that neuer aduentured a groat, neuer see the Country, nor euer did any seruice for it, imploied in their places, adorned with their deserts, and inriched with their ruines: and when they are fed fat, then in commeth others so leane as they were, who through their omnipotency doth as much. Thus what one Officer doth, another vndoth, only ayming at their owne ends; thinking all the world derides his dignity, [who] cannot fill his Coffers being in authority with any thing. Euery man hath his minde free, but he can neuer be a true member to that estate, that to enrich himselfe beggers

[120] all the Countrie. Which bad course, there are many yet in this noble plantation, whose true honour and worth as much scornes it, as the others loues it; for the Nobilitie and Gentrie, there is scarce any of them expects any thing but the prosperitie of the action: and there are some Merchants and others, I am confidently perswaded, doe take more care and paines, nay, and at their continuall great charge, than they could be hired to for the loue of money; so honestly regarding the generall good of this great worke, they would hold it worse than sacrilege, to wrong it but a shilling, or extort vpon the common souldier a penny. [1616]

But to the purpose, and to follow the Historie.

The gouernment of Captaine *Yearley.*

Master *George Yearly* now inuested Deputie Gouernour by Sir *Thomas Dale*, applied himselfe for the most part in planting Tobacco, as the most present commoditie they could deuise for a present gaine, so that euery man betooke himselfe to the best place he could for the purpose: now though Sir *Thomas Dale* had caused such an abundance of corne to be planted, that euery man had sufficient, yet the supplies were sent vs, came so vnfurnished, as quickly eased vs of our superfluitie.

To relieue their necessities, he sent to the *Chickahamanias* for the tribute Corne Sir *Thomas Dale* and Captaine *Argall* had conditioned for with them: But such a bad answer they returned him, that hee drew together one hundred of his best shot, with whom he went to *Chickahamania*; the people in some places vsed him indifferently, but in most places with much scorne and contempt, telling him he was but Sir *Thomas Dales* man, and they had payed his Master according to condition, but to giue any to him they had no such order, neither would they obey him as they had done his Master; after he had told them his authoritie, and that he had the same power to enforce them that *Dale* had, they dared him to come on shore to fight, presuming more of his not daring, than their owne valours.

Yearly seeing their insolencies, made no great difficultie to goe on shore at *Ozinies*, and they as little to incounter him: but marching from thence towards *Mamanahunt*, they put themselues in the same order they

[1616] see vs, lead by their Captaine *Kissanacomen*, Gouernour of *Ozinies*, and so marched close along by vs, each as threatning other who should first begin. But that night we quartered against *Mamanahunt*, and they passed the Riuer.

The next day we followed them; there are few places in *Virginia* had then more plaine ground together, nor more plentie of Corne, which although it was but newly gathered, yet they had hid it in the woods where we could not finde it: a good time we spent thus in arguing the cause, the Saluages without feare standing in troupes amongst vs, seeming as if their countenances had beene sufficient to da[u]nt vs: what other practises they had I know not; but to preuent the worst, our Captaine caused vs all to make ready, and vpon the word, to let flie among them, where he appointed: others also he commanded to seize on them they could for prisoners; all which being done according to our direction, the Captaine gaue the word, and wee presently discharged, where twelue lay, some dead, the rest for life sprawling on the ground, twelue more we tooke prisoners, two whereof were brothers, two of their eight Elders, the one tooke by Sergeant *Boothe*, the other by *Robert* a *Polonian*.

Twelue Saluages slaine, twelue prisoners taken, and peace concluded.

Neere one hundred bushels of Corne we had for their ransomes, which was promised the Souldiers for a reward, but it was not performed: now *Opechankanough* had agreed with our Captaine for the subiecting of those people, that neither hee nor *Powhatan* could euer bring to their obedience; and that he should make no peace with them without his aduice: in our returne by *Ozinies* with our prisoners wee met *Opechankanough*, who with much adoe, fained with what paines hee had procured their peace, the which to requite, they called him the King of *Ozinies*, and brought him from all parts many presents of Beads, Copper, and such trash as they had.

Here as at many other times wee were beholding to Captaine *Henry Spilman* our Interpreter, a Gentleman [that] had liued long time in this Countrie, and sometimes a prisoner among the Saluages [*pp.* ci–cxiv, 172, 498, 503, 586, 606]; and done much good seruice, though but badly rewarded.

From hence we marcht towards *Iames* towne, we had three [**121**] Boats loaded with Corne and other luggage; the one of

them being more willing to be at *Iames* towne with the newes than the other, was ouerset, and eleuen men cast away with the Boat, Corne and all their prouision. Notwithstanding this put all the rest of the Saluages in that feare, especially in regard of the great league we had with *Opechankanough*, that we followed our labours quietly, and in such securitie that diuers saluages of other Nations, daily frequented vs with what prouisions they could get, and would guide our men on hunting, and oft hunt for vs themselues. Captaine *Yearly* had a Saluage or two so well trained vp to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the *English*, and one hee kept purposely to kill him fowle. There were diuers others had Saluages in like manner for their men. [1616-7]

Eleuen men cast away.

A bad president [*example*].

Thus we liued together, as if wee had beene one people, all the time Captaine *Yearley* staied with us, but such grudges and discontents daily increased among our selues, that vpon the arriuall of Captaine *Argall*, sent by the Councell and Companie to bee our Gouernour, Captaine *Yearley* returned for *England* in the yeere 1617.

From the writings of Captaine Nathaniel Powell, William Cantrill, *Sergeant* Boothe, Edward Gurganey.

During this time, the Lady *Rebecca*, alias *Pocahontas*, daughter to *Powhatan*, by the diligent care of Master *Iohn Rolfe* her husband and his friends, [w]as taught to speake such *English* as might well bee vnderstood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and ciuill after our *English* manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loued most dearely, and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were diuers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arriued at London, Captaine *Smith* to deserue her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abstract whereof followeth.

Pocahontas instructions.

To the most high and vertuous Princesse, Queene Anne *of Great Brittanie.*

Most admired Queene,

[1616] THe loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee [to] presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Maiestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull.

So it is,

A relation to Queene *Anne*, of *Pocahontas*.

That some ten yeeres agoe [*i.e.*, *Jan.* 1608] being in *Virginia*, and taken prisoner by the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I receiued from this great Saluage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne *Nantaquaus*, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I euer saw in a Saluage, and his sister *Pocahontas*, the Kings most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age [*therefore Smith, in June* 1616, *estimated Pocahontas to have been born in* 1595, *or* 1596; *and consequently, in* 1616, *to be* 21 *or* 20 *years old: but in June* 1608, *he looked upon her as a child of* 10 *years of age* (*p.* 38), *or born in* 1598; *which would make her only* 18 *in* 1616. *But that she was the older of these two estimates, is evident from the inscription*

on her picture; which is further confirmed by the text at p. 169], whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to preuent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks [*or rather about three weeks, Smith was altogether away from James town, from* 10 *Dec.* 1607 *to* 8 *Jan.* 1608, *i.e., four complete weeks and portions of two others*: see *pp.* lxxxv–vi] fatting amongst those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *Iames* towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*; such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this [**122**] Lady *Pocahontas*. [1616] [*p.* cxxxvi.]

Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit vs, and by her our iarres haue beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the vtmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee [*at Werowocomoco, about* 15 *Jan.* 1609, *see pp.* 138, 455], hauing but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gaue me intelligence, with her best aduice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her.

Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely

[1616] frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608–9], she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion; which if in those times, [it] had once beene dissolued, *Virginia* might haue line [*lain*] as it was at our first arriuall to this day.

Since then, this businesse hauing beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at [*on* 4 *Oct.* 1609, *see p.* 497]: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie; all which time shee was not heard of.

[*p.* 512.] About two yeeres after [*April* 1613] shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieued, peace concluded; and at last reiecting her

[*p.* 514.] barbarous condition, [she] was maried [1 *April* 1614] to an *English* Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in *England*; the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first *Virginian* euer spake *English*, or had a childe in mariage by an *Englishman*: a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well vnderstood, worthy a Princes vnderstanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maiestie, what at your best leasure our approued Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maiesties life; and howeuer this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I neuer begged any thing of the state, or any: and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert; your birth, meanes and authoritie; hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Maiestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so vnworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maiestie. The most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how euer her stature [*Pocahontas was therefore not a tall woman*]: if

she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes; her present loue to vs and Christianitie might turne to such scorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worst of euill: where[as] finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your seruants an subiects, would so rauish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Maiestie and all the Kings honest subiects most earnestly desire. [1616]

And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Pocahontas meeting in *England* with Captaine *Smith.*

Being about this time preparing to set saile for *New-England*, I could not stay to doe her that seruice I desired, and she well deserued; but hearing shee was at *Branford* with diuers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with diuers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to haue writ she could speake *English*. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembred mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying,

> You did promise *Powhatan* what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you:

which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said,

> Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee), and feare you here I should call you father; I [**123**] tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for euer and euer your Countrieman. They did tell vs alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to *Plimoth* [*on 12 June 1616, p. 525*]; yet *Powhatan* did command *Vttamatomakkin* to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.

Vttamacomack, obseruations of his vsage.

[1616-7] This Saluage, one of *Powhatans* Councell, being amongst them held an vnderstanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriuing at *Plimoth*, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to haue kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske.

Comming to *London*, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behauiour, hee told me

> *Powhatan* did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of.

Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied euer to haue seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly,

> You gaue *Powhatan* a white Dog, which *Powhatan* fed as himselfe; but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

Pocahontas her entertainment with the Queene.

The small time I staid in *London*, diuers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conuersion, and they haue seene many *English* Ladies worse fauoured, proportioned, and behauioured; and as since I haue heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Maiestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady *De la Ware*, and that honourable Lord her husband, and diuers other persons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtlesse she would haue deserued, had she liued to arriue in *Virginia*.

The gouernment deuolued to 1617. *Captaine* Samuel Argall, 1617.

[1617]

THe Treasurer, Councell and Companie, hauing well furnished Captaine *Samuel Argall*, the Lady *Pocahontas* alias *Rebecca*, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the *George*; it pleased God at *Grauesend* to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her vnexpected death, than ioy to the beholders to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little childe *Thomas Rolfe* therefore was left at *Plimoth* with Sir *Lewis Stukly*, that desired the keeping of it.

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

The death of *Pocahontas*.

Captaine *Hamar* his vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at *Plimoth*. In March they set saile 1617. and in May he arriued at *Iames* towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine *Yearley* and his Companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an *Indian*. In *Iames* towne he found but fiue or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled; the Store-house they vsed for the Church; the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco: the Saluages as frequent in their houses as themselues, whereby they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custodie and possession; the Colonie dispersed all about, planting *Tobacco*.

[1617-8] Captaine *Argall* not liking those proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the best order he could for repairing those defects which did exceedingly trouble vs; we were constrained euery yeere to build and repaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie: yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir *Thomas Dale*, was ready to fall, and the Palizado's not sufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not past 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one hundred twentie eight cattell, and fourescore and eight Goats, besides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good [**124**] plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere [1618] the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought vs neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieue the whole Colonie. For from the tenants wee seldome had aboue foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men women and Children.

1000. [? 600] bushels of Corne from the Saluages.

1618. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer. This yeere hauing planted our fields, came a great drought; and such a cruell storme of haile, which did such spoile both to the Corne and Tobacco, that wee reaped but small profit: the Magazine that came in the *George*, being fiue moneths in her passage, proued very badly conditioned; but ere she arriued, we had gathered and made vp our Tobacco, the best at three shillings the pound, the rest at eighteene pence.

To supply vs, the Councell and Company with all possible care and diligence, furnished a good ship of some two hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred people and the Lord *la Ware*. They set saile in Aprill [1618], and tooke their course by the westerne Iles, where the Gouernour of the Ile of Saint *Michael* receiued the Lord *la Ware*, and honourably feasted him, with all the content hee could giue him.

Going from thence, they were long troubled with contrary winds, in which time many of them fell very sicke; thirtie died, one of which number was that most honourable Lord Gouernour the Lord *la Ware*, whose most noble and generous disposition is well knowne to

The death of the Lord *la Ware*.

his great cost, had beene most forward in this businesse for his Countries good. [1618]

Yet this tender state of *Virginia* was not growne to that maturitie, to maintaine such state and pleasure as was fit for such a personage, with so braue and great attendance: for some small number of aduentrous Gentlemen to make discoueries, and lie in Garrison ready vpon any occasion to keepe in feare the inconstant Saluages, nothing were more requisite; but to haue more to wait and play than worke, or more commanders and officers than industrious labourers was not so necessarie. For in *Virginia*, a plaine Souldier that can vse a Pick-axe and spade, is better than fiue Knights, although they were Knights that could breake a Lance: for men of great place, not inured to those incounters, when they finde things not su i]table, grow many times so discontented, they forget themselues, and oft become so carelesse, that a discontented melancholy brings them to much sorrow, and to others much miserie.

They are relieued in *New-England.*

At last they stood in for the coast of *New-England*; where they met a small Frenchman [*i.e.*, *a ship*], rich of Beuers and other Furres. Though wee had here but small knowledge of the coast nor countrie; yet they tooke such an abundance of Fish and Fowle, and so well refreshed themselues there with wood and water, as by the helpe of God thereby, hauing beene at Sea sixteene weekes [*April–August* 1618], [they] got to *Virginia*, who without this reliefe had beene in great danger to perish. The French-men made them such a feast, with such an abundance of varietie of Fish, Fowle and Fruits, as they all admired, and little expected that wild wildernesse could affoord such wonderfull abundance of plentie.

In this ship came about two hundred men, but very little prouision: and the ship called the *Treasurer* came in againe not long after with fortie passengers.

The Lord *la Wares* ship lying in *Virginia* three moneths [*Aug.—Nov.* 1618], wee victualled her with threescore bushels of Corne, and eight Hogsheads of flesh, besides other victuall she spent whilest they tarried there: this ship brought vs aduice that great multitudes were a preparing in *England* to bee sent, and relied much vpon that victuall

[1618] they should finde here: whereupon our Captaine [*Argall*] called a Councell, and writ to the Councell here in *England* the estate of the Colonie, and what a great miserie would insue, if they sent not prouision as well as people; and what they did suffer for want of skilfull husbandmen, and meanes to set their Ploughs on worke: hauing as good ground as any man can desire, and about fortie Bulls and Oxen; but they wanted men to bring them to labour, and Irons for the Ploughs, and harnesse for the Cattell. Some thirtie or fortie acres wee had sowne with one Plough, but it stood so long on the ground before it was reaped, it was most[ly] shaken; and the rest spoiled with the [**125**] Cattell and Rats in the Barne, but no better Corne could bee for the quantitie.

Richard Killingbeck and foure other murdered by the Saluages.

Richard Killingbeck being with the Captaine [*Argall*] at *Kekoughtan*, desired leaue to returne to his wife at *Charles* hundred, hee went to *Iames* towne by water, there he got foure more to goe with him by land, but it proued that he intended to goe trade with the *Indies* [*Indians*] of *Chickahamania*: where making shew of the great quantitie of trucke they had, which the Saluages perceiuing, partly for their trucke, partly for reuenge of some friends they pretended should haue beene slaine by Captaine *Yearley*; one of them with an English peece shot *Killingbeck* dead, the other Saluages assaulted the rest and slew them, stripped them, and tooke what they had. But fearing this murther would come to light, and might cause them to suffer for it, would now proceed to the perfection of villanie; for presently they robbed their Machacomocko house of the towne, stole all the *Indian* treasure thereout, and fled into the woods, as other *Indians* related.

Their Church and Store-house.

Farfax, three children and two boyes also murdered.

On Sunday following, one *Farfax* that dwelt a mile from the towne, going to Church, left his wife and three small children safe at home, as he thought, and a young youth: she supposing praier to be done, left the children, and went to meet her husband; presently after came three or foure of those fugitiue Saluages, entred the house, and slew a boy and three children: and also another youth that stole out of the Church in praier time, meeting them, was likewise murdered.

Of this disaster the Captaine [*Argall*] sent to *Opechan-*

kanough for satisfaction, but he excused the matter, as altogether ignorant of it; at the same time the Saluages that were robbed were complaining to *Opechankanough*, and much feared the English would bee reuenged on them: so that *Opechankanough* sent to Captaine *Argall*, to assure him the peace should neuer be broken by him, desiring that he would not reuenge the iniurie of those fugitiues vpon the innocent people of that towne; which towne he should haue, and sent him a basket of earth, as possession giuen of it, and promised, so soone as possibly they could catch these robbers, to send him their heads for satisfaction, but he neuer performed it. [1618]

Samuel Argall, Iohn Rolfe.

A relation from Master Iohn Rolfe, *Iune* 15, 1618.

CONcerning the state of our new Common-wealth, it is somewhat bettered, for we haue sufficient to content our selues, though not in such abundance as is vainly reported in *England*.

Powhatan died this last Aprill [1618], yet the *Indians* continue in peace. *Itopatin* his second brother succeeds him, and both hee and *Opechankanough* haue confirmed our former league. *Powhatans death.*

On the eleuenth of May, about ten of the clocke in the night, happened a most fearefull tempest, but it continued not past halfe an houre, which powred downe hailestones eight or nine inches about, that none durst goe out of their doores, and though it tore the barke and leaues of the trees, yet wee finde not they hurt either man or beast; it fell onely about *Iames* towne, for but a mile to the East, and twentie to the West there was no haile at all. Hailestones eight inches about.

Thus in peace euery man followed his building and planting without any accidents worthy of note.

Some priuate differences happened betwixt Captaine *Bruster* and Captaine *Argall*, and Captaine *Argall* and the Companie here in *England*; but of them I am not fully informed, neither are they here for any vse, and therefore vnfit to be remembred.

In December [1617] one Captaine *Stallings*, an old planter

[1617-9] in those parts, being imployed by them of the West countrie for a fishing voyage in *New-England*, fell foule of a Frenchman [*i.e.*, *ship*] whom hee tooke, leauing his owne ship to returne for *England*, himselfe with a small companie remained in the French barke, some small time after vpon the coast, and thence returned to winter in *Virginia*. [**126**]

The gouernment surrendred to Sir George Yearley.

1619.

Sir *Edwin Sand[y]s* Treasurer. Master *Iohn Farer* Deputie.

IN For to begin with the yeere of our Lord, 1619. there arriued a little Pinnace priuatly from *England* about Easter [*Easter Sunday O. S. was* 28 *Mar. in* 1619] for Captaine *Argall*; who taking order for his affaires, within foure or fiue daies returned in her, and left for his Deputy, Captaine *Nathaniel Powell*.

On the eighteenth of *Aprill*, which was but ten or twelue daies after, arriued Sir *George Yearley*, by whom we vnderstood Sir *Edwin Sand[y]s* was chosen Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Farrar* his Deputy; and what great supplies was a preparing to be sent vs, which did rauish vs so much with ioy and content, we thought our selues now fully satisfied for our long toile and labours, and as happy men as any in the world. Notwithstanding, such an accident hapned Captaine *Stallings*, [that] the next day his ship was cast away, and he not long after slaine in a priuate quarrell.

Sir *George Yearly* to beginne his gouernment, added to be of his councell, Captaine *Francis West*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powell*, Master *Iohn Pory*, Master *Iohn Rolfe*, and Master *William Wick[h]am*, and Master *Samuel Macocke*, and propounded to haue a generall assembly with all expedition.

Vpon the twelfth of this Moneth [*April* 1619], came in a Pinnace of Captaine *Bargraues*; and on the seuenteenth [*April* 1619] Captaine *Lownes*, and one Master *Euans*, who intended to plant themselues at *Waraskoyack*: but now *Opechankanough* will not come at vs, that causes vs [to] suspect his former promises.

Waraskoyock planted.

In May [1619] came in the *Margaret* of *Bristoll*, with foure and thirty men, all well and in health; and also many deuout gifts: and we were much troubled in examining some scan-

dalous letters sent into *England*, to disgrace this Country with barrennesse, to discourage the aduenturers, and so bring it and vs to ruine and confusion. Notwithstanding, we finde by them of best experience, an industrious man not other waies imploied, may well tend foure akers of Corne, and 1000. plants of Tobacco; and where they say an aker will yeeld but three or foure barrels, we haue ordinarily foure or fiue, but of new ground six, seuen, and eight, and a barrell of Pease and Beanes, which we esteeme as good as two of Corne, which is after thirty or forty bushels an aker, so that one man may prouide Corne for fiue; and apparell for two by the profit of his Tobacco. They say also English Wheat will yeeld but sixteene bushels an aker, and we haue reaped thirty: besides to manure the Land, no place hath more white and blew Marble [? *marl*] than here, had we but Carpenters to build and make Carts and Ploughs, and skilfull men that know how to vse them, and traine vp our cattell to draw them; which though we indeuour to effect, yet our want of experience brings but little to perfection but planting Tobaco. And yet of that, many are so couetous to haue much, they make little good; besides there are so many sofisticating Tobaco-mungers in *England*, were it neuer so bad, they would sell it for *Verinas*, and the trash that remaineth should be *Virginia*: such deuilish bad mindes we know some of our owne Country-men doe beare, not onely to the businesse, but also to our mother *England* her selfe; could they or durst they as freely defame her. [1619]

A barrell they account foure bushels.

The 25. of *Iune* [1619] came in the *Triall* with Corne and Cattell all in safety, which tooke from vs cleerely all feare of famine; then our gouernour and councell caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated [that were] thought expedient for the good of the Colony, and Captaine *Ward* was sent to *Monahigan* in new *England*, to fish in May, and returned the latter end of May, but to small purpose, for they wanted Salt. The *George* also was sent to *New-found-land* with the Cape Merchant: there she bought fish, that defraied her charges, and made a good voyage in seuen weekes.

Their time of Parlament.

About the last of August [1619] came in a dutch man of warre that sold vs twenty Negars [*this was the first intro-*

[1619] *duction of Negro slavery into Virginia*]: and *Iapazous* King of *Patawomeck*, came to *Iames* towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his Riuer, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one *Poule*, in a manner turned heathen, wee [**127**] were very iealous the Saluages would surprize vs.

Foure corporations named.

The Gouernours haue bounded foure Corporations; which is the Companies, the Vniuersity, the Gouernours and Gleabe land: Ensigne *Wil. Spencer*, and *Thomas Barret* a Sergeant, with some others of the ancient Planters being set free, weare the first farmers that went forth; and haue chosen places to their content: so that now knowing their owne land, they striue who should exceed in building and planting.

The fourth of Nouember [1619], the *Bona noua* came in with all her people lusty and well; not long after one Master *Dirmer* sent out by some of *Plimoth* for *New-England*, arriued in a Barke of fiue tunnes, and returned the next Spring.

Notwithstanding the ill rumours of the vnwholsomnesse of *Iames* towne, the new commers that were planted at old *Paspaheghe*, [a] little more then a mile from it, had their healths better then any in the Country.

Captaine *Wards* exploit.

In December [1619], Captaine *Ward* returned from *Patawomeck*, the people there dealt falsly with him, so that hee tooke 800. bushels of Corne from them perforce.

Captaine *Woddiffe* of *Bristol* came in not long after, with all his people lusty and in health: and we had two particular Gouernours sent vs, vnder the titles of Deputies to the Company, the one to haue charge of the Colledge Lands, the other of the Companies.

Now you are to vnderstand, that because there haue beene many complaints against the Gouernors, Captaines, and Officers in *Virginia*: for buying and selling men and boies, or to bee set ouer from one to another for a yeerely rent, was held in *England* a thing most intolerable; or that the tenants or lawfull seruants should be put from their places, or abridged their Couenants, was so odious, that the very report thereof brought a great scandall to the generall action. The Councell in *England* did send many good and worthy instructions for the amending [of] those abuses, and appointed

a hundred men should at the Companies charge be allotted and prouided to serue and attend the Gouernour during the time of his gouernment, which number he was to make good at his departure, and leaue to his Successor in like manner; fifty to the Deputy-Gouernour of the College land, and fifty to the Deputy of the Companies land, fifty to the Treasurer, to the Secretary fiue and twenty, and more to the Marshall and Cape merchant; which they are also to leaue to their successors; and likewise to euery particular Officer such a competency, as he might liue well in his Office, without oppressing any vnder their charge: which good law I pray God it be well obserued, and then we may truly say in *Virginia*, we are the most happy people in the world. [1619]

By me Iohn Rolfe.

THere went this yeere by the Companies records, 11. ships, and 1216. persons to be thus disposed on: Tenants for the Gouernors land fourescore, besides fifty sent the former spring; for the Companies land a hundred and thirty, for the College a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wiues ninety, seruants for publike seruice fifty, and fifty more whose labours were to bring vp thirty of the infidels children: the rest were sent to priuate Plantations. The number of Ships and men.

Two persons vnknowne haue giuen faire Plate and Ornaments for two Communion Tables, the one at the College, the other at the Church of Mistris *Mary Robinson*, who towards the foundation gaue two hundred pound. And another vnknowne person sent to the Treasurer fiue hundred and fifty pounds, for the bringing vp of the saluage children in Christianity. Master *Nicholas Farrar* deceased, hath by his Will giuen three hundred pounds to the College, to be paid when there shall be ten young Saluages placed in it, in the meane time foure and twenty pound [*i.e., the interest on £300 at the then rate of £6 per cent.*] yeerely to bee distributed vnto three discreet and godly young men in the Colony, to bring vp three wilde young infidels in some good course of life. Gifts giuen

Also there were granted eleuen Pattents, vpon condition to transport people and cattle to increase the Plantations. [128] But few performe them.

1620. # *A desperat Sea-fight betwixt two* Spanish men of warre, and a small English ship, at the Ile of *Dominica*, going to *Virginia*, by Captaine *Anthony Chester*.

[1620] The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Ferrar* Deputy.

HAuing taken our iourney towards *Virginia* in the beginning of February, a ship called the *Margaret* and *Iohn*, of one hundred and sixty tuns, eight Iron Peeces and a Falcon, with eightie Passengers besides Sailers; After many tempests and foule weather, about the foureteenth of March [1620] we were in thirteene degrees and an halfe of Northerly latitude, where we descried a ship at hull; it being but a faire gale of wind, we edged towards her to see what she was, but she presently set saile, and ran vs quickly out of sight.

A French man [*i.e., a French ship*] cast away at *Guardalupo*.

This made vs keepe our course for *Mettalina*, and the next day passing *Dominica*, we came to an anchor at *Guardalupo*, to take in fresh water. Six French-men there cast away sixteene moneths agoe [? *Nov.* 1618] came aboord vs; they told vs a Spanish man of Warre but seuen daies before was seeking his consort, and this was she we descried at hull.

At *Meuis* we intended to refresh our selues, hauing beene eleuen weeks [*Feb.—April* 1620] pestered in this vnwholsome ship; but there we found two tall ships with the *Hollanders* colours; but necessitie forcing vs on shore, we anchored faire by them, and in friendly manner sent to

ha[i]le them: but seeing they were *Spaniards*, retiring to our ship, they sent such a volley of shot after vs, that shot the Boat, split the Oares, and [shot] some thorow the clothes, yet not a man hurt; and then followed with their great Ordnance, that many times ouer-racked our ship, which being so cumbred with the Passengers prouisions, our Ordnance was not well fitted, nor any thing as it should haue beene. [1620]

The *Spaniards* begin.

But perceiuing what they were, we fitted our selues the best we could to preuent a mischiefe. Seeing them warp themselues to windward, we thought it not good to be boorded on both sides at an anchor; we intended to set saile, but that the Vice-Admirall battered so hard our starboord side, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their vnkindnesse with such faire shot from a Demiculuering, that shot her betweene wind and water, whereby she was glad to leaue vs and her Admirall together.

The Vice-Admirall shot betweene wind and water.

Comming faire by our quarter, he tooke in his *Holland* flag, and put forth his Spanish colours, and so ha[i]led vs. We quietly and quickly answered him, both what wee were, and whither bound; relating the effect of our Commission, and the cause of our comming thither for water, and not to annoy any of the King of *Spaines* Subiects, nor any.

She commanded vs amaine for the King of *Spaine*.

We replied with inlarging the particulars what friends both the Kings our Masters were; and as we would doe no wrong, we would take none.

They commanded vs aboord to shew our Commission; which we refused, but if they would send their Boat to vs willingly they should see it. But for answer they made two great shot at vs, with a volley of small shot, which caused vs to leaue the decks; then with many ill words they laid vs aboord, which caused vs to raise our maine saile, and giue the word to our small shot which lay close and ready, that paid them in such sort, they quickly retired.

The manner of their fight

The fight continued halfe an houre, as if we had beene inuironed with fire and smoke, vntill they discouered the waste of our ship naked, where they brauely boorded vs loofe for loofe, hasting with pikes and swords to enter; but it pleased God so to direct our Captaine, and encourage our men with valour, that our pikes being formerly placed

[1620] vnder our halfe deck, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose vnder the Port holes, encountred them so rudely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and their whole company beaten backe. Many of our men were hurt, but I am sure they had two for one.

In the end they were violently repulsed, vntill they were reinforced to charge [**129**] againe by their commands, who standing vpon their honors, thought it a great indignity to be so affronted, which caused a second charge, and that answered with a second beating backe: whereat the Captaine grew inraged, and constrained them to come on againe afresh, which they did so effectually, that questionlesse it had wrought an alteration, if the God that tosseth Monarchies, and teareth Mountaines, had not taught vs to tosse our Pikes with prosperous euents, and powred out a volley of small shot amongst them, whereby that valiant Commander was slaine, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe likewise on the top of the hatches.

The Captaine slaine.

This we saw with our eies, and reioyced with it at our hearts, so that we might perceiue good successe comming on, our Captaine presently tooke aduantage of their discomfiture, though with much comiseration of that resolute Captaine, and not onely plied them againe with our Ordnance, but had more shot vnder the Pikes, which was bestowed to good purpose, and amazed our enemies with the suddennesse.

A worthy exploit of *Lucas*.

Amongst the rest, one *Lucas*, our Carpenters Mate, must not be forgotten, who perceiuing a way how to annoy them; As they were thus puzled and in a confusion, drew out a Minion vnder the halfe decke, and there bent it vpon them in such a manner, that when it was fired, the cases of stones and peeces of Iron fell vpon them so thick, as cleared the decke, and slew many; and in short time we saw few assailants, but such as crept from place to place couertly from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker than theirs: for although as far as we may commend our enemies, they had done something worthy of commendations; yet either wanting men, or being ouertaken with the vnlooked for valour of our men, they now began to shrinke, and giue vs leaue to be wanton with our aduantage.

Yet we could onely vse but foure peece of Ordnances,

but they serued the turne as well as all the rest: for she was shot so oft betweene wind and water, we saw they were willing to leaue vs, but by reason she was fast in the latch of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung aloofe, she could not cleare her selfe as she wrought to doe, till one cut the Cable with an axe, and was slaine by freeing vs. Hauing beene aboord vs two houres and an halfe, seeing her selfe cleere, all the shot wee had, plaied on both sides, which lasted till we were out of shot; then we discouered the Vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply vs with their Ordnances, and put vs in minde we had another worke in hand. Whereupon we separated the dead and hurt bodies, and manned the ship with the rest, and were so well incouraged wee waifed them amaine. [1620]

The *Admirall* stood aloofe off, and the other would not come within Falcon shot, where she lay battering vs till shee receiued another paiment from a Demiculuering, which made her beare with the shore for smooth water to mend her leakes.

The next morning they both came vp againe with vs, as if they had determined to deuour vs at once, but it seemed it was but a brauado, though they forsooke not our quarter for a time within Musket shot; yet all the night onely they kept vs company, but made not a shot. During which time we had leasure to prouide vs better than before: but God bethanked they made onely but a shew of another assault, ere suddenly the Vice-admirall fell a starne, and the other lay shaking in the wind, and so they both left vs.

The euent of the fight.

The fight continued six houres, and was the more vnwelcome, because we were so ill prouided, and had no intent to fight, nor giue occasion to disturbe them. As for the losse of men, if Religion had not taught vs what by the prouidence of God is brought to passe, yet daily experience might informe vs, of the dangers of wars, and perils at sea, by stormes tempests, shipwracks, encounters with Pirats, meeting with enemies, crosse winds, long voiages, vnknowne shores, barbarous Nations, and an hundred inconueniences, of which humane pollicies are not capable, nor mens coniectures apprehensiue.

[1620] We lost Doctor *Bohun*, a worthy valiant Gentleman, (a long time brought vp amongst the most learned Surgeons
[p. 506.] and Physitions in *Netherlands*, and this his second iourney to *Virginia*:) and seuen slaine out right; two died shortly of their wounds; sixteene was shot, whose limbs [**130**] God be thanked was recouered without maime, and [they are] now setled in *Virginia*.

How many they lost we know not, but we saw a great many lie on the decks, and their skuppers runne with bloud. They were about three hundred tunnes apeece, [and] each [of] sixteene or twentie Brasse-peeces.

Captaine *Chester*, who in this fight had behaued himselfe like a most vigilant, resolute, and a couragious souldier, as also our honest and valiant Master, did still so comfort and incourage vs by all the meanes they could.

At last, to all our great contents, we arriued in *Virginia*, and from thence returned safely to *England*.

The Names of the Aduenturers for *Virginia*, Alphabetically set downe, according to a printed *Booke, set out by the Treasurer and Councell* in this present yeere, 1620.

A

[1620]

Sir William Aliffe.
Sir Roger Aston.
Sir Anthony Ashley.
Sir Iohn Akland.
Sir Anthonie Aucher.
Sir Robert Askwith.
Doctor Francis Anthony.
Charles Anthony.
Edward Allen.
Edmund Allen Esquire.
Iohn Allen.
Thomas Allen.
William Atkinson, Esquire.
Richard Ashcroft.
Nicholas Andrews.
Iohn Andrews the elder.
Iohn Andrews the younger.
Iames Ascough.
Giles Allington.
Morris Abbot.
Ambrose Asten.
Iames Askew.
Anthony Abdey.
Iohn Arundell, Esquire.

B

Edward, Earle of Bedford.
Iames, Lord Bishop of Bathe and Wells.
Sir Francis Barrington.
Sir Morice Barkley.
Sir Iohn Benet.
Sir Thomas Beamont.
Sir Amias Bamfield.
Sir Iohn Bourcher.

[1620]

Sir Edmund Bowyer.
Sir Thomas Bludder.
Sir George Bolles.
Sir Iohn Bingley.
Sir Thomas Button.
Sir Henry Beddingfield.
Companie of Barbers-Surgeons.
Companie of Bakers.
Richard Banister.
Iohn Bancks.
Miles Bancks.
Thomas Barber.
William Bonham.
Iames Bryerley.
William Barners.
Anthony Barners, Esquire.
William Brewster.
Richard Brooke.
Hugh Brooker, Esquire.
Ambrose Brewsey.
Iohn Brooke.
Matthew Bromridge.
Christopher Brooke, Esquire.
Martin Bond.
Gabriel Beadle.
Iohn Beadle.
Dauid Borne.
Edward Barnes.
Iohn Badger.
Edmund Branduell.
Robert Bowyer, Esquire.
Robert Bateman.
Thomas Britton.
Nicholas Benson. [131]
Edward Bishop.
Peter Burgoney.
Thomas Burgoney.
Robert Burgoney.
Christopher Baron.
Peter Benson.
Iohn Baker.
Iohn Bustoridge.
Francis Burley.
William Browne.
Robert Barker.
Samuel Burnham.
Edward Barkley.
William Bennet.
Captaine Edward Brewster.
Thomas Brocket.
Iohn Bullock.
George Bache.
Thomas Bayly.
William Barkley.
George Butler.
Timothie Bathurst.
George Burton.
Thomas Bret.
Captaine Iohn Brough.
Thomas Baker.
Iohn Blunt.
Thomas Bayly.
Richard and Edward Blunt.
Mineon Burrell.
Richard Blackmore.
William Beck.
Beniamin Brand.
Iohn Busbridge.
William Burrell.
William Barret.
Francis Baldwin.
Edward Barber.
Humphrey Basse.
Robert Bell.
Matthew Bromrick.
Iohn Beaumont.
George Barkley.
Peter Bartle.
Thomas Bretton.
Iohn Blount.
Arthur Bromfeld Esquire.

William Berbloke.
Charles Beck.

C

George, Lord Archbishop of Canterburie.
William Lord Cranborne, now Earle of Salisburie.
William, Lord Compton, now Earle of North-hampton.
William Lord Cauendish, now Earle of Deuonshire.
Richard, Earle of Clanricard.
Sir William Cauendish now Lord Cauendish.
Gray, Lord Chandos.
Sir Henry Cary.
Sir George Caluert.
Sir Lionell Cranfield.
Sir Edward Cecill.
Sir Robert Cotten.
Sir Oliuer Cromwell.
Sir Anthony Cope.
Sir Walter Cope.
Sir Edward Carr.
Sir Thomas Conisbie.
Sir George Cary.
Sir Edward Conwey.
Sir Walter Chute.
Sir Edward Culpeper.
Sir Henry Cary, Captaine.
Sir William Crauen.
Sir Walter Couert.
Sir George Coppin.
Sir George Chute.
Sir Thomas Couentry.
Sir Iohn Cutts.
Lady Cary.
Company of Cloth-workers.
Citie of Chichester.

Robert Chamberlaine. [1620]
Richard Chamberlaine.
Francis Couill.
William Coyse, Esquire.
Abraham Chamberlaine.
Thomas Carpenter.
Anthony Crew.
Richard Cox.
William Crosley.
Iames Chatfeild.
Richard Caswell.
Iohn Cornelis.
Randall Carter.
Executors of Randall Carter.
William Canning.
Edward Carue, Esquire.
Thomas Cannon, Esquire.
Richard Champion.
Rawley Crashaw.
Henry Collins.
Henry Cromwell.
Iohn Cooper.
Richard Cooper. [132]
Iohn Casson.
Thomas Colthurst.
Allen Cotten.
Edward Cage.
Abraham Carthwright.
Robert Coppin.
Thomas Conock.
Iohn Clapham.
Thomas Church.
William Carpenter.
Laurence Campe.
Iames Cambell.
Christopher Cletheroe.
Matthew Cooper.
George Chamber.
Captaine Iohn Cooke.
Captaine Thomas Conwey, Esquire

[1620] *Edward Culpeper, Esquire.*
Master William Crashaw.
Abraham Colmer.
Iohn Culpeper.
Edmund Colbey.
Richard Cooper.
Robert Creswell.
Iohn Cage, Esquire.
Matthew Caue.
William Crowe.
Abraham Carpenter.
Iohn Crowe.
Thomas Cordell.
Richard Connock, Esquire.
William Compton.
William Chester.
Thomas Couel.
Richard Carmarden, Esquire.
William and Paul Canning.
Henry Cromwell, Esquire.
Simon Codrington.
Clement Chichley.
Iames Cullemore.
William Cantrell.

D

Richard Earle of Dorset.
Edward Lord Denny.
Sir Iohn Digbie, now Lord Digbie.
Sir Iohn Doderidge.
Sir Drew Drewry the elder.
Sir Thomas Dennis.
Sir Robert Drewry.
Sir Iohn Dauers.
Sir Dudley Digs.
Sir Marmaduke Dorrel.
Sir Thomas Dale.
Sir Thomas Denton.
Companie of Drapers.
Thomas Bond, Esquire.
Dauid Bent, Esquire.
Com[p]anie of Dyers.
Towne of Douer.
Master Richard Deane, Alderman.
Henry Dawkes.
Edward Dichfield.
William Dunne.
Iohn Dauis.
Matthew Dequester.
Philip Durdent.
Abraham Dawes.
Iohn Dike.
Thomas Draper.
Lancelot Dauis.
Rowley Dawsey.
William Dobson Esquire.
Anthony Dyot, Esquire.
Auery Dranfield.
Roger Dye.
Iohn Downes.
Iohn Drake.
Iohn Delbridge.
Beniamin Decroe.
Thomas Dyke.
Ieffery Duppa.
Daniel Darnelly.
Sara Draper.
Clement and Henry Dawkney.

E

Thomas, Earle of Exeter.
Sir Thomas Euerfield.
Sir Francis Egiock.
Sir Robert Edolph.
Iohn Eldred, Esquire.
William Euans.

Richard Euans.
Hugh Euans.
Ralph Ewens, Esquire.
Iohn Elkin.
Iohn Elkin.
Robert Euelin.
Nicholas Exton.
Iohn Exton.
George Etheridge.

F

Sir Moyle Finch.
Sir Henry Fanshaw.
Sir Thomas Freake.
Sir Peter Fretchuile. [133]
Sir William Fleetwood.
Sir Henry Fane.
Company of Fishmongers.
Iohn Fletcher.
Iohn Farmer.
Martin Freeman, Esquire.
Ralph Freeman.
William and Ralph Freeman.
Michael Fetiplace.
VVilliam Fettiplace.
Thomas Forrest.
Edward Fleetwood, Esquire.
William Felgate.
William Field.
Nicholas Ferrar.
Iohn Farrar.
Giles Francis.
Edward Fawcet.
Richard Farrington.
Iohn Francklin.
Richard Frith.
Iohn Ferne.
George Farmer.
Thomas Francis. [1620]
Iohn Fenner.
Nicholas Fuller, Esquire.
Thomas Foxall.
William Fleet.
Peter Franck, Esquire.
Richard Fishborne.
VVilliam Faldoe.
Iohn Fletcher, and Company.
VVilliam Ferrars.

G

Lady Elizabeth Gray.
Sir Iohn Gray.
Sir VVilliam Godolfine.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir VVilliam Gee.
Sir Richard Grobham.
Sir VVilliam Garaway.
Sir Francis Goodwin.
Sir George Goring.
Sir Thomas Grantham.
Company of Grocers.
Company of Goldsmiths.
Company of Girdlers.
Iohn Geering.
Iohn Gardiner.
Richard Gardiner.
Iohn Gilbert.
Thomas Graue.
Iohn Gray.
Nicholas Griece.
Richard Goddard.
Thomas Gipps.
Peter Gates.
Thomas Gibbs Esquire.
Laurence Greene.
William Greenwell.
Robert Garset.
Robert Gore.

[1620] *Thomas Gouge.*
Francis Glanuile, Esquire.

H

Henry, Earle of Huntington.
Lord Theophilus Haward, L. Walden.
Sir Iohn Harrington, L. Harington.
Sir Iohn Hollis, now Lord Hautein.
Sir Thomas Holecroft.
Sir William Harris.
Sir Thomas Harefleet.
Sir George Haiward.
Sir VVarwicke Heale.
Sir Baptist Hicks.
Sir Iohn Hanham.
Sir Thomas Horwell.
Sir Thomas Hewit.
Sir VVilliam Herrick.
Sir Eustace Hart.
Sir Pory Huntley.
Sir Arthur Harris.
Sir Edward Heron.
Sir Perseuall Hart.
Sir Ferdinando Heiborne.
Sir Lawrence Hide.
Master Hugh Hamersley, Alderman.
Master Richard Heron, Alderman.
Richard Humble, Esquire.
Master Richard Hackleuit.
Edward Harrison.
George Holeman.
Robert Hill.
Griffin Hinton.
Iohn Hawkins.
VVilliam Hancocke.
Iohn Harper.
George Hawger.
Iohn Holt.
Iohn Huntley.
Ieremy Heiden.
Ralph Hamer.
Ralph Hamer, Iunior.
Iohn Hodgeson.
Iohn Hanford.
Thomas Harris. [134]
Richard Howell.
Thomas Henshaw.
Leonard Harwood.
Tristram Hill.
Francis Haselridge.
Tobias Hinson.
Peter Heightley.
George Hawkenson.
Thomas Hackshaw.
Charles Hawkens.
Iohn Hodgis.
William Hollan.l.
Robert Hartley.
Gregory Herst.
Thomas Hodgis.
William Hodgis.
Roger Harris.
Iohn Harris.
M. Iohn Haiward.
Iames Haiward.
Nicholas Hide, Esquire.
Iohn Hare, Esquire.
William Hackwell, Esquire.
Gressam Hoogan.
Humfrey Hanford.
William Haselden.
Nicholas Hooker.
Doctor Anthony Hunton.
Iohn Hodsale.
George Hooker.
Anthony Hinton.

Iohn Hogsell.
Thomas Hampton.
William Hicks.
William Holiland.
Ralph Harison.
Harman Harison.

I

Sir Thomas Iermyn.
Sir Robert Iohnson.
Sir Arthur Ingram.
Sir Francis Iones.
Company of Ironmongers.
Company of Inholders.
Company of Imbroyderers.
Bailiffes of Ipswich.
Henry Iackson.
Richard Ironside.
M. Robert Iohnson Alderman.
Thomas Iones.
William Iobson.
Thomas Iohnson.
Thomas Iadwine.
Iohn Iosua.
George Isam.
Philip Iacobson.
Peter Iacobson.
Thomas Iuxson Senior.
Iames Iewell.
Gabriel Iaques.
Walter Iobson.
Edward Iames.
Zachary Iones, Esquire.
Anthony Irbye, Esquire.
William I-anson.
Humfrey Iobson.

K

Sir Valentine Knightley.
Sir Robert Killegrew. [1620]
Sir Charles Kelke.
Sir Iohn Kaile.
Richard Kirrill.
Iohn Kirrill.
Ra[l]ph King.
Henry Kent.
Towne of Kings lynne.
Iohn Kettleby, Esquire.
Walter Kirkham, Esquire.

L

Henry Earle of Lincolne.
Robert, L. Lisle, now Earle of Leicester.
Thomas, Lord Laware.
Sir Francis Leigh.
Sir Richard Lowlace.
Sir William Litton.
Sir Iohn Lewson.
Sir William Lower.
Sir Samuel Leonard.
Sir Samson Leonard.
Company of Lethersellers.
Thomas Laughton.
William Lewson.
Peter Latham.
Peter Van Lore.
Henry Leigh.
Thomas Leuar.
Christofer Landman.
Morris Lewellin.
Edward Lewis.
Edward Lewkin.
Peter Lodge.
Thomas Layer.
Thomas Lawson.
Francis Lodge. [135]
Iohn Langley.
Dauid Loide.

[1620]

Iohn Leuitt.
Thomas Fox and Luke Lodge.
Captaine Richard Linley.
Arnold Lulls.
William Lawrence.
Iohn Landman.
Nicholas Lichfield.
Nicholas Leate.
Gedeon de Laune.

M

Philip Earle of Montgomerie.
Doctor George Mountaine, now Lord Bishop of Lincolne.
William Lord Mounteagle, now Lord Morley.
Sir Thomas Mansell.
Sir Thomas Mildmay.
Sir William Maynard.
Sir Humfrey May.
Sir Peter Manhood.
Sir Iohn Merrick.
Sir George More.
Sir Robert Mansell.
Sir Arthur Mannering.
Sir Dauid Murrey.
Sir Edward Michelborn.
Sir Thomas Middleton.
Sir Robert Miller.
Sir Caualiero Maicott.
Doctor Iames Meddus.
Richard Martin, Esquire.
Company of Mercers.
Company of Merchant Taylors.
Otho Mowdite.
Captaine Iohn Martin.
Arthur Mouse.
Adrian More.
Thomas Mountford.
Thomas Morris.
Ralph Moorton.
Francis Mapes.
Richard Maplesden.
Iames Monger.
Peter Monseil.
Robert Middleton
Thomas Maile.
Iohn Martin.
Iosias Maude.
Richard Morton.
George Mason.
Thomas Maddock.
Richard Moore.
Nicholas Moone.
Alfonsus van Medkerk.
Captaine Henry Meoles.
Philip Mutes.
Thomas Mayall.
Humfrey Marret.
Iaruis Mundz.
Robert Mildmay.
William Millet.
Richard Morer.
Iohn Miller.
Thomas Martin.
Iohn Middleton.
Francis Middleton.

N

Dudly, Lord North.
Francis, Lord Norris.
Sir Henry Neuill of Barkshire.
Thomas Nicols.
Christopher Nicols.
VVilliam Nicols.
George Newce.
Ioseph Newberow.
Christopher Newgate.

Thomas Norincott.
Ionathan Nuttall.
Thomas Norton.

O

William Oxenbridge, Esquire.
Robert Offley.
Francis Oliuer.

P

VVilliam, Earle of Pembroke.
VVilliam, Lord Paget.
Iohn, Lord Petre.
George Percy, Esquire.
Sir Christofer Parkins.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Nicholas Parker.
Sir VVilliam Poole.
Sir Stephen Powell.
Sir Henry Peyton.
Sir Iames Perrot.
Sir Iohn Pettus.
Sir Robert Payne.
VVilliam Payne.
Iohn Payne.
Edward Parkins.
Edward Parkins his widow. [136]
Aden Perkins.
Thomas Perkin.
Richard Partridge.
William Palmer.
Miles Palmer.
Robert Parkhurst.
Richard Perciuall, Esquire.
Richard Poyntell.
George Pretty.
George Pit.
Allen Percy.
Abraham Peirce. [1620]
Edmund Peirce.
Phenice Pet.
Thomas Philips.
Henry Philpot.
Master George Procter.
Robert Penington.
Peter Peate.
Iohn Prat.
William Powell.
Edmund Peashall.
Captaine William Proude.
Henry Price.
Nicholas Pewriffe.
Thomas Pelham.
Richard Piggot.
Iohn Pawlet, Esquire.
Robert Pory.
Richard Paulson.

Q

William Quicke.

R

Sir Robert Rich, now Earle of Warwicke.
Sir Thomas Row.
Sir Henry Rainsford.
Sir William Romney.
Sir Iohn Ratcliffe.
Sir Steuen Ridlesdon.
Sir William Russell.
Master Edward Rotheram, Alderman.
Robert Rich.
Tedder Roberts.
Henry Robinson.
Iohn Russell.
Richard Rogers.

[1620]

Arthur Robinson.
Robert Robinson.
Millicent Ramsden.
Iohn Robinson.
George Robins.
Nichalas Rainton.
Henry Rolffe.
Iohn Reignolds.
Elias Roberts.
Henry Reignolds, Esquire.
William Roscarrocke, Esquire.
Humfrey Raymell.
Richard Robins.

S

Henry, Earle of Southampton.
Thomas, Earle of Suffolke.
Edward Semer, Earle of Hartford.
Robert, Earle of Salisbury.
Mary, Countesse of Shrewsbury.
Edmund, Lord Sheffeld.
Robert, Lord Spencer.
Iohn, Lord Stanhope.
Sir Iohn Saint-Iohn.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir Iohn Samms.
Sir Iohn Smith.
Sir Edwin Sandys.
Sir Samuel Sandys.
Sir Steuen Some.
Sir Ra[l]ph Shelton.
Sir Thomas Stewkley.
Sir William Saint-Iohn.
Sir William Smith.
Sir Richard Smith.
Sir Martin Stuteuill.
Sir Nicolas Salter.
Doctor Matthew Sutcliffe of Exeter.
Captaine Iohn Smith.
Thomas Sandys, Esquire.
Henry Sandys, Esquire.
George Sandys, Esquire.
Company of Skinners.
Company of Salters.
Company of Stationers.
Iohn Stokley.
Richard Staper.
Robert Singleton.
Thomas Shipton.
Cleophas Smith.
Richard Strongtharm.
Hildebrand Spruson.
Matthew Scriuener.
Othowell Smith.
George Scot.
Hewet Stapers. [137]
Iames Swift.
Richard Stratford.
Edmund Smith.
Robert Smith.
Matthias Springham.
Richard Smith.
Edward Smith.
Ionathan Smith.
Humfrey Smith.
Iohn Smith.
George Swinhow.
Ioseph Some.
William Sheckley.
Iohn Southick.
Henry Shelley.
Walter Shelley.
Richard Snarsborow.
George Stone.
Hugh Shepley.
William Strachey.
Vrion Spencer.

Iohn Scarpe.
Thomas Scott.
William Sharpe.
Steuen Sparrow.
Thomas Stokes.
Richard Shepard.
Henry Spranger.
William Stonnard.
Steuen Sad.
Iohn Stockley.
Thomas Steuens.
Matthew Shepard.
Thomas Sherwell.
William Seabright, Esquire.
Nicholas Sherwell.
Augustine Steward.
Thomas Stile.
Abraham Speckhard.
Edmund Scot.
Francis Smalman.
Gregory Sprint, Esquire.
Thomas Stacey.
William Sandbatch.
Augustine Stuard, Esquire.

T

Sir William Twisden.
Sir William Throckmorton.
Sir Nicholas Tufton.
Sir Iohn Treuer.
Sir Thomas Tracy.
George Thorpe, Esquire.
Doctor William Turner.
The Trinity house.
Richard Turner.
Iohn Tauerner.
Daniel Tucker.
Charles Towler.
William Tayler.
Leonard Townson.
Richard Tomlins. [1620]
Francis Tate, Esquire.
Andrew Troughton.
George Tucker.
Henry Timberlake.
William Tucker.
Lewis Tite.
Robert Thornton.

V

Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Walter Vaughan.
Henry Vincent.
Richard Venne.
Christopher Vertue.
Iohn Vassell.
Arthur Venne.

W

Henry Bishop of VVorcester.
Francis West, Esquire.
Sir Ralph Winwood.
Sir Iohn Wentworth.
Sir William Waad.
Sir Robert Wroth.
Sir Perciual Willoby.
Sir Charles Wilmott.
Sir Iohn Wats.
Sir Hugh Worrell.
Sir Edward Waterhouse.
Sir Thomas Wilsford.
Sir Richard Williamson.
Sir Iohn Wolstenholm.
Sir Thomas Walsingham.
Sir Thomas Watson.
Sir Thomas Wilson.
Sir Iohn Weld.
Mistris Katharine West, now Lady Conway.

[1620] *Iohn Wroth, Esquire.*
Captaine Maria Winckfield, Esquire.
Thomas Webb.
Rice Webb.
Edward Webb.
Sands Webb.
Felix Wilson.
Thomas White.
Richard Wiffen. [138]
William Williamson.
Humfrey Westwood.
Hugh Willeston.
Thomas Wheatley.
William Wattey.
William Webster.
Iames White.
Edmund Winne.
Iohn West.
Iohn Wright.
Edward Wooller.
Thomas Walker.
Iohn Wooller.
Iohn Westrow.
Edward Welch.
Nathaniel Waad.
Richard Widowes.
Dauid Waterhouse, Esquire.
Captaine Owen Winne.
Randall Wetwood.
George Wilmer, Esquire.
Edward Wilkes.
Leonard White.
Andrew Willmer.
Clement Willmer.
George Walker.
William Welbie.
Francis Whistler.
Thomas Wells.
Captaine Thomas Winne.
Iohn Whittingham.
Thomas Wheeler.
William Willet.
Deuereux Woogam.
Iohn Walker.
Thomas Wood.
Iohn Willet.
Nicholas Wheeler.
Thomas Wale.
William Wilston.
Iohn Waller.
William Ward.
William Willeston.
Iohn Water.
Thomas Warr, Esquire.
Dauid Wiffen.
Garret Weston.

Y

Sir George Yeardley, now Gouernour of Virginia.
William Yong.
Simon Yeomans.

Z

Edward, Lord Zouch.
Iohn Zouch, Esquire.

THat most generous and most honourable Lord, the Earle of Southampton, being pleased to take vpon him the title of Treasurer, and Master *Iohn Farrar* his Deputy, with such instructions as were necessary, and admonitions to all Officers to take heede of extortion, ingrosing commodities, forestalling of markets, especially to haue a vigilant care, the familiarity of the Saluages liuing amongst them made them not [a] way to betray or surprize them, for the building of Guest-houses [*hospitals*] to relieue the weake in, and that they did wonder in all this time they had made no discoueries, nor knew no more then the very place whereon they did inhabit, nor yet could euer see any returne for all this continuall charge and trouble; therefore they sent to be added to the Councell seuen Gentlemen, namely Master *Thorp*, Captaine *Nuce*, Master *Tracy*, Captaine *Middleton*, Captaine *Blount*, Master *Iohn Pountas*, and Master *Harwood*, with men, munition, and all things thought fitting; but they write from *Virginia*, many of the Ships were so pestred with diseased people, and thronged together in their passage, there was much sicknesse and a great mortality, wherefore they desired rather a few able sufficient men well prouided, then great multitudes. [1620-1]

And because there were few accidents of note, but priuate aduertisements by letters, we will conclude this yeere, and proceed to the next.

Collected out of the Councels letters for Virginia.

The instructions and aduertisements for this yeere were both from *England* and *Virginia*, much like the last: only 1621.

[1621] The Earle of Southampton Treasurer. Master *Iohn Farrar* Deputy.

whereas before they had euer a suspicion of *Opechankanough*, and all the rest of the Saluages, they had an eye ouer him more then any; but now they all write so confidently of their assured peace with the Saluages, there is now no more feare nor danger either of their power or trechery; so that euery man planteth himselfe where he pleaseth, and followeth his businesse securely.

The election of Sir *Francis Wyat* Gouernour for *Virginia*.

But the time of Sir *George Yearley* being neere expired, the Councel here [**139**] made choise of a worthy young Gentleman Sir *Francis Wyat* to succeed him, whom they forthwith furnished and prouided, as they had done his Predecessors, with all the necessary instructions all these times had acquainted them, for the conuersion of the Saluages; the suppressing of planting Tobacco, and planting of Corne; not depending continually to be supplied by the Saluages, but in case of necessity to trade with them, whom long ere this, it hath beene promised and expected should haue beene fed and relieued by the English, not the English by them; and carefully to redresse all the complaints of the needlesse mortality of their people: and by all diligence seeke to send something home to satisfie the Aduenturers, that all this time had only liued vpon hopes, [and] grew so weary and discouraged, that it must now be substance that must maintaine their proceedings, and not letters, excuses and promises; seeing they could get so much and such great estates for themselues, as to spend after the rate of 100. pounds, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. nay some 2000. or 3000. pounds yearely, that were not worth so many pence when they went to *Virginia*, can scarce containe themselues either in diet, apparell, gaming, and all manner of such superfluity, within a lesse compasse than our curious, costly, and consuming Gallants here in *England*, which cannot possibly be there supported, but either by oppressing the Comminalty there, or deceiuing the generality here (or both).

Notes worthy obseruation.

Extracted out of the Councels Letters for Virginia.

A degression.

From *Virginia*, by the relations of the Chieftains there, and many I haue conferred with, that came from thence hither; I haue much admired to heare of the incredible pleasure, profit and plenty this Plantation doth abound

in, and yet could neuer heare of any returne but Tobacco: but it hath oft amazed me to vnderstand how strangely the Saluages hath beene taught the vse of our armes, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling peeces; and our men rooting in the ground about Tobacco like Swine. Besides, that the Saluages that doe little but continually exercise their bow and arrowes, should dwell and lie so familiarly amongst our men that practised little but the Spade; being so farre asunder, and in such small parties dispersed, and neither Fort, exercise of armes vsed, Ordnances mounted, Courts of guard, nor any preparation nor prouision to preuent a forraine enemy, much more the Saluages howsoeuer: for the Saluages vncertaine conformity I doe not wonder; but for their constancy and conuersion, I am and euer haue beene of the opinion of Master *Ionas Stockam* a Minister in *Virginia*, who euen at this time, when all things were so prosperous, and the Saluages at the point of conuersion, against all their Gouernours and Councels opinions, writ to the Councell and Company in *England* to this effect. [1621]

May 28 [1621].

Master *Stockams* relation.

WE that haue left our natiue country to soiourne in a strange land, some idle spectators, who either cowardly dare not, or couetously will not aduenture either their purses or persons in so commendable a worke; others supporting *Atlas* of this ilmost vnsupportable burdens as your selues, without whose assistance this *Virginia* Firmament (in which some) and I hope in short time will shine many more glorious Starres, though there be many Italiannated and Spaniolized Englishmen enuies our prosperities, and by all their ignominious scandals they can deuise seekes to dishearten what they can, those that are willing to further this glorious enterprize, to such I wish according to the decree of *Darius*, that whosoeuer is an enemy to our peace, and seeketh either by getting monipolicall paten[t]s, or by forging vniust tales to hinder our welfare, that his house were pulled downe, and a paire of gallowes made of the wood, and he hanged on them in the place.

[1621] As for those lasie seruants, who had rather stand all day idle, than worke, though but an houre in this Vineyard; and spend their substance riotously, than cast the superfluity of their wealth into your Treasury: I leaue them, as they are, to the eternall Iudge of the world.

But you, right worthy, that hath aduentured so freely; I [**140**] will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which, it may be, you expect should flow vnto you with a full tide; for the conuersion of the Saluages: I wonder you vse not the meanes, I confesse you say well to haue them conuerted by faire meanes, but they scorne to acknowledge it; as for the gifts bestowed on them they deuoure them, and so they would the giuers if they could: and though they haue endeuoured by all the meanes they could by kindnesse to conuert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers.

We haue sent boies amongst them to learne their Language, but they returne worse than they went; but I am no Statesman, nor loue I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can finde no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse: and I am perswaded if *Mars* and *Minerua* goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, then those verball Mercurians in their liues; and till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion.

The gouernment of Sir Francis Wyat.

The arriuall of Sir *Francis Wyat.*

ABout October [1621] arriued Sir *Francis Wyat*, with Master *George Sand[y]s* [*the poet*] appointed Treasurer, Master *Dauison* Secretary, Doctor *Pot* the Physician, and Master *Cloyburne* the Surgian; but much [of the] prouision was very badly conditioned, nay the Hogs would not eat that Corne they brought, which was a great cause of their sicknesse and mortality; and whatsoeuer is said against the *Virginia* Corne, they finde it doth better nourish than any prouision is sent thither.

The Sailers still they complaine are much to blame for imbesling the prouisions sent to priuate men, killing of Swine, and disorderly trucking; for which some order would be taken.

In them nine Ships that went with Sir *Francis VVyat*

not one Passenger died. At his arriuall he sent Master *Thorpe* to *Opechancanough*, whom hee found much satisfied with his comming, to confirme their leagues as he had done his Predecessors, and so contented his people should coinhabit amongst them, and hee found more motions of Religion in him than could be imagined. Euery man betaking himselfe to his quarter, it was ordered, that for euery head they should plant but 1000. Plants of Tobacco, and vpon each plant nine leaues, which will be about 100. weight [=112 *lbs.*]; the Corne being appointed but at two shillings and six pence the bushell, required such labour, it caused most men [to] neglect it, and depend vpon trade: where[as] were it rated at ten shillings the bushell, euery man would indeuour to haue plenty to sell to the new commers, or any that wanted; and seldome any is transported from *England*, but it standeth in as much, besides the hazard; and other necessaries the Ships might transport of that burden. [1621]

The 22. of Nouember [1621] arriued Master *Gookin* out of *Ireland*, with fifty men of his owne, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of prouision and cattle, and planted himselfe at *Nupor[t]s-newes:* the Cotton trees in a yeere grew so thicke as ones arme, and so high as a man: here any thing that is planted doth prosper so well as in no place better. Master *Gookins* Plantation

For the mortality of the people accuse not the place, for of the old Planters and the families scarce one of twenty miscarries, onely the want of necessaries are the occasions of those diseases.

And so wee will conclude this yeere with the shipping and numbers sent.

Out of the Councels Letters from Virginia.

This yeere was sent one and twenty saile of Ships that imployed more than 400. sailers and 1300. men, women and children of diuers faculties, with fourescore cattle; the *Tiger* fell in the Turkes hands, yet safely escaped: and by the returne of their letters from thence, the company is assured there can bee no fitter places of Mines, Wood and Water for Iron than there; and the French men affirme no Country is more proper for Vines, Oliues, Sike, Rice and Salt, &c. of which the next yeere they promise a good quantity. [141] The number of Ships and men.

GIFTS.

Gifts giuen.

THe Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the *Royall Iames* from the *East-Indies*, gaue towards the building of a free Schoole 70 pound, eight shillings, and six pence; and an vnknowne person to further it, sent thirtie pounds; and another in like manner fiue and twentie pounds; another refusing to be made knowne, gaue fortie shillings yeerely for a Sermon before the *Virginia* companie: also another that would not be knowne, sent for the College at *Henrico*, many excellent good religious bookes, worth ten pound, and a most curious Map of al that coast of *America*. Master *Thomas Bargaue* their Preacher there deceased, gaue a Librarie valued at one hundred Markes: and the Inhabitants hath made a contribution of one thousand and fiue hundred pounds, to build a house for the entertaining of strangers.

[1621] Patents granted.

[1621] This yeere [1621] also there was much suing for Patents for Plantations, who promised to transport such great multitudes of people: there was much disputing concerning those diuisions, as though the whole land had beene too little for them: six and twentie obtained their desires, but as yet not past six hath sent thither a man; notwithstanding many of them would haue more, and are not well contented; whom I would intreat, and all other wranglers, to peruse this saying of honest *Claudius*.

See'st not the world of Natures worke, the fairest well, I wot,
How it, it selfe together ties, as in a true-loues knot.
Nor seest how th'Elements ayre combin'd, maintaine one constant plea,
How midst of heauen contents the Sunne, and shore containes the sea;
And how the aire both compasseth, and carrieth still earths frame,
Yet neither pressing burdens it, nor parting leaues the same.

The obseruations of Master Iohn Pory *Secretarie of* Virginia, *in his trauels.*

HAuing but ten men meanly prouided, to plant the Secretaries land on the Easterne shore neere *Acomack* (Captaine *Wilcocks* plantation), the better to secure and assist each other. Sir *George Yearley* intending to visit *Smiths* Iles, fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with *Estinien Moll* a French-man, to finde a conuenient place to make salt in. [1621] My iourney to the Easterne shore.

Not long after *Namenacus* the King of *Pawtuxunt*, came to vs to seeke for *Thomas Saluage* our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led vs into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed vs his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie vpon it, we told him, No; No more, said hee, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome: which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Hauing taken a muster of the companies tenants; I went to *Smiths* Iles, where was our Salt-house: not farre off wee found a more conuenient place, and so returned to *Iames* towne. A good place to make salt in.

Being furnished the second time, wee arriued at *Aquohanock*, and conferred with *Kiptopeke* their King. Passing *Russels* Ile and *Onaucoke*, we arriued at *Pawtuxunt*: the discription of those places, you may reade in Captaine *Smiths* discoueries, therefore needlesse to bee writ againe [*pp.* 110, 119, 348, 413, 424].

But here arriuing at *Attoughcomoco* the habitation of *Namenacus*, and *Wamanato* his brother, long wee staied not ere they came aboord vs with a brasse Kettle, as bright without as within, ful of boyled Oisters. Strict order was The King of *Paw-t[u]xunts* entertainment.

[1621] giuen none should offend vs, so that the next day I went with the two Kings a hunting, to discouer what I could in their confines. *Wamanato* brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, so the elder brought me home, and [**142**] vsed me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day, he presented me twelue Beuer skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee liued, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Law of our God, and the first Chapter of *Genesis* expounded of *Adam* and *Eue*, and simple mariage; to which he replyed, hee was like *Adam* in one thing, for he neuer had but one wife at once: but he, as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better vnderstood.

The next day, the two Kings with their people, came aboord vs, but brought nothing according to promise; so that Ensigne *Saluage* challenged *Namenacus* [with] the breach of three promises, *viz.* not in giuing him a Boy, nor Corne though they had plentie, nor *Moutapass* (a fugitiue called *Robert Marcum*, that had liued 5. yeeres [1616–1621] amongst those northerly nations): which hee cunningly answered by excuses.

Womanato it seemes, was guiltlesse of this falshood, because hee staied alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to bee great and rich; he answered, They were things all men aspired vnto: which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell, so he gaue me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse vs. Some things being stolne from vs, he tooke such order that they were presently restored, then we interchanged presents: in all things hee much admired our discretions, and gaue vs a guide that hee called brother, to conduct vs vp the Riuer: by the way we met with diuers that stil tould vs of *Marcum:* and though it was in October [1621], we found the Countrie very hot, and their Corne gathered before ours at *Iames* towne.

The next day, we went to *Paccamaganant*, and they directed vs to *Assacomoco*, where their King *Cassatowap* had an old

quarrell with Ensigne *Saluage*, but now seeming reconciled, went with vs, with another Werowance, towards *Mattapanient*, where they perswaded vs ashore vpon the point of a thicket; but supposing it some trecherie, we returned to our boat: farre we had not gone from the shore, but a multitude of Saluages sallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and signes of hostilitie they could. When wee saw plainly their bad intent, wee set the two Werowances at libertie, that all this while had line [*lain*] in the Cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie, because we would conuert them by courtesie. Leauing them as we found them, very ciuill and subtill; wee returned the same way wee came to the laughing Kings on the Easterne shore, who told vs plainly, *Namanicus* would also haue allured him into his Countrie, vnder colour of trade, to cut his throat. Hee told vs also *Opechancanough* had imployed *Onianimo* to kill *Saluage*; because he brought the trade from him to the Easterne shore, and some disgrace hee had done his sonne and some thirteene of his people before one hundred of those Easterlings [*Indians on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay*], in rescuing *Thomas Graues* whom they would haue slaine: where hee and three more did challenge the thirteene *Pamavnkes* to fight, but they durst not; so that all those Easterlings so derided them, that they came there no more. [1621] The trecherie of *Namanicus*.

This *Thomas Saluage*, it is sixteene yeeres [*i.e.*, 1608–1624] since he went to *Virginia*, being a boy [*He arrived with Captain Newport on* 8 *Jan.* 1608, *see pp.* 100, 102, 108], hee was left with *Powhatan* for *Namontacke*, to learne the language: and as this Author [*J. Pory*] affirmeth, with much honestie and good successe hath serued the publike without any publike recompence, yet had an arrow shot through his body in their seruice. *Thomas Saluages* good seruice. [*p.* 517.]

This laughing King at *Accomack*, tels vs the land is not two daies iourny ouer in the broadest place, but in some places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the Bay and the maine Ocean, where inhabit many people; so that by the narrownesse of the Land there is not many Deere, but most abundance of Fish and Fowle. *Kiptop*[*ek*]*e* his brother rules as his Lieutenant, who seeing his younger brother more affected by the people than himselfe, freely

[1621-2] resigned him the moitie of his Countrie, applying himselfe onely to husbandry and hunting, yet nothing neglected in his degree; nor is hee carelesse of any thing concernes the state, but as a vigilant and faithfull Counceller, as hee is an affectionated [**143**] Brother, bearing the greater burden in gouernment, though the lesser honour: where cleane contrary they on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, and the elder the dignitie. Those are the best husbands [*providers*] of any Saluages we know: for they prouide Corne to serue them all the yeare, yet spare; and the other not for halfe the yeare, yet want. They are the most ciuill and tractable people we haue met with; and by little sticks will keepe as iust an account of their promises, as by a tally. In their mariages they obserue a large distance, as well in affinitie as consanguinitie; nor doe [*pp.* 77, 373.] they vse that deuilish custome in making black Boyes.

There may be on this shore about two thousand people: they on the West would inuade them, but that they want Boats to crosse the Bay; and so would diuers other Nations, were they not protected by vs. A few of the Westerly Runnagados had conspired against the laughing King: but fearing their treason was discouered, fled to *Smiths* Iles, where they made a massacre of Deere and Hogges; and thence to *Rickahake*, betwixt *Cissapeack* and *Nansamund*, where they now are seated vnder the command of *Itoyatin*.

And so I returned to *Iames* Towne, where I found the gouernment rendred [*Oct.* 1621] to Sir *Francis Wyat*.

In February [1622] also he trauelled to the South Riuer *Chawonock*, some sixtie miles ouer land; which he found to be a very fruitfull and pleasant Country, yeelding two haruests in a yeare, and found much of the Silke grasse formerly spoken of, was kindly vsed by the people, and so returned.

Captaine Each *sent to build a Fort to secure the Countrey.*

1622. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer, and *Nicolas*

IT was no small content to all the Aduenturers to heare of the safe ariuall of all those ships and companies, which was thought sufficient to haue made a Plantation of themselues: and

[1622]

againe to second them, was sent Captaine *Each* in the *Abigale*, a ship of three or foure hundred tunnes, who hath vndertaken to make a Block-house amongst the Oyster banks, that shall secure the Riuer. The furnishing him with Instruments, cost three hundred pounds; but the whole charge and the ships returne, will be neere two thousand pounds. In her went Captaine *Barwicke* with fiue and twentie men for the building ships and Boats, and not other waies to be imploied: and also a selected number to build the *East Indie* Schoole, but as yet from *Virginia* little returnes but priuate mens Tobacco, and faire promises of plentie of Iron, Silke, Wine, and many other good and rich commodities, besides the speedy conuersion of the Saluages, that at first were much discouraged from liuing amongst them, when they were debarred the vse of their peeces; therefore it was disputed as a matter of State, whether such as would liue amongst them should vse them or not, as a bait to allure them; or at least such as should bee called to the knowledge of Christ.

Farrar Deputy

Fiue and twentie sent only to build Barks and Boats.

But because it was a great trouble for all causes to be brought to *Iames* Towne for a triall, Courts were appointed in conuenient places to releeue them: but as they can make no Lawes in *Virginia* till they be ratified here; so they thinke it but reason, none should bee inacted here without their consents, because they onely feele them, and must liue vnder them.

Still they complaine for want of Corne, but what must be had by Trade, and how vnwilling any Officer when he leaueth his place, is to make good his number of men to his Successor, but many of them during their times to help themselues, vndoes the Company: for the seruants you allow them, or such as they hire, they plant on their priuate Lands, not vpon that belongeth to their office, which crop alwaies exceeds yours, besides those which are your tenants to halfes, are forced to row them vp and downe, whereby both you and they lose more then halfe. Nor are those officers the ablest or best deseruing, but make their experience vpon the companies cost, and your land lies vnmanured to any purpose, and will yeeld as little profit to your next new officers. [144]

The massacre vpon the two and twentieth of March [1622].

[1622] The death of *Nem-tanow*, writ by Master *Wimp.*

THe Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by *Nemattanow*, otherwise called *Iack* of the *Feather*, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Saluages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done him by the *English*. This Captaine comming to one *Morgans* house [*in March* 1622], knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded *Morgan* to goe with him to *Pamau*[*n*]*ke* to trucke, but the Saluage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to *Morgans* house, where he found two youths his Seruants, who asked for their Master: *Iack* replied directly he was dead; the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would haue had him to Master *Thorp:* But *Iack* so moued their patience, they shot him; so he fell to the ground, [they] put him in a Boat to haue him before the Gouernor, then seuen or eight miles from them. But by the way *Iack* finding the pangs of death vpon him, desired of the Boyes two things: the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the *English*.

At the losse of this Saluage, *Opechankanough* much grieued and repined, with great threats of reuenge; but the *English* returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes

he could of loue and peace: yet within fourteene daies after he acted what followeth. [1622]

Sir *Francis Wyat* at his arriuall [*Oct.* 1621] was aduertised, he found the Countrey setled in such a firme peace, as most men there thought sure and vnuiolable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Saluages being euery way bettered by vs, and safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or neuer a sword, and seldomer a peece [used], except for a Deere or Fowle; by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground inuited them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses [were] generally open to the Saluages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers; which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conuersion of the Saluages as they supposed. Security a bad guard.

Hauing occasion to send to *Opechankanough* about the middle of March, hee vsed the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or he dissolued it; yet such was the treachery of those people, when they had contriued our destruction, euen but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one *Browne* that liued among them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master. Yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselues ouer the Riuer, to consult on the deuillish murder that insued, and of our vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselues conuerted to Christianitie) preuented; and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March [1622], as also in the euening before, as at other times they came vnarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other prouisions to sell vs: yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly with their owne tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe; so sudden in their execution, that The manner of the massacre.

[1622] few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner also they slew many of our people at seuerall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with vs, for the effecting that great master-peece of worke their conuersion: and by this meanes fell that fatall morning vnder the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious [**145**] and inhumane people, three hundred forty seuen men, women and children; most[l]y by their owne weapons; and not being content with their liues, they fell againe vpon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carkases into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Their cruelty.

Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits; but spightfully also massacred them without any remorse or pitie: being in this more fell then Lions and Dragons, as Histories record, which haue preserued their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, to take humanitie vpon them, but these miscreants put on a more vnnaturall brutishnesse then beasts, as by those instances may appeare.

The murder of Master *Thorp*.

That worthy religious Gentleman Master *George Thorp*, Deputie to the College lands, sometimes one of his Maiesties Pensioners, and in command one of the principall in *Virginia*; did so truly effect [*affect*] their conuersion, that whosoeuer vnder him did them the least displeasure, were punished seuerely. He thought nothing too deare for them, he neuer denied them any thing; in so much that when they complained that our Mastiues did feare them, he to content them in all things, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great displeasure of the owners, and would haue had all the rest guelt to make them the milder, might he haue had his will. The King dwelling but in a Cottage, he built him a faire house after the English fashion: in which he tooke such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he so admired, as locking and vnlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no deuice in the world comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe into this Kings fauour for his religious purpose, he conferred oft with him about Religion, as many other in this former Discourse had done: and this Pagan confessed to him (as he did to them) our God was better then theirs, and seemed to be much pleased with that Discourse, and of his company, and to requite all those courtesies; yet this viperous brood did, as the sequell shewed, not onely murder him, but with such spight and scorne abused his dead corps as is vnfitting to be heard with ciuill eares. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman vpon his fatall houre, was warned by his man, who perceiuing some treachery intended by those hell-hounds, to looke to himselfe, and withall ran away for feare he should be apprehended, and so saued his owne life; yet his Master out of his good meaning was so void of suspition and full of confidence, they had slaine him, or he could or would beleeue they would hurt him. [1622]

The slaughter of Captaine *Powell.*

Captaine *Nathaniel Powell* one of the first Planters, a valiant Souldier, and not any in the Countrey better knowne amongst them; yet such was the error of an ouer-conceited power and prosperitie, and their simplicities, they not onely slew him and his family, but butcher-like hagled their bodies, and cut off his head, to expresse their vttermost height of cruelty.

[*p.* 885.] A Saluage slaine.

Another of the old company of Captaine *Smith*, called *Nathaniel Causie*, being cruelly wounded, and the Saluages about him, with an axe did cleaue one of their heads, whereby the rest fled and he escaped: for they hurt not any that did either fight or stand vpon their guard. In one place, where there was but two men that had warning of it, [they] defended the house against sixty or more that assaulted it.

Master *Baldwines* escape.

Master *Baldwine* at *Warraskoyack*, his wife being so wounded, she lay for dead; yet by his oft discharging of his peece, [he] saued her, his house, himselfe, and diuers others.

Master *Thomas Hamer* with 22 escapeth.

At the same time they came to one Master *Harisons* house, neere halfe a mile from *Baldwines*, where was Master *Thomas Hamer* with six men, and eighteene or nineteene women and children. Here the Saluages with many presents and faire perswasions, fained they came for Captaine *Ralfe*

[1622] *Hamer* to go to their King, then hunting in the woods: presently they sent to him, but he not comming as they expected, [they] set fire of a Tobacco-house, and then came to tell them in the dwelling house of it to quench it; all the men ran towards it but Master *Hamer*, not suspecting any thing, whom [**146**] the Saluages pursued, [and] shot them full of arrowes, then beat out their braines. *Hamer* hauing finished a letter hee was a writing, followed after to see what was the matter, but quickly they shot an arrow in his back, which caused him returne and barricado vp the doores, whereupon the Saluages set fire on the house.

Harisons Boy finding his Masters peece loaded, discharged it at randome, at which bare report the Saluages all fled, *Baldwin* still discharging his peece, and Master *Hamer* with two and twentie persons thereby got to his house, leauing their owne burning. In like manner, they had fired Lieutenant *Basse* his house, with all the rest there about, slaine the people, and so left that Plantation.

Captaine *Ralfe Hamer* with forty escapeth.

Captaine *Hamer* all this while not knowing any thing, comming to his Brother that had sent for him to go hunt with the King, meeting the Saluages chasing some, [who] yet escaped, retired to his new house then a building, from whence he came; there onely with spades, axes, and brickbats, he defended himselfe and his Company till the Saluages departed.

Not long after, the Master from the ship had sent six Musketiers, with which he recouered their Merchants store-house, where he armed ten more; and so with thirtie more vnarmed workmen, found his Brother and the rest at *Baldwins*.

Now seeing all they had was burnt and consumed, they repaired to *Iames* Towne with their best expedition; yet not far from *Martins* hundred, where seuenty three were slaine, was a little house and a small family, that heard not of any of this till two daies after.

All those, and many others whom they haue as maliciously murdered, sought the good of those poore brutes, that thus despising Gods mercies, must needs now as miscreants be corrected by Iustice: to which leauing them, I will knit together the thred of this discourse.

[1622]

The Saluages attempt to surprise a ship.

At the time of the massacre, there were three or foure ships in *Iames* Riuer, and one in the next; and daily more to come in, as there did within foureteene daies after; one of which they indeuoured to haue surprised: yet were the hearts of the English euer stupid, and auerted from beleeuing any thing might weaken their hopes, to win them by kinde vsage to Christianitie.

But diuers write from thence, that Almighty God hath his great worke in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honor and glory to his name, and a more flourishing estate and safetie to themselues, and with more speed to conuert the Saluage children to himselfe, since he so miraculously hath preserued the English; there being yet, God be praised, eleuen parts of twelue [*i.e.*, $347 \times 11 = 3817$] remaining, whose carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to haue beene the greatest cause of their destructions: yet you see, God by a conuerted Saluage that disclosed the plot, saued the rest, and the Pinnace then in *Pamavnkes* Riuer, whereof (say they) though our sinnes made vs vnworthy of so glorious a conuersion, yet his infinite wisdome can neuerthelesse bring it to passe, and in good time, by such meanes as we thinke most vnlikely: for in the deliuery of them that suruiue, no mans particular carefulnesse saued one person, but the meere goodnesse of God himselfe, freely and miraculously preseruing whom he pleased.

The Letters of Master *George Sand*[*y*]*s*, a worthy Gentleman, and many others besides them returned, brought vs this vnwelcome newes, that hath beene heard at large in publike Court, that the *Indians* and they liued as one Nation: yet by a generall combination in one day plotted to subuert the whole Colony, and at one instant, though our seuerall Plantations were one hundred and fortie miles vp on [the] Riuer on both sides.

But for the better vnderstanding of all things, you must remember these wilde naked natiues liue not in great numbers together; but dispersed, commonly in thirtie, fortie, fiftie, or sixtie in a company. Some places haue two hundred, few places more, but many lesse; yet they had all warning giuen them one from another in all their habitations, though farre asunder, to meet at the day and houre appointed for our destruction at al our seueral

[1622] Plantations ; some directed to one place, some to another, all to be done at the time appointed, which they did accordingly. Some entring their houses vnder colour of trading, so tooke their [**147**] aduantage ; others drawing vs abroad vnder faire pretences ; and the rest suddenly falling vpon those that were at their labours.

Six of the Counceil slaine.

Six of the counsell suffered vnder this treason, and the slaughter had beene vniuersall, if God had not put it into the heart of an *Indian*, who lying in the house of one *Pace*, was vrged by another *Indian* his Brother, that lay with him the night before, to kill *Pace*, as he should doe *Perry* which was his friend, being so commanded from their King : telling him also how the next day the execution should be finished. *Perrys Indian* presently arose and reueales it to *Pace*, that vsed him as his sonne ; and thus them that escaped was saued by this one conuerted Infidell. And though three hundred fortie seuen were slaine, yet thousands of ours were by the meanes of this alone thus preserued ; for which Gods name be praised for euer and euer.

How it was reuealed.

Pace vpon this, securing his house, before day rowed to *Iames* Towne, and told the Gouernor of it, whereby they were preuented, and at such other Plantations as possibly intelligence could be giuen : and where they saw vs vpon our guard, at the sight of a peece they ranne away ; but the rest were most[ly] slaine, their houses burnt, such Armes and Munition as they found they tooke away, and some cattell also they destroied.

Since, wee finde *Opechankanough* the last yeare [1621] had practised with a King on the Easterne shore, to furnish him with a kind of poison, which onely growes in his Country to poison vs. But of this bloudy acte neuer griefe and shame possessed any people more then themselues, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presenting of a staffe in manner or a peece, nor an vncharged peece in the hands of a woman.

[*p.* 567.]

(But I must tell those Authors, though some might be thus cowardly, there were many of them had better spirits.)

Memorandums.

Thus haue you heard the particulars of this massacre, which in those respects some say will be good for the Plantation, because now we haue iust cause to destroy

them by all meanes possible: but I thinke it had beene much better it had neuer happened, for they haue giuen vs an hundred times as iust occasions long agoe to subiect them, (and I wonder I can heare of none but Master *Stockam* and Master *Whitaker* of my opinion.) Moreouer, where before we were troubled in cleering the ground of great Timber, which was to them of small vse: now we may take their owne plaine fields and Habitations, which are the pleasantest places in the Countrey. Besides, the Deere, Turkies, and other Beasts and Fowles will exceedingly increase if we beat the Saluages out of the Countrey: for at all times of the yeare they neuer spare Male nor Female, old nor young, egges nor birds, fat nor leane, in season or out of season; with them all is one. The like they did in our Swine and Goats, for they haue vsed to kill eight in tenne more then we, or else the wood would most plentifully abound with victuall; besides it is more easie to ciuilize them by conquest then faire meanes; for the one may be made at once, but their ciuilizing will require a long time and much industry. [1622]

The manner how to suppresse them is so often related and approued, I omit it here: And you haue twenty examples of the *Spaniards* how they got the *West-Indies*, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slauery for them, themselues liuing like Souldiers vpon the fruits of their labours This will make vs more circumspect, and be an example to posteritie: (But I say, this might as well haue beene put in practise sixteene yeares agoe [1606] as now [1622].)

Captaine *Smith.*

Thus vpon this Anuill shall wee now beat our selues an Armour of proofe hereafter to defend vs against such incursions, and euer hereafter make vs more circumspect: but to helpe to repaire this losse, besides his Maiesties bounty in Armes [that] he gaue the Company out of the Tower, and diuers other Honorable persons haue renewed their aduentures, we must not omit the Honorable Citie of *London*, to whose endlesse praise wee may speake it, are now [1622] setting forward one hundred persons: and diuers others at their owne costs are a repairing; and all [**148**] good men doe thinke neuer the worse of the businesse for all these disasters.

His Maiesties gift.

London sets out 100 persons.

[1622] What growing state was there euer in the world which had not the like? *Rome* grew by oppression, and rose vpon the backe of her enemies: and the *Spaniards* haue had many of those counterbuffes, more than we. *Columbus*, vpon his returne from the *West-Indies* into *Spaine*, hauing left his people with the *Indies*, in peace and promise of good vsage amongst them, at his returne backe found not one of them liuing, but all treacherously slaine by the Saluages. After this againe, when the Spanish Colonies were increased to great numbers, the *Indians* from whom the *Spaniards* for trucking stuffe vsed to haue all their corne, generally conspired together to plant no more at all, intending thereby to famish them; themselues liuing in the meane time vpon Cassaua, a root to make bread, onely then knowne to themselues. This plot of theirs by the *Spaniards* ouersight, that foolishly depended vpon strangers for their bread, tooke such effect, and brought them to such misery by the rage of famine, that they spared no vncleane nor loathsome beast, no not the poisonous and hideous Serpents, but eat them vp also, deuouring one death to saue them from another; and by this meanes their whole Colony well-neere surfeted, sickned and died miserably. And when they had againe recouered this losse, by their incontinency an infinite number of them died on the *Indian* disease, we call the French Pox, which at first being a strange and an vnknowne malady, was deadly vpon whomsoeuer it lighted. Then had they a little flea called *Nigua*, which got betweene the skinne and the flesh before they were aware, and there bred and multiplied, making swellings and putrifactions, to the decay and losse of many of their bodily members.

Lamentable example too oft approued.

Againe, diuers times they were neere vndone by their ambition, faction, and malice of the Commanders. *Columbus*, to whom they were also much beholden, was sent with his Brother in chaines into *Spaine*; and some other great Commanders killed and murdered one another. *Pizzaro* was killed by *Almagros* sonne, and him *Vasco* beheaded; which *Vasco* was taken by *Blasco*, and *Blasco* was likewise taken by *Pizzaros* Brother: And thus by their couetous and spightfull quarrels, they were euer shaking the maine pillars of their Common-weale.

These and many more mischiefes and calamities hapned them, more then euer did to vs, and at one time being euen at the last gaspe, had two ships not arriued with supplies as they did, they were so disheartned, they were a leauing the Countrey: yet we see for all those miseries they haue attained to their ends at last, as is manifest to all the world, both with honour, power, and wealth; and whereas before few could be hired to goe to inhabit there, now with great su[i]te they must obtaine it; but where there was no honesty, nor equity, nor sanctitie, nor veritie, nor pietie, nor good ciuilitie in such a Countrey, certainly there can bee no stabilitie. [1622]

Note this conclusion.

Therefore let vs not be discouraged, but rather animated by those conclusions, seeing we are so well assured of the goodnesse and commodities [that] may bee had in *Virginia*; nor is it to be much doubted there is any want of Mines of most sorts, no not of the richest, as is well knowne to some yet liuing that can make it manifest when time shall serue: and yet to thinke that gold and siluer Mines are in a country otherwise most rich and fruitfull, or the greatest wealth in a Plantation, is but a popular error; as is that opinion likewise, that the gold and siluer is now the greatest wealth of the West Indies at this present.

How the *Spaniards* raise their wealth in the West Indies.

True it is indeed, that in the first conquest the Spaniards got great and mighty store of treasure from the Natiues, which they in long space had heaped together; and in those times the Indians shewed them entire and rich Mines, which now by the relations of them that haue beene there, are exceedingly wasted, so that now the charge of getting those Metals is growne excessiue, besides the consuming the liues of many by their pestilent smoke and vapours in digging and refining them, so that all things considered, the cleere gaines of those metals, the Kings part defraied, to the Aduenturers is but small, and nothing neere so much as vulgarly is imagined. And were it not [**149**] for other rich Commodities there that inrich them, those of the Contraction House were neuer able to subsist by the Mines onely; for the greatest part of their Commodities are partly naturall, and partly transported from other parts of the world, and planted in the *West-Indies*, as in their mighty wealth of Sugar canes, being

[1622] first transported from the Canaries; and in Ginger and other things brought out of the *East-Indies*, in their Cochanele, Indicos, Cotton, and their infinite store of Hides, Quick-siluer, Allum, Woad, Brasill woods, Dies, Paints, Tobacco, Gums, Balmes, Oiles, Medicinals and Perfumes, Sassaparilla, and many other physicall drugs: These are the meanes whereby they raise that mighty charge of drawing out their gold and siluer to the great and cleare reuenue of their King.

Now seeing the most of those commodities, or as vsefull, may be had in *Virginia* by the same meanes, as I haue formerly said; let vs with all speed take the priority of time, where also may be had the priority of place, in chusing the best seats of the Country; which now by vanquishing the saluages, is like to offer a more faire and ample choice of fruitfull habitations, then hitherto our gentlenesse and faire comportments could attaine vnto.

The numbers that were slaine in those seuerall Plantations.

1 AT Captaine *Berkleys* Plantation, himselfe and 21. others, seated at the *Falling-Crick*, 66. miles from *Iames* City. 22

2 Master *Thomas Sheffelds* Plantation, some three miles from the *Falling-Crick*, himselfe and 12. others. 13

3 At *Henrico* Iland, about two miles from *Sheffelds* Plantation. 6

4 Slaine of the College people, twenty miles from *Henrico*. 17

5 At *Charles* City, and of Captaine *Smiths* men. 5

6 At the next adioyning Plantation. 8

7 At *William Farrars* house. 10

8 At *Brickley* hundred, fifty miles from *Charles* City, Master *Thorp* and 10

9	At *Westouer*, a mile from *Brickley*.	2	[1622]
10	At Master *Iohn Wests* Plantation.	2	
11	At Captaine *Nathaniel Wests* Plantation.	2	
12	At Lieutenant *Gibs* his Plantation.	12	
13	At *Richard Owens* house, himselfe and	6	
14	At Master *Owen Macars* house, himselfe and	3	
15	At *Martins* hundred, seuen miles from *Iames* City.	73	
16	At another place.	7	
17	At *Edward Bonits* Plantation.	50	
18	At Master *Waters* his house, himselfe [*see p.* 591] and	4	
19	At *Apamatucks* Riuer, at Master *Perce* his Plantation, fiue miles from the College.	4	
20	At Master *Macocks* Diuident, Captaine *Samuel Macock* and	4	
21	At *Flowerda* hundred, Sir *George Yearleys* Plantation.	6	
22	On the other side opposite to it.	7	
23	At Master *Swinhows* house, himselfe and	7	
24	At Master *William Bickars* house, himselfe and	4	
25	At *Weanock*, of Sir *George Yearleys* people.	21	
26	At *Powel Brooke*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powel*, and	12	
27	At *South-hampton* hundred.	5	
28	At *Martin Brandons* hundred.	7	
29	At Captaine *Henry Spilmans* house.	2	
30	At Ensigne *Spences* house.	5	
31	At Master *Thomas Perse* his house by *Mulbery* Ile, himselfe and	4	

The whole number 347. [**150**] [*pp.* 593, 599.]

Men in this taking bettered with affliction,
Better attend, and mind, and marke Religion,
For then true voyces issue from their hearts,
Then speake they what they thinke in inmost parts,
The truth remaines, they cast off fained Arts.

[1622] How they were reduced to fiue or six places.

THis lamentable and so vnexpected a disaster caused them all beleeue the opinion of Master *Stockam*, and draue them all to their wits end. It was twenty or thirty daies ere they could resolue what to doe, but at last it was concluded, all the petty Plantations should be abandoned, and drawne onely to make good fiue or six places, where all their labours now for the most part must redound to the Lords of those Lands where they were resident. Now for want of Boats, it was impossible vpon such a sudden to bring also their cattle, and many other things, which with much time, charge and labour they had then in possession with them; all which for the most part at their departure was burnt, ruined and destroyed by the Saluages.

Gookins and *Iordens* resolution.

Only Master *Gookins* at *Nuports-newes* would not obey the Commanders command in that, though hee had scarce fiue and thirty of all sorts [*i.e.*, *ages &c.*] with him, yet he thought himselfe sufficient against what could happen, and so did to his great credit and the content of his Aduenturers. Master *Samuel Iorden* gathered together but a few of the straglers about him at Beggers-bush, where he fortified and liued in despight of the enemy. Nay, Mistrisse *Proctor*, a proper, ciuill, modest Gentlewoman did the like, till perforce the English Officers forced her and all them with her to goe with them, or they would fire her house themselues; as the Saluages did when they were gone, in whose despight they had kept it and what they had, a moneth or three weekes after the Massacre; which was to their hearts a griefe beyond comparison, to lose all they had in that manner, onely to secure others pleasures.

The opinion of Captaine *Smith.*

Now here in *England* it was thought, all those remainders might presently haue beene reduced into fifties or hundreds in places most conuenient with what they had, hauing such strong houses as they reported they had, which with small labour might haue beene made inuincible Castles against all the Saluages in the Land: and then presently raised a company, as a running Armie to torment the Barbarous and

secure the rest, and so haue had all that Country betwixt [1622]
the Riuers of *Powhatan* and *Pamavuke* to range and sustaine them; especially all the territories of *Kecoughtan*, *Chiskact* and *Paspahege*, from *Ozenies* to that branch of *Pamavuke*, comming from *Youghtanund*, which strait of land is not past 4. or 5. miles, to haue made a peninsula much bigger then the Summer Iles, inuironed with the broadest parts of those two maine Riuers, which for plenty of such things as *Virginia* affords is not to be exceeded, and were it well manured, more then sufficient for ten thousand men.

This, were it well vnderstood, cannot but be thought better then to bring fiue or six hundred to lodge and liue on that, which before would not well receiue and maintaine a hundred, planting little or nothing, but spend that they haue vpon hopes out of *England*, one euill begetting another, till the disease is past cure. Therefore it is impossible but such courses must produce most fearefull miseries and extreme extremities; if it proue otherwise, I should be exceeding glad.

I confesse I am somewhat too bold to censure other [p. 600] mens actions being not present, but they haue done as much of me; yea many here in *England* that were neuer there, and also many there that knowes little more then their Plantations, but as they are informed: and this doth touch the glory of God, the honour of my Country, and the publike good so much, for which there hath beene so many faire pretences, that I hope none will be angry for speaking my opinion; seeing the old Prouerbe doth allow losers leaue to speake, and *Du Bartas* saith,

Euen as the wind the angry Ocean moues,
Waue hunteth Waue, and Billow Billow shoues, [151]
So doe all Nations iustell each the other,
And so one people doe pursue another,
And scarce a second hath the first vnhoused,
Before a third him thence againe haue roused.

[1622] The prouidence of Captaine *Nuse.*

AMongst the multitude of these seuerall Relations, it appeares Captaine *Nuse* seeing many of the difficulties to ensue, caused as much Corne to be planted as he could at *Elizabeths* city, and though some destroyed that they had set, fearing it would serue the Saluages for Ambuscadoes, trusting to releefe by trade, or from *England* (which hath euer beene one cause of our miseries, for from *England* wee haue not had much: and for trading, euery one hath not Ships, Shalops, Interpreters, men and prouisions to performe it; and those that haue,vse them onely for their owne priuate gaine, not the publike good), so that our beginning this yeere doth cause many to distrust the euent of the next.

Here wee will leaue Captaine *Nuse* for a while, lamenting the death of Captaine *Norton*, a valiant industrious Gentleman, adorned with many good qualities, besides Physicke and Chirurgery, which for the publike good he freely imparted to all *gratis*, but most bountifully to the poore; and let vs speake a little of Captaine *Croshaw* amongst the midst of those broiles in the Riuer of *Patawomeke.*

Captaine *Croshaw* his voyage to *Patawomek.* [*pp.* 172, 498, 503, 528, 606.]

Being [*in Mar.* 1622] in a small Barke called the *Elizabeth*, vnder the command of Captaine *Spilman*, at *Cekacawone*, a Saluage stole aboord them, and told them of the Massacre; and that *Opechancanough* had plotted with his King and Countrey to betray them also, which they refused: but them of *Wighcocomoco* at the mouth of the riuer had vndertaken it.

Vpon this *Spilman* went thither, but the Saluages seeing his men so vigilant and well armed, they suspected themselues discouered, and to colour their guilt, the better to delude him, so contented his desire in trade, his Pinnace was neere fraught; but seeing no more to be had, *Croshaw* went to *Patawomek*, where he intended to stay and trade for himselfe, by reason of the long acquaintance he had with this King that so earnestly entreated him now to be his friend, his countenancer, his Captaine and director against the *Pazaticans*, the *Nacotchtanks*, and *Moyoans* his mortall enemies.

Of this oportunity *Croshaw* was glad, as well to satisfie

his owne desire in some other purpose he had, as to keepe the King as an opposite to *Opechancanough*, and adhere him vnto vs, or at least make him an instrument against our enemies; so onely *Elis Hill* stayed with him, and the Pinnace returned to *Elizabeths* City; here shall they rest also a little, till we see how this newes was entertained in *England*. [1622] [*p.* 591.]

The arriuall of this newes in *England*.

It was no small griefe to the Councell and Company, to vnderstand of such a supposed impossible losse, as that so many should fall by the hands of men so contemptible; and yet hauing such warnings, especially by the death of *Nemattanow*, whom the Saluages did thinke was shot-free, as he had perswaded them, hauing so long escaped so many dangers without any hurt.

But now to leape out of this labyrinth of melancholy, all this did not so discourage the noble aduenturers, nor diuers others still to vndertake new seuerall Plantations; but that diuers ships were dispatched away, for their supplies and assistance thought sufficient.

Yet Captaine *Smith* did intreat and moue them to put in practise his old offer; seeing now it was time to vse both it and him, how slenderly heretofore both had beene regarded, and because it is not impertinent to the businesse, it is not much amisse to remember what it was. [152]

The proiect and offer of Captaine Iohn Smith, *to the Right Honourable* and Right Worshipfull Company [*of*] *Virginia.*

[1622] Captaine *Smiths* offer to the Company.

IF you please I may be transported with a hundred Souldiers and thirty Sailers by the next *Michaelmas* [1622], with victuall, munition, and such necessary prouision; by Gods assistance, we would endeuour to inforce the Saluages to leaue their Country, or bring them in that feare and subiection that euery man should follow their businesse securely. Whereas now halfe their times and labours are spent in watching and warding, onely to defend, but altogether vnable to suppresse the Saluages: because euery man now being for himselfe will be vnwilling to be drawne from their particular labours, to be made as pack-horses for all the rest, without any certainty of some better reward and preferment then I can vnderstand any there can or will yet giue them.

These I would imploy onely in ranging the Countries, and tormenting the Saluages, and that they should be as a running Army till this were affected; and then settle themselues in some such conuenient place, that should euer remaine a garison of that strength, ready vpon any occasion against the Saluages, or any other for the defence of the Countrey, and to see all the English well armed, and instruct them their vse.

But I would haue a Barke of one hundred tunnes, and meanes to build sixe or seuen Shalops, to transport them where there should bee occasion. [1622]

Towards the charge, because it is for the generall good, and what by the massacre and other accidents, *Virginia* is disparaged, and many men and their purses much discouraged, howeuer a great many doe hasten to goe, thinking to bee next heires to all the former losses, I feare they will not finde all things as they doe imagine; therefore leauing those gilded conceits, and diue into the true estate of the Colony; I thinke if his Maiestie were truly informed of their necessitie, and the benefit of this proiect, he would be pleased to giue the custome [*custom-house dues*] of *Virginia*; and the Planters also according to their abilities would adde thereto such a contribution, as would be fit to maintaine this garison till they be able to subsist, or cause some such other collections to be made, as may put it with all expedition in practice: otherwise it is much to be doubted, there will neither come custome, nor any thing from thence to *England* within these few yeares.

Now if this should be thought an imploiment more fit for ancient Souldiers there bred, then such new commers as may goe with me; you may please to leaue that to my discretion, to accept or refuse such voluntaries, that will hazard their fortunes in the trialls of these euents, and discharge such of my company that had rather labour the ground then subdue their enemies: what releefe I should haue from your Colony I would satisfie, and spare them (when I could) the like courtesie. Notwithstanding these doubts, I hope to feede them as well as defend them, and yet discouer you more land vnknowne then they all yet know, if you will grant me such priuiledges as of necessity must be vsed.

For against any enemy we must be ready to execute the best [that] can be deuised by your state there, but not that they shall either take away my men, or any thing else to imploy as they please by vertue of their authority: and in that I haue done somewhat for *New-England* as well as *Virginia*, so I would desire liberty and authority to make the best vse I can of my best experiences, within the limits of those two Patents, and to bring them both in one

[1622] Map, and the Countries betwixt them, giuing alwaies that respect to the Gouernors and gouernment, as an Englishman doth in *Scotland*, or a Scotchman in *England*, or as the regiments in the Low-countries doe to the Gouernors of the Townes and Cities where they are billited, or in Garrison, where though they liue with them, and are as their [**153**] seruants to defend them, yet not to be disposed on at their pleasure, but as the Prince and State doth command them. And for my owne paines in particular I aske not any thing but what I can produce from the proper labour of the Saluages.

Their Answer.

Their answer.

I Cannot say, it was generally for the Company, for being published in their Court, the most that heard it liked exceeding well of the motion, and some would haue been very large Aduenturers in it, especially Sir *Iohn Brookes* and Master *Dauid Wyffin*, but there were such diuisions amongst them, I could obtaine no answer but this, the charge would be too great; their stocke was decayed, and they did thinke the [*p.* 955.] Planters should doe that of themselues if I could finde meanes to effect it; they did thinke I might haue leaue of the Company, prouided they might haue halfe the pillage, but I thinke there are not many will much striue for that imploiment, for except it be a little Corne at some time of the yeere is to be had, I would not giue twenty pound for all the pillage is to be got amongst the Saluages in twenty yeeres: but because they supposed I spake only for my owne ends, it were good those vnderstand[ing] prouidents for the Companies good they so much talke of, were sent thither to make triall of their profound wisdomes and long experiences.

The manner of the Sallary

About this time also was propounded a proposition concerning a Sallery of fiue and twenty thousand pounds to be raised out of Tobacco, as a yeerely pension to bee paid to certaine Officers for the erecting a new office, concerning the sole importation of Tobacco, besides his Maiesties custome, fraught, and all other charges. To nominate

the vndertakers, fauourers and opposers, with their arguments *(pro)* and *(con)* would bee too tedious and needlesse being so publikely knowne; the which to establish, spent a good part of that yeere, and the beginning of the next. [1622-3]

This made many thinke wonders of *Virginia*, to pay such pensions extraordinary to a few here that were neuer there, and also in what state and pompe some Chieftaines and diuers of their associates liue in *Virginia*; and yet no money to maintaine a Garrison, pay poore men their wages, nor yet fiue and twenty pence to all the Adventurers here, and very little to the most part of the Planters there, bred such differences in opinion it was dissolued.

Captaine *Croshaw* staies at *Patawomek*, and his aduentures. [*p.* 587.]

NOw let vs returne to Captaine *Croshaw* at *Patawomek*, where he had not beene long ere *Opechancanough* sent two baskets of beads to this King, to kill him and his man, assuring him of the Massacre he had made, and that before the end of two Moones there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries: this fearefull message the King told this Captaine, who replied, he had seene both the cowardise and trechery of *Opechancanough* sufficiently tried by Captaine *Smith* [*pp.* 142, 459], therefore his threats he feared not, nor for his fauour cared, but would nakedly fight with him or any of his with their owne swords; if he were slaine, he would leaue a letter for his Country men to know, the fault was his owne, not the Kings.

Two daies the King deliberated vpon an answer, at last told him the English were his friends, and the Saluage Emperour *Opitchapam*, now called *Toyatan*, was his brother; therefore there should be no bloud shed betwixt them: for hee returned the Presents, willing the *Pamavukes* to come no more in his Country, lest the English, though against his will, should doe them any mischiefe.

The escape of *Waters* and his Wife.

Not long after, a Boat going abroad to seeke out some releefe amongst the Plantations, by *Nuports-newes* met such ill weather, [that] though the men were saued they lost their boat, which the storme and waues cast vpon the shore of *Nandsamund*: where *Edward Waters* [*pp.* 583, 638,

[1622] 640, 660] one of the three that first stayed in Summer Iles and found the great peece of Amber-greece, dwelling in *Virginia* at this Massacre, [**154**] hee and his wife these *Nandsamunds* kept Prisoners till it chanced they found this Boat; at which purchase they so reioyced, according to their custome of triumph, with songs, dances and inuocations. They were so busied, that *Waters* and his wife found opportunity to get secretly into their Canow, and so crossed the Riuer to *Kecoughtan*, which is nine or ten miles: whereat the English no lesse wondred and reioyced, then the Saluages were madded with discontent. Thus you may see how many desperate dangers some men escape, when others die that haue all things at their pleasure.

The arriuall of Captaine *Hamar* at *Patawomeke*.

All men thinking Captaine *Croshaw* dead, Captaine *Hamer* arriuing with a Ship and a Pinnace at *Patawomeke*, was kindly entertained both by him [*Crashaw*] and the King; that *Don Hamar* told the King he came for Corne; the King replied hee had none, but the *Nacotchtanks* and their confederats had, which were enemies both to him and them; if they would fetch it, he would giue them 40. or 50 choise Bow-men to conduct and assist them. Those Saluages, with some of the English, they sent; who so well played their parts, they slew 18. of the *Nacotchtanks*, some write but 4. and some they had a long skirmish with them; where the *Patawomeks* were so eager of reuenge, they driue them not onely out of their towne, but all out of sight through the woods, thus taking what they liked, and spoiling the rest, they retired to *Patawomek*: where they left Captaine *Croshaw*, with foure men more, the rest set saile for *Iames* towne.

Croshaws Fort and plot for trade.

Captaine *Croshaw* now with fiue men and himselfe found night and day so many Alarums, he retired into such a conuenient place, that with the helpe of the Saluages, hee had quickly fortified himselfe against all those wilde enemies. Captaine *Nuse* his Pinnace meeting *Hamar* by the way, vnderstanding all this, came to see Captaine *Croshaw:* after their best enterchanges of courtesies, *Croshaw* writ to *Nuse* the estate of the place where he was, but vnderstanding by them the poore estate of the Colony, offered if they would send him but a bold

Shallop, with men, armes and prouision for trade, the next Haruest he would prouide them Corne sufficient, but as yet it being but the latter end of Iune [1622], there was little or none in all the Country. [1622]

Captaine *Madyson* sent to *Patawomek.* [p. 599.]

This being made knowne to the Gouernour and the rest, they sent Captaine *Madyson* with a ship and pinnace, and some six and thirtie men: those *Croshaw* a good time taught the vse of their armes, but receiuing a letter from *Boyse* his Wife, a prisoner with nineteene more at *Pamavuke*, to vse meanes to the Gouernour for their libertie; So hee dealt with this King, hee got first two of his great men to goe with him to *Iames* towne, and eight daies after to send foure of his counsell to *Pamavuke*, there to stay till he sent one of his two to them, to perswade *Opachankanough* to send two of his with two of the *Patawomekes*, to treat about those prisoners, and the rest should remaine their hostage at *Pamavuke*.

But the Commanders, at *Iames* towne, it seemes, liked not of it, and so sent the *Patawomekes* backe againe to their owne Countrie, and Captaine *Croshaw* to his owne habitation.

The industry of Captaine *Nuse*.

All this time we haue forgot Captaine *Nuse*, where we left him but newly acquainted with the Massacre, calling all his next adioyning dispersed neighbours together, he regarded not the pestring his owne house, nor any thing to releeue them, and with all speed entrenched himselfe, mounted three peece of Ordnance, so that within 14. daies, he was strong enough to defend himselfe from all the Saluages, yet when victuall grew scant, some that would forrage without order, which he punished, neere occasioned a mutiny. Notwithstanding, he behaued himselfe so fatherly and kindly to them all, they built two houses for them he daily expected from *England*, a faire Well of fresh water mantled with bricke, because the Riuer and Cricks are there brackish or salt; in all which things he plaied the Sawyer, Carpenter, Dauber, Laborer, or any thing; wherein though his courage and heart were steeled, he found his body was not made of Iron, for hee had many sicknesses, and at last a Dropsie, no lesse griefe to himselfe, then sorrow to his Wife and all vnder his gouern-

[1622] ment. These crosses and losses were [**155**] no small increasers of his malady, nor the thus abandoning our Plantations, the losse of our Haruest, and also Tobacco which was as our money; the Vineyard our Vineyetours had brought to a good forwardnesse, bruised and destroyed with Deere, and all things ere they came to perfection, with weeds, disorderly persons or wild beasts; so that as we are I cannot perceiue but the next yeere [1623] will be worse, being still tormented with pride and flattery, idlenesse and couetousnesse, as though they had vowed heere to keepe their Court with all the pestilent vices in the world for their attendants, inchanted with a conceited statelinesse, euen in the very bottome of miserable senselesnesse.

Captaine *Powel* kils 3. Saluages.

Shortly after, Sir *George Yearly* and Captaine *William Powel*, tooke each of them a company of well disposed Gentlemen and others to seeke their enemies. *Yearley* ranging the shore of *Weanock*, could see nothing but their old houses which he burnt, and so went home: *Powel* searching another part, found them all fled but three he met by chance, whose heads hee cut off, burnt their houses, and so returned; for the Saluages are so light and swift, though wee see them (being so loaded with armour) they haue much aduantage of vs though they be cowards.

The opinion of Captaine *Smith*.

I confesse this is true, and it may cause some suppose they are grown inuincible: but will any goe to catch a Hare with a Taber and a Pipe? for who knowes not though there be monsters both of men and beasts, fish and fowle, yet the greatest, the strongest, the wildest, cruellest, fiercest and cunningest, by reason, art and vigilancy, courage and industry hath beene slaine, subiected or made tame: and those are still but Saluages as they were, onely growne more bold by our owne simplicities, and still will be worse and worse till they be tormented with a continuall pursuit, and not with lying inclosed within Palizados, or affrighting them out of your sights, thinking they haue done well, [that] can but defend themselues: and to doe this to any purpose, will require both charge, patience and experience. But to their proceedings.

About the latter end of Iune [1622], Sir *George Yearley* accompanied with the Councell, and a number of the greatest Gallants in the Land, stayed three or four daies with Captaine *Nuse*, he making his moane to a chiefe man amongst them for want of prouision for his Company, the great Commander replied hee should turne them to his greene Corne, which would make them plumpe and fat: these fields being so neere the Fort, were better regarded and preserued then the rest, but the great mans command, as we call them, were quickly obeied, for though it was scarce halfe growne either to the greatnesse or goodnesse, they deuoured it greene though it did them small good. [1622]

Sir *George Yearleys* iourn[e]y to *Accomack.*

Sir *George* with his company went to *Accomack* to his new Plantation, where he staied neere six weekes: some Corne he brought home; but as he aduentured for himselfe, he accordingly enioyed the benefit. Some pet[t]y Magazines [*Victualling ships*] came this Summer, but either the restraint by Proclamation, or want of Boats, or both, caused few but the Chieftaines to be little better by them.

So long as Captaine *Nuse* had any thing we had part; but now all being spent, and the people forced to liue vpon Oisters and Crabs, they became so faint no worke could be done; and where the Law was, no worke, no meat, now the case is altered, to no meat, no worke: some small quantity of Milke and Rice the Captaine had of his owne, and that he would distribute *gratis* as he saw occasion; I say *gratis*, for I know no place else, but it was sold for ready paiment. Those eares of Corne that had escaped till August, though not ripe by reason of the late planting, the very Dogs did repaire to the Corne fields to seeke them as the men till they were hanged: and this I protest before God is true that I haue related, not to flatter *Nuse*, nor condemne any, but all the time I haue liued in *Virginia*, I haue not seene nor heard that any Commander hath taken such continuall paines for the publike, or done so little good for himselfe; and his vertuous wife was no lesse charitable and compassionate according to her power. For my owne part, although I found neither *Mulberies* planted, houses built, [**156**] men nor victuall prouided, as the honourable Aduenturers did promise mee in *England*; yet at my owne charge, hauing made these preparations, and the silke-

Captaine *Nuse* his misery.

[1622] Wormes ready to be couered, all was lost, but my poore life and children, by the Massacre, the which as God in his mercy did preserue, I continually pray we may spend to his glory.

An Alarum, foure slaine. The 9. of September [1622], we had an alarum, and two men at their labours slaine; the Captaine [*Nuse*], though extreme sicke, sallied forth, but the Saluages lay hid in the Corne fields all night, where they destroyed all they could, and killed two men more. Much mischiefe they did to Master *Edward Hills* cattle, yet he alone defended his house though his men were sicke and could doe nothing, and this was our first assault since the Massacre.

The kindnesse of the King of *Patawomek*. About this time Captaine *Madyson* passed by vs, hauing taken Prisoners, the King of *Patawomek*, his sonne, and two more, and thus it happened. *Madyson* not liking so well to liue amongst the Saluages as *Croshaw* did, built him a strong house within the Fort, so that they were not so sociable as before, nor did they much like *Poole* the Interpre[te]r. Many Alarums they had, but saw no enemies: *Madyson* before his building went to *Moyaones*, where hee got prouision for a moneth, and was promised much more; so he returned to *Patawomek* and built this house, and was well vsed by the Saluages. Now by the foure great men the King sent to *Pamavuke* for the redemption of the Prisoners, *Madyson* sent them a letter, but they could neither deliuer it nor see them: so long they stayed that the King grew doubtfull of their bad vsage, that hee swore by the Skyes, if they returned not well, he would haue warres with *Opechankanough* so long as he had any thing.

At this time two of *Madysons* men ranne from him, to finde them he sent Master *Iohn Vpton* and three more with an Indian guide to *Nazatica*, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the *Necosts*, enemies to the *Patawomeks*; this expulsed King though he professed much loue to the *Patawomeks*, yet hee loued not the King because he would not helpe him to reuenge his iniuries, but to our Interpreter *Poole* hee protested great loue, promising if any treason were, he would reueale it; our guide conducted this *Bandyto* with them vp to *Patawomek* and there kept him; our Fugitiues we found the *Patawomeks* had taken and brought home, and the foure great men returned from *Pamavuke*.

Not long after, this expulsed King desired priuate conference with *Poole*, vrging him to sweare by his God neuer to reueale what hee would tell him, *Poole* promised he would not; then quoth this King, those great men that went to *Pamavuke*, went not as you suppose they pretended, but to contract with *Opechankanough* how to kill you all here, and these are their plots. [1622]

A Saluages policy.

First, they will procure halfe of you to goe a fishing to their furthest towne, and there set vpon them, and cut off the rest; if that faile, they will faine a place where are many strangers [that] would trade their Furres, where they will perswade halfe of you to goe trade, and there murder you and kill them at home; and if this faile also, then they will make Alarums two nights together, to tire you out with watching, and then set vpon you, yet of all this, said he, there is none acquainted but the King and the great Coniurer.

Madison takes the King and kils 30. or 40.

This being made known to the Captain, we all stood more punctually vpon our guard, at which the Saluages wondering, desired to know the cause; we told them we expected some assault from the *Pamavukes*, whereat they seemed contented; and the next day the King went on hunting with two of our men, and the other a fishing and abroad as before, till our Shallop returned from *Iames* towne with the two Saluages sent home with Captaine *Croshaw*: by those the Gouernour sent to *Madyson*, that this King should send him twelue of his great men; word of this was sent to the King at another towne where he was, who not comming presently with the Messenger, *Madyson* conceited hee regarded not the message, and intended as he supposed the same treason.

The next morning the King comming home, being sent for, he came to the Captaine and brought him a dish of their daintiest fruit; then the Captaine fained his returne to *Iames* towne, the [157] King told him he might if he would, but desired not to leaue him destitute of aid, hauing so many enemies about him; the Captaine told him he would leaue a guard, but intreated his answer concerning the twelue great men for the Gouernour; the King replied, his enemies lay so about him he could not spare them; then the Captaine desired his sonne and one other; my sonne,

[1622] said the King, is gone abroad about businesse, but the other you desire you shall haue, and that other sits by him, but that man refused to goe, whereupon *Madyson* went forth and locked the doore, leauing the King, his sonne, and foure Saluages, and fiue English men in the strong house, and setting vpon the towne with the rest of his men, slew thirty or forty men, women and children. The King demanding the cause, *Poole* told him the treason, crying out to intreat the Captaine cease from such cruelty: but hauing slaine and made flye all in the towne, hee returned, taxing the poore King of treason, who denied to the death not to know of any such matter, but said, This is some plot of them that told it, onely to kill mee for being your friend.

Then *Madyson* willed him, to command none of his men should shoot at him as he went aboord, which he presently did, and it was performed: so *Madyson* departed, leading the King, his sonne, and two more to his ship, promising when all his men were shipped, he should returne at libertie; notwithstanding he brought them to *Iames* towne, where they lay some daies, and after were sent home by Captaine *Hamer*, that tooke Corne for their ransome, and after set saile for New found Land.

The King set at liberty.

But, alas the cause of this was onely this
They vnderstood, nor knew what was amisse.

A digression

Euer since the beginning of these Plantations, it hath beene supposed the King of *Spaine* would inuade them, or our English Papists indeuour to dissolue them. But neither all the Counsels of *Spaine*, nor Papists in the world could haue deuised a better course to bring them all to ruine, then thus to abuse their friends, nor could there euer haue beene a better plot, to haue ouerthrowne *Opechankanough* then Captaine *Croshaws*, had it beene fully managed with expedition. But it seemes God is angry to see *Virginia* made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory.

Their proceedings of the other plantations.

Amongst the rest of the Plantations all this Summer [1622] little was done, but securing themselues and planting Tobacco, which passes there as current Siluer, and by the

oft turning and winding it, some grow rich, but many poore: notwithstanding ten or twelue ships or more hath arriued there since the massacre [22 *Mar.*], although it was Christmas [1622] ere any returned [*i.e., to England*], and that returne greatly reuiued all mens longing expectation here in *England:* for they brought newes, that notwithstanding their extreme sicknesse many were recouered, and finding [*found*] the Saluages did not much trouble them, except it were sometimes some disorderly straglers they cut off. [1622]

300 surpriseth *Nandsamund.*

To lull them the better in securitie, they sought no reuenge till their Corne was ripe, then they drew together three hundred of the best Souldiers they could, that would leaue their priuate businesse, and aduenture themselues amongst the Saluages to surprise their Corne, vnder the conduct of Sir *George Yearley*, being imbarked in conuenient shipping, and all things necessary for the enterprise; they went first to *Nandsamund*, where the people set fire on their owne houses, and spoiled what they could, and then fled with what they could carry; so that the English did make no slaughter amongst them for reuenge. Their Corne fields being newly gathered, they surprized all they found, burnt the houses [that] remained vnburnt, and so departed.

Samuell Collyer slaine. [*pp.* 94, 449.]

Quartering about *Kecoughtan*, after the Watch was set, *Samuell Collyer* one of the most ancientest Planters, and very well acquainted with their language and habitation, humors and conditions, and Gouernor of a Towne, when the Watch was set, going the round, vnfortunately by a Centinell that discharged his peece, was slaine. [**158**]

They surprise *Pamavuke* [*p.* 593.]

Thence they sailed to *Pamavuke*, the chiefe seat of *Opechankanough*, the contriuer of the massacre: the Saluages seemed exceeding fearefull, promising to bring them *Sara*, and the rest of the English yet liuing, with all the Armes, and what they had to restore, much desiring peace, and to giue them any satisfaction they could. Many such deuices they fained to procrastinate the time ten or twelue daies, till they had got away their Corne from all the other places vp the Riuer, but that where the English kept their quarter: at last, when they saw all those promises were but delusions, they seised on all the Corne there was, set fire on their houses: and in following the Saluages that fled

[1622] before them, some few of those naked Deuils had that spirit, they lay in ambuscado, and as our men marched discharged some shot out of English peeces, and hurt some of them flying at their pleasures where they listed, burning their empty houses before them as they went, to make themselues sport: so they escaped, and Sir *George* returned with Corne, where for our paines we had three bushels apeece, but we were enioyned before we had it, to pay ten shillings the bushell for fraught and other charges.

Thus by this meanes the Saluages are like as they report, to endure no small misery this Winter, and that some of our men are returned to their former Plantations.

The opinion of Captaine *Smith.*

What other passages or impediments hapned in their proceedings, that they were not fully reuenged of the Saluages before they returned, I know not; nor could [I] euer heare more, but that they supposed they slew two, and how it was impossible for any men to doe more then they did: yet worthy *Ferdinando Courtus* had scarce three hundred *Spaniards* to conquer the great Citie of *Mexico*, where thousands of Saluages dwelled in strong houses.

But because they were a ciuilised people, had wealth, and those meere Barbarians as wilde as beasts haue nothing; I intreat your patience to tell you my opinion: which if it be Gods pleasure I shall not liue to put in practice, yet it [*f.* 585.] may be hereafter vsefull for some; but howsoeuer I hope not hurtfull to any, and this it is.

How to subiect all the Saluages in Virginia.

Had these three hundred men beene at my disposing, I would haue sent first one hundred to Captaine *Rawley Chroshaw* to *Patawomek*, with some small Ordnance for the Fort, the which but with daily exercising them, would haue struck that loue and admiration into the *Patawomeks*, and terror and amazement into his enemies, which are not farre off, and most seated vpon the other side the Riuer, they would willingly haue beene friends, or haue giuen any composition they could, before they would be tormented with such a visible feare.

Now though they be generally perfidious, yet necessity constraines those to a kinde of constancy because of their enemies, and neither my selfe that first found them,

Captaine *Argall*, *Chroshaw*, nor *Hamar*, neuer found themselues in fifteene yeares trials [1608–1623]: nor is it likely now they would haue so hostaged their men, suffer the building of a Fort, and their women and children amongst them, had they intended any villany; but suppose they had, who would haue desired a better aduantage then such an aduertisement, to haue prepared the Fort for such an assault, and surely it must be a poore Fort they could hurt, much more take, if there were but fiue men in it [that] durst discharge a peece: Therefore a man not well knowing their conditions, may be as wel too iealous as too carelesse. [1622]

Such another Lope Skonce would I haue had at *Onawmanient*, and one hundred men more to haue made such another at *Atquacke* vpon the Riuer of *Toppahanock*, which is not past thirteene miles distant from *Onawmanient*: each of which twelue men would keepe, as well as twelue thousand, and spare all the rest to bee imploied as there should be occasion. And all this with these numbers might easily haue beene done, if not by courtesie, yet by compulsion, especially at that time of September when all their fruits were ripe, their beasts fat, and infinite numbers of wilde Fowle began to repaire to euery creeke, that men if they would doe any thing, could not want victuall.

This done, there remained yet one hundred who should haue done the like at *Ozinieke*, vpon the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, not past six [**159**] miles from the chiefe habitations of *Opechankanough*. These small Forts had beene cause sufficient to cause all the Inhabitants of each of those Riuers to looke to themselues.

Then hauing so many Ships, Barks, and Boats in *Virginia* as there was at that present, with what facility might you haue landed two hundred and twentie men, if you had but onely fiue or six Boats in one night; forty to range the branch of *Mattapanyent*, fortie more that of *Youghtanund*, and fortie more to keepe their randiuous at *Pamavuke* it selfe. All which places lie so neere, they might heare from each other within foure or fiue houres; and not any of those small parties, if there were any valour, discretion, or industry in them, but as sufficient as foure thousand, to force them all to contribution, or take or spoile all they had. For hauing thus so many conuenient randeuous to releeue each other,

[1622] though all the whole Countries had beene our enemies, where could they rest, but in the depth of Winter we might burne all the houses vpon all those Riuers in two or three daies? Then without fires they could not liue, which they could not so hide but wee should finde, and quickly so tire them with watching and warding, they would be so weary of their liues, as either fly [from] all their Countries, or giue all they had to be released of such an hourely misery.

Now if but a small number of the Saluages would assist vs, as there is no question but diuers of them would; And to suppose they could not be drawne to such faction, were to beleeue they are more vertuous then many Christians, and the best gouerned people in the world. All the *Pamavukes* might haue beene dispatched as well in a moneth as a yeare, and then to haue dealt with any other enemies at our pleasure, and yet made all this toile and danger but a recreation.

If you think this strange or impossible, 12 men with my selfe I found sufficient, to goe where I would adaies, and surprise a house with the people, if not a whole towne, in a night, or incounter all the power they could make, as a whole Army, as formerly at large hath beene related: And it seemes by these small parties last amongst them, by Captaine *Crashow*, *Hamar*, and *Madyson*, they are not growne to that excellency in policy and courage but they might bee encountred, and their wiues and children apprehended.

[*pp.* 142, 458.]

I know I shall bee taxed for writing so much of my selfe: but I care not much, because the iudiciall know there are few such Souldiers as are my examples, haue writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better then my selfe.

Some againe finde as much fault with the Company for medling with so many Plantations together, because they that haue many Irons in the fire some must burne; but I thinke no if they haue men enow know how to worke them, but howsoeuer, it were better some burne then haue none at all. The King of *Spaine* regards but how many powerfull Kingdomes he keepes vnder his obedience, and for the Saluage Countries he hath subiected, they are more then

enow for a good Cosmographer to nominate, and is three Mole-hills so much to vs; and so many Empires so little for him? For my owne part, I cannot chuse but grieue, that the actions of an Englishman should be inferior to any, and that the command of *England* should not be as great as any Monarchy that euer was since the world began, I meane not as a Tyrant to torment all Christendome, but to suppresse her disturbers, and conquer her enemies. [1622-3]

> *For the great* Romans *got into their hand*
> *The whole worlds compasse, both by Sea and Land,*
> *Or any seas, or heauen, or earth extended,*
> *And yet that Nation could not be contented.*

The arriuall of Captaine *Butler*, and his accidents.

Much about this time, arriued a small Barke of *Barnestable*, which had beene at the *Summer Iles*, and in her Captaine *Nathaniel Butler*, who hauing beene Gouernour there three yeares, and his Commission expired, he tooke the opportunity of this ship to see *Virginia* [*p.* 685]. At *Iames* Towne he was kindly entertained [**160**] by Sir *Francis Wyat* the Gouernour.

After he had rested there fourteene daies, he fell vp with his ship to the Riuer of *Chickahamania*, where meeting Captaine *William Powell*, ioyning together such forces as they had to the number of eighty, they set vpon the *Chickahamanians*, that fearefully fled, suffering the English to spoile all they had, not daring to resist them.

Thus he returned to *Iames* towne, where hee staied a moneth, at *Kecoughtan* as much more, and so returned for *England* [*Feb.* 1623].

A strange deliuerance of Master *Argent* and others.

But riding at *Kecoughtan*, Master *Iohn Argent*, sonne to Doctor *Argent*, a young Gentleman that went with Captaine *Butler* from *England* to this place, *Michael Fuller*, *William Gany*, *Cornelius May*, and one other going ashore with some goods late in a faire euening, such a sudden gust did arise, that driue [*drove*] them thwart the Riuer, in that place at least three or foure miles in bredth, where the shore was so shallow at a low water, and the Boat beating vpon the Sands, they left her, wading neere halfe a mile, and oft vp to the chin. So well it hapned, Master *Argent* had put his Bandileir of powder in his hat, which next God

[1623] was all their preseruations: for it being February [1623], and the ground so cold, their bodies became so benumbed, they were not able to strike fire with a steele and a stone hee had in his pocket; the stone they lost twice, and thus those poore soules groping in the darke, it was Master *Argents* chance to finde it, and with a few withered leaues, reeds, and brush, make a small fire, being vpon the *Chisapeaks* shore, their mortall enemies, great was their feare to be discouered.

The ioyfull morning appearing, they found their Boat and goods driue[n] ashore, not farre from them, but so split shee was vnseruiceable: but so much was the frost, their clothes did freeze vpon their backs, for they durst not make any great fire to dry them, lest thereby the bloudy Saluages might discry them, so that one of them died the next day; and the next night, digging a graue in the Sands with their hands, buried him.

In this bodily feare they liued and fasted two daies and nights, then two of them went into the Land to seeke fresh water; the others to the Boat to get some meale and oyle. *Argent* and his Comrado found a Canow, in which they resolued to aduenture to their ship, but shee was a drift in the Riuer before they returned. Thus frustrate of all hopes, Captaine *Butler* the third night ranging the shore in his Boat to seeke them, discharged his Muskets; but they supposing it some Saluages [that] had got some English peeces, they grew more perplexed then euer: so he returned and lost his labour.

The fourth day they vnloaded their Boat, and stopping her leakes with their handkerchiefes, and other rags, two rowing, and two bailing out the water; but farre they went not ere the water grew vpon them so fast, and they so tired, they thought themselues happy to be on shore againe, though they perceiued the *Indians* were not farre off by their fires.

Thus at the very period of despaire, *Fuller* vndertooke to sit a stride vpon a little peece of an old Canow; so well it pleased God the wind and tide serued, by padling with his hands and feet in the water, beyond all expectation God so guided him three or foure houres vpon this boord, [that] he arriued at their ship, where they no lesse

amazed, then he tired they tooke him in. Presently as [1622-3]
he had concluded with his Companions, he caused them discharge a peece of Ordnance if he escaped: which gaue no lesse comfort to Master *Argent* and the rest, then terror to those Plantations that heard it, (being late) at such an vnexpected alarum; but after, with warme clothes and a little strong water, they had a little recouered him, such was his courage and care of his distressed friends, he returned that night againe with Master *Felgate* to conduct him to them: and so giuing thanks to God for so hopelesse a deliuerance, it pleased his Diuine power, both they and their prouision came safely aboord, but *Fuller* they doubt will neuer recouer his benumbed legs and thighes.

Now before *Butlers* arriuall in *England*, many hard speeches were rumored against him for so leauing his charge, before he receiued order from the Company. Diuers againe of his Souldiers as highly commended him, for his good government, [**161**] art, iudgement and industry.

But to make the misery of *Virginia* appeare that it might be reformed in time, how all those Cities, Townes, Corporations, Forts, Vineyards, Nurseries of Mulberies, Glasse-houses, Iron forges, Guest-houses, Silke-wormes, Colleges, the Companies great estate, and that plenty some doe speake of here, are rather things in words and paper then in effect, with diuers reasons of the causes of those defects; if it were false, his blame nor shame could not be too much: but if there bee such defects in the gouernment, and distresse in the Colony, it is thought by many it hath beene too long concealed, and requireth rather reformation then disputation: but howeuer, it were not amisse to prouide for the worst, for the best will help it selfe. Notwithstanding, it was apprehended so hardly, and examined with that passion, that the bru[i]te thereof was spread abroad with that expedition, it did more hurt then the massacre; and the fault of all now by the vulgar rumour, must be attributed to the vnwholesomnesse of the ayre, and barrennesse of the Countrey: as though all *England* were naught, because the Fens and Marshes are vnhealthy; or barren, because some will lie vnder windowes and starue in Cheapside, rot in Goales, die in the street, high-waies, or any

[1623] where, and vse a thousand deuices to maintaine themselues in those miseries, rather then take any paines to liue as they may by honest labour, and a great part of such like are the Planters of *Virginia*, and partly the occasion of those defailements.

1623. The Earle of Southampton Treasurer.

How Captaine *Spilman* was left in the Riuer of *Patawomek*.

In the latter end of this last yeare, or the beginning of this, Captaine *Henrie Spilman* a Gentleman, that hath liued in those Countries thirteene or fourteene yeares [1609–1622, see *pp.* 172, 498, 503, 528, 606], one of the best Interpreters in the Land, being furnished with a Barke and six and twentie men, hee was sent to trucke in the Riuer of *Patawomek*, where he had liued a long time amongst the Saluages.

Whether hee presumed too much vpon his acquaintance amongst them, or they sought to be reuenged of any for the slaughter made amongst them by the English so lately [*p.* 598], or hee sought to betray them, or they him, are all seueral relations, but it seemes but imaginary: for they [who] returned, report they left him ashore about *Patawomek*, but the name of the place they knew not, with one and twentie men, being but fiue in the Barke.

The Saluages, ere they suspected any thing, boorded them with their Canowes, and entred so fast, the English were amazed, till a Sailer gaue fire to a peece of Ordnance onely at randome; at the report whereof, the Saluages leapt ouer-boord, so distracted with feare, they left their Canowes and swum a shore; and presently after they heard a great bru[i]te amongst the Saluages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke. Whereupon they weighed Anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine, is vncertaine.

Thus things proceed and vary not a iot,
Whether we know them, or we know them not.

A particular of such necessaries as either priuate families, or single persons, shall haue cause to prouide to goe to *Virginia*, whereby greater numbers may in part conceiue the better how to prouide for themselues.

Apparell. [1623]

Apparrell for one man, and so after the rate for more.

Monmoth Cap	1s. 10d.
3 falling bands.	1s. 3d.
3 shirts.	7s. 6d.
1 Waste-coat.	2s. 2d.
1 suit of Canuase.	7s. 6d.
1 suit of Frize.	10s.
1 suit of Cloth.	15s.
3 paire of Irish stockings.	4s.
4 paire of shooes.	8s. 8d.
1 paire of garters.	10d.
1 dozen of points. [162]	3d.
1 paire of Canuas sheets.	8s.
7 ells of Canuas to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in *Virginia*, seruing for two men.	8s.
5 ells of course Canuas to make a bed at Sea for two men.	5s.
1 course rug at sea for two men.	6s.

*l. [*i.e.*, for *one* man.]

[1623] *Victuall for a whole yeare for a man, and so after the rate for more.*

8 bushels of meale.	2*l.*
2 bushels of pease.	6*s.*
2 bushels of Ote-meale.	9*s.*
1 gallon of *Aqua-vitæ*.	2*s.* 6*d.*
1 gallon of oyle.	3*s.* 6*d.*
2 gallons of Vineger.	2*s.*
	3*l.* 3*s.*

Armes for a man; but if halfe your men be armed it is well, so all haue swords and peeces.

1 Armor compleat, light.	17*s.*
1 long peece fiue foot and a halfe, neere Musket bore.	1*l.* 2*s.*
1 Sword.	5*s.*
1 Belt.	1*s.*
1 Bandilier.	1*s.* 6*d.*
20 pound of powder.	18*s.*
60 pound of shot or Lead, Pistoll and Goose shot.	5*s.*
	3*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

Tooles for a family of six persons, and so after the rate for more.

5 broad howes at 2*s.* a peece.	10*s.*
5 narrow howes at 16*d.* a peece	6*s.* 8*d.*
2 broad axes at 3*s.* 8*d.* a peece.	7*s.* 4*d.*
5 felling axes at 18*d.* a peece	7*s.* 6*d.*
2 steele handsawes at 16*d.* a peece.	2*s.* 8*d.*
2 two handsawes at 5*s.* a peece.	10*s.*
1 whipsaw, set and filed; with box, file and wrest.	10*s.*
2 hammers 12*d.* a peece.	2*s.*
3 shouels at 18*d.* a peece.	4*s.* 6*d.*
2 spades at 18*d.* a peece.	3*s.*
2 Augers at 6*d.* peece.	1*s.*
6 Chissels at 6*d.* a peece.	3*s.*
2 Percers stocked [at] 4*d.* a peece.	8*d.*
3 Gimblets at 2*d.* a peece.	6*d.*
2 Hatchets at 21*d.* a peece.	3*s.* 6*d.*
2 frowes to cleaue pale 18*d.* each.	3*s.*
2 hand Bills 20*d.* a peece.	3*s.* 4*d.*
1 Grindstone.	4*s.*
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	2*l.*
2 Pickaxes.	3*s.*
	6*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

Houshold implements for a family and six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

1 Iron pot.	7*s.*
1 Kettell.	6*s.*
1 large Frying-pan.	2*s.* 6*d.*
1 Gridiron.	1*s.* 6*d.*
2 Skellets.	5*s.*
1 Spit.	2*s.*
Platters, dishes, spoones of wood.	4*s.*
	1*l.* 8*s.*

[1623]

For Sugar, Spice, and Fruit, and at Sea for six men. 12*s.* 6*d.*

So the full charge after this rate for each person, will amount to about the summe of 12*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

The passage of each man is 6*l.*

The fraught of these prouisions for a man, will be about halfe a tun, which is 1*l.* 10*s.*

So the whole charge will amount to about 20*l.*

Now if the number be great; [not only] Nets, Hooks, and Lines, but Cheese, Bacon, Kine and Goats must be added.

And this is the vsuall proportion the *Virginia* Company doe bestow vpon their Tenents they send.

A briefe relation written by Captaine *Smith* to his Maiesties Commissioners for the reformation of *Virginia*, concerning some aspersions against it.

[1624] HOnourable Gentlemen, for so many faire and Nauigable Riuers so neere adioyning, and piercing thorow so faire a naturall Land, free from any inundations, or large Fenny vnwholsome Marshes, I haue not seene, read, nor heard of: And for the building of Cities, Townes, and Wharfage, if they will vse the meanes, where there is no more ebbe nor floud, Nature in few places affoords any so conuenient. For salt Marshes or Quagmires, [**163**] in this tract of *Iames* Towne Riuer I know very few; some small Marshes and Swamps there are, but more profitable than hurtfull: and I thinke there is more low Marsh ground betwixt *Eriffe* and *Chelsey*, then *Kecoughton* and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the course of the Riuer.

The causes of our first miseries.

Being enioyned by our Commission not to vnplant nor wrong the Saluages, because the channell was so neere the shore, where now is *Iames* Towne, then a thick groue of trees; wee cut them downe, where the Saluages pretending as much kindnesse as could bee, they hurt and slew one and twenty of vs in two houres. At this time our diet was for most part water and bran, and three ounces of little

better stuffe in bread for fiue men a meale; and thus we liued neere three moneths: our lodgings vnder boughes of trees, the Saluages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor vnderstood; occasions I thinke sufficient to make men sicke and die. [1607-8]

Necessity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try conclusions amongst the Saluages, that we got prouision which recouered the rest being most sicke. Six weeks [*see p.* 531] I was led captiue by those Barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled; yet it pleased God to make their great Kings daughter the means to returne me safe to *Iames* towne, and releeue our wants: and then [8 *Jan.* 1608] our Common-wealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and fiue.

But 38 English in all *Virginia.*

Being supplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelue men in a boat of three tuns, I spent fourteene weeks in [2 *June*—21 *July, and* 24 *July*—7 *Sept.* 1608] those large waters; the contents of the way of my boat protracted by the skale of proportion, was about three thousand miles, besides the Riuer we dwell vpon: where no Christian knowne euer was, and our diet for the most part what we could finde, yet but one died.

Proofes of the healthfulnesse of the Countrey.

The Saluages being acquainted, that by command from *England* we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions; cause *Powhatan* [to] fly his Countrey, and take the King of *Pamavnke* Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of *Paspahegh* in shackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied vs contribution, and the offending Saluages sent to *Iames* towne to punish at our owne discretions: in the two last yeares [*Oct.* 1607—*Oct.* 1609] I staied there, I had not a man slaine.

How the Saluages became subiected.

All those conclusions being not able to preuent the bad euents of pride and idlenesse, hauing receiued another supply of seuentie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: In following the strict directions from *England* to doe that was impossible at that time; So it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat but what the Countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who liued vpon Oysters in Iune and Iuly [1609], with a

How we liued of the natural fruits of the Countrey.

[1608-9] pint of corne a week for a man lying vnder trees, and 120 for the most part liuing vpon Sturgion, which was dried til we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks [1 *May*—10 *July* 1609] but seuen died.

Proofe of the Commodities we returned.

It is true, we had of Tooles, Armes, and Munition sufficient, some *Aquavitæ*, Vineger, Meale, Pease, and Otemeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not sufficient for six moneths; though by the bils of loading the proportions sent vs, would well haue contented vs: notwithstanding we sent home ample proofes of Pitch, Tar, Sope Ashes, Wainskot, Clapboord, Silke grasse, Iron Ore, some Sturgion and Glasse, Saxefras, Cedar, Cypris, and blacke Walnut; crowned *Powhatan*; sought the *Monacans* Countrey, according to the instructions sent vs, but they caused vs [to] neglect more necessary workes: they had better haue giuen for Pitch and Sope ashes one hundred pound a tun in *Denmarke:* Wee also maintained fiue or six seuerall Plantations.

What we built.

Iames towne being burnt [*Jan.* 1608], wee rebuilt it and three Forts more: besides the Church and Store-house, we had about fortie or fiftie seuerall houses to keepe vs warme and dry, inuironed with a palizado of foureteene or fifteene foot, and each as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire Well of fresh water in the Fort, where wee had three Bulwarks, foure and twentie peece[s] of Ordnance [**164**] (of Culuering, Demiculuering, Sacar and Falcon), and most well mounted vpon conuenient plat-formes: [and] planted one hundred acres of Corne. We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred seuenty seuen men, boies, and women: by whose labours *Virginia* being brought to this kinde of perfection, the most difficulties past, and the foundation thus laid by this small meanes; yet because we had done no more, they called in our Commission, tooke a new in their owne names, and appointed vs neere as many offices and Officers as I had Souldiers, that neither knew vs nor wee them, without our consents or knowledge.

[*P.* 957.]

Since [*by* 1624], there haue gone more then one hundred ships of other proportions, and eight or ten thousand people.

Now if you please to compare what hath beene spent,

sent, discouered, and done this fifteene yeares [1609–1624], by that we did in the three first yeares: and [that] euery Gouernor that hath beene there since, giue you but such an account as this, you may easily finde what hath beene the cause of those disasters in *Virginia*. [1608–1624]

Then came [*about* 10 *July* 1609] in Captaine *Argall*, and Master *Sedan*, in a ship of Master *Cornelius*, to fish for Sturgion; who had such good prouision, we contracted with them for it, whereby we were better furnished then euer.

Not long after came in seuen ships [11—14 *August* 1609], with about three hundred people; but rather to supplant vs then supply vs: their Admirall with their authoritie being cast away in the *Bermudas*, very angry they were we had made no better prouision for them. Seuen or eight weekes [11 *Aug.*—4 *Oct.* 1609] we withstood the invndations of these disorderly humors, till I was neere blowne to death with Gun-powder, which occasioned me to returne for *England*.

How I left the Country.

In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas [*viz.*, *on Oct.* 4, *see p.* xcviii], I left the Countrey, as is formerly related, with three ships, seuen Boats, Commodities to trade, haruest newly gathered, eight weeks prouision of Corne and Meale, about fiue hundred persons, three hundred Muskets, shot powder and match with armes for more men then we had. The Saluages their language and habitation well knowne to two hundred expert Souldiers; Nets for fishing, tooles of all sorts, apparell to supply their wants: six Mares and a Horse, fiue or six hundred Swine, many more Powltry, what was brought or bred, but [*excepi*] victuall, there remained.

My charge.

Hauing spent some fiue yeares [1604–1609], and more then fiue hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus these nineteene yeares [1603–1624] I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue beene preuented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleeue me till now too deerely they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left

[1624] My reward. all then vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates: for in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all. And though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions: Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of *Virginia*, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence; and beare with their errors till I haue done better. For the materials in them I cannot deny, but am ready to affirme them both there and here, vpon such grounds as I haue propounded: which is to haue but fifteene hundred men to subdue againe the Saluages, fortifie the Countrey, discouer that yet vnknowne, and both defend and feed their Colony, which I most humbly refer to his Maiesties most iudiciall iudgement, and the most honourable Lords of his [**165**] Priuy Councill, you his trusty and well-beloued Commissioners, and the Honourable company of Planters and well-willers to *Virginia*, *New-England* and *Sommer-Ilands*.

Out of these Obseruations it pleased his Maiesties Commissioners for the reformation of *Virginia*, to desire my answer to these seuen Questions.

Quest. 1. *What conceiue you is the cause the Plantation hath prospered no better since you left it in so good a forwardnesse ?* [1624]

Answ. Idlenesse and carelesnesse brought all I did in three yeeres, in six moneths to nothing; and of fiue hundred I left, scarce threescore remained; and had Sir *Thomas Gates* not got from the *Bermudas*, I thinke they had beene all dead before they could be supplied.

Quest. 2. *What conceiue you should be the cause, though the Country be good, there comes nothing but Tobacco ?*

Answ The oft altering of Gouernours it seemes causes euery man [to] make vse of his time, and because Corne was stinted at two shillings six pence the bushell, and Tobacco at three shillings the pound; and they value a mans labour a yeere worth fifty or threescore pound, but in Corne not worth ten pound, presuming Tobacco will furnish them with all things: now make a mans labour in Corne worth threescore pound, and in Tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they haue Corne sufficient to entertaine all commers, and

[1624] keepe their people in health to doe any thing; but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

Quest. 3. *What conceiue you to haue beene the cause of the Massacre, and had the Saluages had the vse of any peeces in your time, or when, or by whom they were taught?*

Answ. The cause of the Massacre was the want of marshall discipline; and because they would haue all the English had by destroying those they found so carelesly secure, that they were not prouided to defend themselues against any enemy; being so dispersed as they were. In my time, though Captaine *Nuport* furnished them with swords by truck, and many fugitiues did the like, and some Peeces they got accidentally: yet I got the most of them againe; and it was death to him that should shew a Saluage the vse of a Peece. Since, I vnderstand, they became so good shot, they were imployed for Fowlers and Huntsmen by the English.

Quest. 4. *What charge thinke you would haue setled the gouernment both for defence and planting when you left it?*

Answ. Twenty thousand pound would haue hyred good labourers and mechanicall men, and haue furnished them
Pp. 487 930. with cattle and all necessaries; and 100. of them would haue done more then a thousand of those that went: though the Lord *Laware*, Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dale* were perswaded to the contrary; but when they had tried, they confessed their error.

Quest. 5. *What conceiue you would be the remedy and the charge?*

Answ. The remedy is to send Souldiers and all sorts of labourers and necessaries for them, that they may be there by next *Michaelmas* [1624], the which to doe well will stand you in fiue thousand pound: but if his Maiesty would please to lend two of his Ships to transport them, lesse would serue; besides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Quest. 6. *What thinke you are the defects of the gouernment both here and there?*

Answ. The multiplicity of opinions here, and Officers there, makes such delaies by questions and formalitie, that as much time is spent in complement as in action; [166] besides, some are so desirous to imploy their ships, hauing

six pounds for euery Passenger, and three pounds for euery tun of goods, at which rate a thousand ships may now better be procured then one at the first, when the common stocke defrayed all fraughts, wages, prouisions and Magazines, whereby the Ships are so pestred, as occasions much sicknesse, diseases and mortality: for though all the Passengers die they are sure of their fraught; and then all must be satisfied with Orations, disputations, excuses and hopes. [1624]

As for the letters of aduice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written, men would beleeue there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were wel, to which error here they haue beene euer much subiect; and there not to beleeue, or not to releeue the true and poore estate of that Colony, whose fruits were commonly spent before they were ripe, and this losse is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the losse of their aduentures, and so they thinke, or will not take notice; but it is so with all men.

But howsoeuer they thinke or dispose of all things at their pleasure, I am sure not my selfe onely, but a thousand others haue not onely spent the most of their estates, but the most part haue lost their liues and all, onely but to make way for the triall of more new conclusions: and he that now will aduenture but twelue pounds ten shillings, shall haue better respect and as much fauour then he that sixteene yeere agoe [*in* 1609] aduentured as much, except he haue money as the other hath; but though he haue aduentured fiue hundred pound, and spent there neuer so much time, if hee haue no more and [be] not able to begin a family of himselfe, all is lost by order of Court.

But in the beginning it was not so, all went then out of one purse, till those new deuices haue consumed both mony and purse; for at first there were but six Patentees, now more then a thousand; then but thirteene Counsailors, now not lesse then an hundred: I speake not of all, for there are some both honourable and honest, but of those Officers which did they manage their owne estates no better then the affaires of *Virginia*, they would quickly fall to decay so well as it. But this is most euident, few Officers in *England* it hath caused to turne Banquerupts, nor for all their complaints would [they] leaue their places; neither

[1624] yet any of their Officers there, nor few of the rest but they would be at home. But fewer Aduenturers here will aduenture any more till they see the businesse better established, although there be some so wilfully improuident they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or want themselues, they die or liue but poorely for want of necessaries, and to thinke the old Planters can releeue them were too much simplicity; for who here in *England* is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, haue they neuer so much; much lesse in *Virginia* where they want for themselues. Now the generall complaint saith, that pride, couetousnesse, extortion and oppression in a few that ingrosses all, then sell all againe to the comminalty at what rate they please (yea euen men, women and children for who will giue most), occasions no small mischiefe amongst the Planters.

As for the Company, or those that doe transport them, prouided of necessaries, God forbid but they should receiue their charges againe with aduantage, or that masters there should not haue the same priuilege ouer their seruants as here: but to sell him or her for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the Company hath sent ouer for eight or ten pounds at the most, without regard how they shall be maintained with apparell, meat, drinke and lodging, is odious, and their fruits su[i]table: therefore such merchants it were better they were made such merchandize themselues, then suffered any longer to vse that trade, and those are defects sufficient to bring a well setled Common-wealth to misery, much more *Virginia*.

Quest. 7. *How thinke you it may be rectified?*

Answ. If his Maiestie would please to intitle [*resume*] it to his Crowne, and yearely that both the Gouernours here and there may giue their accounts to you, or some that are not ingaged in the businesse, that the common stocke bee not spent in [**167**] maintaining one hundred men for the Gouernour, one hundred for two Deputies, fifty for the Treasurer, fiue and twenty for the Secretary, and more for the Marshall and other Officers who were neuer there nor aduentured any thing; but onely preferred by fauour to be Lords ouer them that broke the ice and beat the path, and must teach them what to doe. If any thing happen well, it

is their glory; if ill, the fault of the old directors, that in all dangers must endure the worst, yet not fiue hundred of them haue so much as one of the others. [1624

Also that there bee some present course taken to maintaine a Garrison to suppresse the Saluages, till they be able to subsist, and that his Maiesty would please to remit his custome; or it is to be feared they will lose custome and all, for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and meanes to maintaine them: not such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the lawes in *England*. Yet when the foundation is laid, as I haue said, and a common-wealth established, then such there may better be constrained to labour then here; but to rectifie a common-wealth with debaushed people is impossible, and no wise man would throw himselfe into such a society, that intends honestly, and knowes what he vndertakes. For there is no Country to pillage as the Romans found: all you expect from thence must be by labour.

For the gouernment I thinke there is as much adoe about it as the Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, men here conceiting *Virginia* as they are, erecting as many stately Offices as Officers with their attendants, as there are labourers in the Countrey: where a Constable were as good as twenty of their Captaines; and three hundred good Souldiers and labourers better then all the rest, that goe onely to get the fruits of other mens labours by the title of an office. Thus they spend *Michaelmas* rent in *Mid-summer* Moone, and would gather their Haruest before they haue planted their Corne.

As for the maintenance of the Officers, the first that went neuer demanded any, but aduentured good summes: and it seemes strange to me, the fruits of all their labours, besides the expence of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and such multitudes of people, those collaterall Officers could not maintaine themselues so well as the old did; and hauing now such liberty to doe to the Saluages what they will, [which] the others had not.

I more then wonder they haue not fiue hundred Saluages to worke for them towards their generall maintenance; and as many more to returne some content and satisfaction

[1624] to the Aduenturers, that for all their care, charge and diligence, can heare nor see nothing but miserable complaints: therefore vnder your correction to rectifie all, [it] is with all expedition to passe the authority to them who will releeue them, lest all bee consumed ere the differences be determined.

And except his Maiestie vndertake it, or by Act of Parlament some small tax may be granted throughout his Dominions, as a Penny vpon euery Poll, called a headpenny; two pence vpon euery Chimney, or some such collection might be raised, and that would be sufficient to giue a good stocke, and many seruants to sufficient men of any facultie, and transport them freely for paying onely homage to the Crowne of *England*, and such duties to the publike good as their estates increased, [as] reason should require. Were this put in practice, how many people of what quality you please, for all those disasters would yet gladly goe to spend their liues there, and by this meanes more good might be done in one yeere, then all those pe[t]ty particular vndertakings will effect in twenty.

For the Patent the King may, if he please, rather take it from them that haue it, then from vs who had it first; pretending to his Maiesty what great matters they would doe, and how little we did: and for any thing I can conceiue had we remained still as at first, it is not likely we could haue done much worse; but those oft altering of gouernments are not without much charge, hazard and losse.

If I be too plaine, I humbly craue your pardon; but you requested me, therefore I doe but my duty. For the Nobility, who knowes not how freely both in their [**168**] Purses and assistances many of them haue beene to aduance it, committing the managing of the businesse to inferiour persons: amongst whom questionlesse also many haue done their vtmost best, sincerely and truly according to their conceit, opinion and vnderstanding; yet grosse errors haue beene committed, but no man liues without his fault. For my owne part, I haue so much adoe to amend my owne, I haue no leisure to looke into any mans particular [*i.e.*, *fault*], but those [*faults*] in generall I conceiue to be true. And so I humbly rest Yours to command,

I. S.

THus those discords, not being to be compounded among themselues; nor yet by the extraordinary diligences, care and paines of the noble and right worthy Commissioners, Sir *William Iones*, Sir *Nicholas Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Goston*, Sir *Richard Sutton*, Sir *Henry Bourgchier* and Sir *William Pit*: a Corante was granted against Master Deputy *Farrar*, and 20. or 30. others of that party, to plead their causes before the right Honourable the Lords of His Maiesties Priuy Councell. [1624]

The King hath pleased to take it into his consideration.

Now notwithstanding all the Relations, Examinations, and intercepting of all Letters whatsoeuer [that] came from thence, yet it seemes they were so farre vnsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preseruation of the Colony, as to giue content and doe all men right, [that] they sent two Commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the Colony.

Vpon whose returne after mature deliberation, it pleased his royall Maiesty to suppresse the course of the Court at Deputy *Farrars*: and that for the present ordering the affaires of *Virginia*, vntill he should make a more full settlement thereof, the Lord Viscount *Mandeuile*, Lord President of his Maiesties Priuie Councell, and also other Priuy Councellors, with many vnderstanding Knights and Gentlemen, should euery Thursday in the afternoone meet at Sir *Thomas Smiths* in *Philpot lane*: where all men whom it should concerne may repaire, to receiue such directions and warrant for their better security; as more at large you may see in the Proclamation to that effect, vnder the great Seale of *England*, dated the 15. of Iuly, 1624.

[1624] But as for the relations last returned, what numbers they are, how many Cities, Corporations, townes, and houses, cattle and horse they haue; what fortifications or discoueries they haue made, or reuenge vpon the Saluages; who are their friends or foes; or what commodities they haue more then Tobacco; and their present estate or what is presently to be put in execution: in that the Commissioners are not yet fully satisfied in the one, nor resolued in the other, at this present time when this went to the Presse, I must intreat you pardon me till I be better assured.

Thus far I haue trauelled in this Wildernesse of *Virginia*, not being ignorant [that] for all my paines, this discourse will be wrested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaues [*The first four Books of this* General History, *occupy* 168 *leaves*]; that I haue writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like obiections.

To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any haue concealed their approued experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me: as for euery fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leaue them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome? Ah! were these my accusers but to change cases and places with me but 2. yeeres, or till they had done but so much as I, it may be they would iudge more charitably of my imperfections.

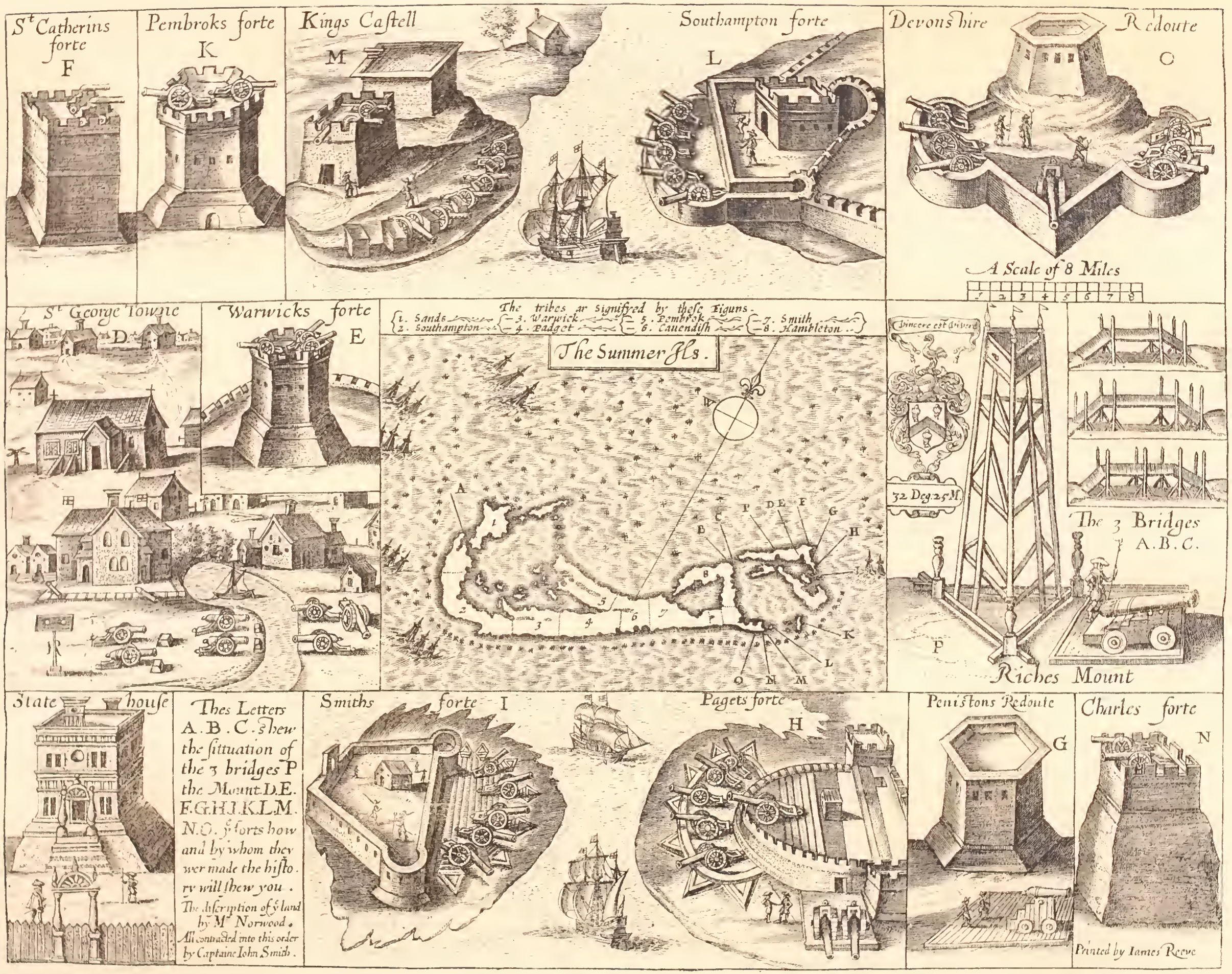
But here I must leaue all to the triall of time, both my selfe, *Virginia's* preparations, proceedings and good euents; praying to that great God the protector of all goodnesse to send them as good successe as the goodnesse of the action and Country deserueth, and my heart desireth.

FINIS. [169]

The General History of the Bermudas.
1593–1623.]

[Captain SMITH was never at Bermuda. This part of the *Generall Historie* therefore is clearly a compilation.

Our Author may have made large use of *Sloane MS.* 750, in the British Museum; which has been edited by General Sir J. HENRY LEFROY, R.A., C.B., K.C.M.G., for the Hakluyt Society in 1881, under the title of "*The History of the Bermudas or Somer Islands.* Attributed to Captain JOHN SMITH:" but clearly he was not the Author of that manuscript, which was written apparently by a Governor previous to Governor BUTLER; ? by Governor TUCKER.]


St Catherins forte
F
Pembroks forte
K
Kings Castell
M
Southampton forte
L
Devonshire Redoute
O
A Scale of 8 Miles
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
St George Towne
D
Warwicks forte
E
The tribes ar signifyed by these Figuns.
1. Sands
2. Southampton
3. Warwick
4. Padget
5. Pembrok
6. Cauendish
7. Smith
8. Hambleton
The Summer Hs.
A
B
C
P
D E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
N
O
32 Deg: 25 M.
The 3 Bridges A.B.C.
P
Riches Mount
State house
Thes Letters A.B.C. shew the situation of the 3 bridges P the Mount D.E. F.G.H.I.K.L.M. N.O. ye forts how and by whom they wer made the history will shew you.
The discription of ye land by Mr Norwood.
All contracted into this order by Captaine Iohn Smith.
Smiths forte
I
Pagets forte
H
Penistons Redoute
G
Charles forte
N
Printed by Iames Reeve

The fifth Booke.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE BERMVDAS, NOW

called the *Summer Iles*, from their beginning in the yeere of our Lord 1593. to this present 1624. with their proceedings, accidents and present estate.

[1593-1623]

BEfore we present you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted: for as Geography without History seemeth a carkasse without motion; so History without Geography, wandreth as a Vagrant without a certaine habitation.

The description of the Iles.

Those Ilands lie in the huge maine Ocean, and two hundred leagues from any continent, situated in 32. degrees and 25. minutes, of Northerly latitude, and distant from *England* West South-West, about 3300. miles; some twenty miles in length, and not past two miles and a halfe in breadth, enuironed with Rocks, which to the North-ward, West-ward, and South-East, extend further then they haue bin yet well dis-

[1593–1623] couered: by reason of those Rocks the Country is naturally very strong, for there is but two places, and scar[c]e two vnlesse to them who know them well, where shipping may safely come in, and those now are exceeding well fortified, but within is roome to entertaine a royall Fleet: the Rocks in most places appeare at a low water, neither are they much couered at a high, for it ebbs and flowes not past fiue foot; the shore for most part is a Rocke, so hardened with the sunne, wind and sea, that it is not apt to be worne away with the waues, whose violence is also broke by the Rocks before they can come to the shore.

It is very vneuen, distributed into hills and dales; the mold is of diuers colours, neither clay nor sand, but a meane betweene; the red which resembleth clay is the worst, the whitest resembling sand and the blackest is good, but the browne betwixt them both which they call white, because there is mingled with it a white meale is the best: vnder the mould two or three foot deep, and sometimes lesse, is a kinde of white hard substance which they call the Rocke: the trees vsually fasten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rocke or stone, or so hard, though for most part more harder then Chalke; nor so white, but pumish-like and spungy, easily receiuing and containing much water. In some places Clay is found vnder it, it seemes to be ingendred with raine water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance vnto a certaine depth where it congeales; the hardest kinde of it lies vnder the red ground like quarries, as it were thicke slates one vpon another, through which the water hath his passage, so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water, for all or the most part of the fresh water commeth out of the Sea draining through the sand, or that substance called the Rocke, leauing the salt behinde, it becomes fresh. Sometimes we digged wells of fresh water which we finde in most places, and but three or foure paces from the Sea side, some further, the most part of them would ebbe and flow as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher then the superficies of the sea: and in some places [there are] very strange, darke and cumbersome Caues. [170]

The clime temper, and fertility.

The aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, moist, with a moderate heat, very healthfull and apt for

the generation and nourishing of all things, so as many things transported from hence yeeld a farre greater increase, and if it be any liuing thing it becomes fatter and better. [1593-1623]

By this meanes the country is so replenished with Hens and Turkies, within the space of three or foure yeeres, that many of them being neglected, forsake the houses and become wilde, and so liue in great abundance; the like increase there is in Hogs, tame Conies, and other Cattle according to their kindes.

There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause some things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requisite; and though the trees shed their leaues, yet they are alwaies full of greene. The Corne is the same they haue in *Virginia*, and the *West-Indies:* of this and many other things, without plowing or much labour, they haue two Haruests euery yeere. For they set about March, which they gather in Iuly; and againe in August, which they reape in December; and little slips of Fig-trees and Vines doe vsually beare fruit within the yeere, and sometimes in lesse; but we finde not the Grapes as yet come to any perfection: the like fertility it hath in Oranges and Limons, Pomgranates, and other things.

Concerning the serenity and beauty of the skie, it may as truly be said of those Ilands as euer it was said of the Rhodes, that there is no one day throughout the 12. moneths, but that in some houre thereof, the sun lookes singularly and cleere vpon them: for the temperature it is beyond all others most admirable; no cold there is beyond an English Aprill, nor heat much greater then an ordinary Iuly in *France*. So that frost and snow is neuer seene here, nor stinking and infectious mists very seldome; by reason of the maine Ocean, there is some wind stirring that cooles the aire: the winter they haue obserues the time with ours, but the longest daies and nights are shorter then ours almost by two houres.

Trees and Fruits.

We found it at first all ouergrowne with weeds, and plants of seuerall kinds, as many tall and goodly Cedars, infinite store of Palmetoes, numbers of Mulberies, wild Oliue-trees store, with diuers others vnknowne both by

[1593-1623] name and nature, so that as yet they become lost to many vsefull imployments, which time and industry no doubt will one day discouer. And euen already certaine of the most notorious of them haue gotten them appellations from their apparent effects, as

The Prickell Peare. The Prickell-peare which growes like a shrub by the ground, with broad thick leaues, all ouer-armed with long and sharpe dangerous thornes, the fruit being in forme not much vnlike a smali greene Peare, and on the outside of the same colour, but within bloud red, and exceeding full of iuice; with graines not much vnlike the Pomgranat, and colouring after its nature.

The poison weed. The poysoned weed is much in shape like our English Iuy, but being but touched, causeth rednesse, itching, and lastly blisters; the which howsoeuer after a while passe away of themselues without further harme: yet because for the time they are somewhat painfull, it hath got it selfe an ill name, although questionlesse of no ill nature.

The red weed. Here is also frequently growing a certaine tall Plant, whose stalke being all ouer couered with a red rinde, is thereupon termed the red weed: the root whereof being soked in any liquor, or but a small quantity of the Iuice drunke alone, procures a very forcible vomit, and yet is generally vsed by the people, and found very effectual against the paines and distempers of the stomacke.

The purging Beane. A kinde of Wood-bind there is likewise by the Sea very commonly to bee found, which runnes vpon trees, twining it selfe like a Vine: the fruit somewhat resembles a Beane, but somewhat flatter, the which any way eaten worketh excellently in the nature of a purge, and though very vehemently, yet without all perill.

The costiue tree. Contrary to this, another small tree there is, which causeth costiuenesse.

There is also a certaine Plant like a bramble bush, which beares a long yellow fruit, hauing the shell very hard, and within it a hard berry, that beaten and taken inwardly purgeth gently.

Red Pepper. There is another fruit much like our Barberies, which being beaten or brused betweene the teeth, sets all the mouth on an extreme heat very terrible for the time, to auoid which they are swallowed downe whole, [171] and

found of the same or better operation then the red Pepper, and thence borroweth the name. [1593–1623]

In the bottome of the Sea there is growing vpon the Rocks a large kinde of Plant in the forme of a Vine leafe, but far more spread with veines in colour of a pale red, very strangely interlaced and wouen one into another, which we call the Feather, but the vertue thereof is altogether vnknowne, but only regarded for the rarity. The Sea feather.

Now besides these naturall productions, prouidences and paines since the Plantation, haue offered diuers other seeds and plants, which the soile hath greedily imbraced and cherished: so that at this present 1623. there are great abundance of white, red, and yellow coloured Potatoes, Tobacco, Sugarcanes, Indicos, Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, the American bread, the Cassado root, the Indian Pumpian, the Water-millon, Musk-millon, and the most delicate Pine-apples, Plantans, and Papawes; also the English Artichoke, Pease, &c.: briefly whatsoeuer else may be expected for the satisfaction either of curiosity, necessity or delight. Fruits transported.

Neither hath the aire for her part been wanting with due supplies of many sorts of Fowles, as the gray and white Hearne, the gray and greene Plouer, some wilde Ducks and Malards, Coots and Red-shankes, Sea-wigions, Gray-bitterns, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds like Sparrowes and Robins which haue lately beene destroyed by the wilde Cats, Wood-pickars: very many Crowes, which since this Plantation are kild, the rest fled or seldome seene except in the most vninhabited places, from whence they are obserued to take their flight about sun set, directing their course towards the North-west, which makes many coniecture there are some more Ilands not far off that way. Sometimes are also seene Falcons and Iar-falcons, Ospraies, a Bird like a Hobby: but because they come seldome, they are held but as passengers. Birds.

But aboue all these, most deseruing obseruation and respect are those two sorts of Birds, the one for the tune of his voice, the other for the effect, called the Cahow, and Egge-bird: [the latter of] which on the first of May, a day constantly obserued, fall a laying infinite store of Eggs neere as big as Hens, vpon certaine small sandie baies especially in Egge-Birds.

[1593-1623] *Coupers* Ile; and although men sit downe amongst them when hundreds haue bin gathered in a morning, yet there is hath stayed amongst them till they haue gathered as many more: they continue this course till *Midsummer*, and so tame and feareles, you must thrust them off from their Eggs with your hand. Then they grow so faint with laying, they suffer them to breed and take infinite numbers of their yong to eat, which are very excellent meat.

Cahowes. The Cahow is a Bird of the night, for all the day she lies hid in holes in the Rocks, where they and their young are also taken with as much ease as may be: but in the night if you but whoop and hollow, they will light vpon you, that with your hands you may chuse the fat and leaue the leane. Those they haue only in winter: their Eggs are as big as hens, but they are speckled, the other white. Master *Norwood* hath taken twenty dozen of them in three or foure houres, and since there hath beene such hauocke made of them, they were neere all destroyed, till there was a strict inhibition for their preseruation.

The Tropicke Bird and the Pemblicos presage-ments. The Tropicke bird is white, as large as a Pullet, with one onely long Feather in her taile, and is seldome seene far distant from other of the Tropicks. Another small Bird there is, because she cries Pemblyco they call her so, she is seldome seene in the day but when she sings, as too oft she doth very clamorously; too true a Prophet she proues of huge winds and boysterous weather.

There were a kinde of small Owles in great abundance, but they are now all slaine or fled: some tame Ducks, Geese and Pigeons there are, but the two latter prosper not.

Of Vermine. Concerning vermine and noisome creatures, there are not many, but onely Rats and Cats there increased since the Plantation, but how they agree together you shall heare hereafter. The Musketas and Flies are also too busie, with a certaine India Bug, called by the Spaniards a Cacarootch, the which creeping into Chests they eat and defile with their ill-sented dung. Also the little Ants in summer time are so troublesome, they are forced to dry their figs vpon high frames, and anoint their feet with tar, wherein they sticke, else they would spoile them all [172] ere they could be dryed. Wormes in the earth also there

are but too many, so that to keepe them from destroying their Corne and Tobacco, they are forced to worme them euery morning, which is a great labour, else all would be destroyed. Lizards there were many and very large, but now none; and it is said they were destroyed by the Cat. Certaine Spiders also of very large size are found hanging vpon trees, but instead of being any way dangerous as in other places, they are here of a most pleasing aspect, all ouer drest, as it were with Siluer, Gold, and Pearle: and their Webs in the Summer wouen from tree to tree, are generally a perfect raw silke, and that as well in regard of substance as colour; and so strong withall, that diuers Birds bigger than Black-birds, being like Snipes, are often taken and snared in them as a Net. Then what would the Silke-worme doe were shee there to feede vpon the continuall greene Mulbery? [1593-1623] Note.

But aboue all the rest of the Elements, the Sea is found most abundantly liberall: hence haue they as much excellent Fish, and as much variety as need be desired. The most of which being vnknowne to our Northerne parts, got there new names, either for their shapes or conditions; as the large Rocke-fish from his like hew, and haunting amongst the Rocks; the fat Hog-fish from his swine-like shape and snout, for this is not the old knowne Hog-fish with brussels on his backe; the delicate Amber-fish from his taste and smell; Angell-fish, Cony-fish the small yellow taile from that naturall painting; the great Growper from his odde and strange grunting: some of them yet knowne to the *Americans*, as the Purgoose, the Cauallo, the Gar-fish, Flying-fish and Morerayes; the rest are common to other Continents, as the Whale in great numbers, the Sharke, the Pilot-fish, the Sea-Breame, the Oyster and Lobster, with diuers others. Twenty Tortoises haue beene taken in a day, and some of them will affoord halfe a bushell of Egges, and suffice to feed forty men at a meale. Fishes.

And thus haue you briefely epitomized Mother Natures benefits to this little, yet dainty spot of earth; neither were it ingenuity to conceale wherein shee inclineth to the Stepdame, especially since the particulars are so

[1593-1623]

The most hurtfull things in those Iles.

few, as rather requisite Antidotes against idlenesse to rouse vp industry, then any great cause of much distaste, much lesse despaire: and of those to speake troth, there are onely two: *viz.* the Winds, and the Wormes, especially in the Spring and Autumne; and thus conditioned as yet we will let rest these small Ilands, in the midst of this mightie and maine Ocean, so inuironed on euery side, by infinite numbers of vncertaine scattered Rocks, lying shallowly hid vnder the surface of the water, a league, two, three, foure, or fiue, to Sea, to the which aduantagers added by art, as hereafter you shall heare at large, and finde described in the Map. It may well be concluded to be the most impregnable place in the world; and although the Amber Greece, Pearles, nor Tobacco, are of that quantity and certainty to be relied vpon to gaine wealth; yet by practise and experience they finde, by Silke, Saffron, Indico, Madar, Sugar-canes, Wine, Oile, and such like, great profit may be expected. Yet were those hopelesse, in regard of their conueniency to nourish and maintaine themselues, and releeue them shall visit them with wood, water, and other necessaries; besides what an eye-sore they are already becommed to them that haue them not [*p.* 688], and how deare and pretious to them that haue them, I thinke none will deny but they are well worth the keeping: and so we will proceed to the accidents that befell the first finders; also the proceedings of the first Planters and their successors, Master *Norwod*, *Thomas Sparkes*, and diuers others.

A briefe relation of the shipwracke of Henry May. 1593.

HOw these Iles came by the name of *Bermudas*, or the infinite number of blacke Hogs, or so fearefull to the world that many called them the *Ile of Deuils*, that all men did shun as Hell and perdition; I will not expostulate, nor trouble your patiences with those vncertaine antiquities [**173**] further then thus; our men found diuers crosses, peeces of Spanish monies here and there. Two or three wracks also they found, by certaine inscriptions to bee some Spanish, some Dutch, some French; but the greatest rumour is, that a Spanish ship called *Bermudas* was there cast away, carrying Hogges to the West-Indies that swam a shore, and there increased: how the *Spaniards* escaped is vncertaine: but they say, from that ship those Iles were first called *Bermudas*, which till then for six thousand yeares had beene namelesse. [1591-3] How it is supposed they were called the *Bermudas*.

But the first English-man that was euer in them, was one *Henry May*, a worthy Mariner that went with Captaine *Lancaster* to the East-Indies 1591. and in their returne by the West-Indies, being in some distresse, [he] sent this *Henry May* for England by one *Mounsier de la Barbotier*, to acquaint the Merchants with their estate.

The last of Nouember [1591], saith *May*, we departed from *Laguna* in *Hispaniola*, and the seuenteenth of December following [1591], we were cast away vpon the North-west of the *Bermudas*; the Pilots about noone made themselues Southwards of the Iles twelue leagues, and demanded of the Captaine their Wine of hight as out of all danger, which they had: but it seemes they were either drunke, or carelesse of their charge; for through their uegligences a number of good men were cast away.

I being but a stranger amongst fiftie and odde Frenchmen, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them should

[1591-4] be saued. In this extremity we made a raft, which we towed with our Boat, there were but six and twentie of vs saued; and I seeing scarce roome for the one halfe, durst not passe in amongst them till the Captaine called me along with him, leauing the better halfe to the seas mercy.

That day we rowed till within two houres of night ere we could land, being neere dead with thirst, euery man tooke his way to seeke fresh water; at length, by searching amongst many weeds, we found some raine water: but in the maine are many faire Baies, where we had enough for digging.

The building and calking their Barke.

Now it pleased God before our ship split we saued our Carpenters tooles, some Nailes, Sailes, and Tacklings; wherewith we went roundly to worke, and built a Barke of eighty tunnes. In stead of Pitch, we made Lime, mixed with Tortoise oyle; and as the Carpenters calked her, I and another paied the seames with this plaster, which being in Aprill, became quickly dry, and as hard as a stone.

In Aprill [1592] it was so hot, we feared our water would faile, two great Chests wee made, which we calked as our ship; those we stowed on each side our maine Mast, filled them with water and thirtie liue Tortoises. Wee found many Hogges, but so leane wee could not eat them. The tops of the Palmeta berries was our bread, and the iuyce we got out of the trees we cut downe our drinke, and of the leaues, which are more then an Ell long, we couered our Cabens, and made our beds, and found many of those prouisions as is related, but little foule weather.

His returne for England.

The eleuenth of May [1592] it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Ile, after wee had liued there fiue moneths: and the twentieth wee fell with Cape *Britton* neere *New found Land*, where refreshing [*we refreshed*] our selues with wood and water, and such things as we could get of the Saluages. It seemed a good Countrey, but we staied not past foure houres before we set saile for the banke of *New found land*: where wee met many ships, but not any would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God we met a Barke of *Fawmothe*, which receiued vs for a little time. And with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left Captaine *de la Barbotier*, my deare friend, and all his Company: and in August arriued at *Falmouth* in this honest English Barke, 1594.

Written by me Henry May. [**174**]

The first English ship knowne to haue beene cast away vpon the Bermudas, 1609. *From the relation of* Master Iordan, *Master* Iohn Euens, *Master* Henry Shelly, *and diuers others.*

YOu haue heard, that when Captaine *Smith* was Gouernor of *Virginia*, there were nine ships sent with Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, and Captaine *Nuport*, with fiue hundred people, to take in the old Commission, and rectifie a new gouernment: they set saile in May, and in the height of thirty degrees of Northerly latitude, they were taken with an extreme storme, or rather a part of *Hericano*, vpon the fiue and twentieth of Iuly [1609], which as they write, did not onely separate them from the Fleet, but with the violent working of the Seas, their ship became so shaken, torne, and leak[i]e, she receiued so much water as couered two tire [*teir*] of Hogsheads aboue the ballace [*ballast*], that they stood vp to the middles, with Buckets, Baricos, and Kettles, to baile out the water. [1609]

A most desperate estate by a storm.

Thus bailing and pumping three daies and three nights without intermission, and yet the water seemed rather to increase then diminish, in so much that being all vtterly spent with labour, were euen resolued without any hope to shut vp the hatches, and commit themselues to the mercy of the Sea, which is said to be mercilesse, or rather to the mercy of Almighty God, whose mercy farre exceeds all his

[1609] workes: seeing no sense or hope in mans apprehension, but presently to sinke; some hauing some good and comfortable waters [*spirits*], fetched them and dranke one to another, as taking their last leaues vntill a more happy and a more ioyfull meeting in a more blessed world; when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull prouidence, so to direct and guide their ship for her most aduantage.

The care and iudgement of Sir *George Somers.*

That Sir *George Somers* all this time sitting vpon the poupe, scarce taking leisure to eat nor sleepe, couing [*coning*] the ship to keepe her as vpright as he could, otherwaies she must, long ere that, needs haue foundered, most wishedly and happily descried land: whereupon he most comfortably incouraged them to follow their worke, many of them being fast asleepe. This vnlooked for welcome newes, as if it had bin a voice from heauen, hurrieth them all aboue hatches, to looke for that they durst scarce beleeue; so that improuidently forsaking that taske which imported no lesse then their liues, they gaue so dangerous aduantage to their greedy enemy the salt water, which still entred at the large breaches of their poore wooden castle, as that in gaping after life, they had well-nigh swallowed their death. Surely it is impossible any should now be vrged to doe his best, and although they knew it, [to be] that place all men did so shun, yet they spread all the saile they could to attaine them: for not long it was before they strucke vpon a rocke, till a surge of the sea cast her from thence; and so from one to another, till most luckily at last [she stuck] so vpright betwixt two, as if she had beene in the stocks.

An euident token of Gods mercy.

Till this they expected but euery blow a death: But now behold, suddenly the wind giues place to a calme, and the billowes, which each by ouertaking her, would in an instant haue shiuered her in peeces, become peaceable and still; so that with all conueniency and ease, they vnshipped all their goods, victuall, and persons into their Boats, and with extreme ioy, euen almost to amazednesse, arriued in safetie, though more then a league from the shore, without the losse of a man; yet were they in all one hundred and fiftie.

Yet their deliuerance was not more strange in falling so happily vpon the land, as their feeding and preseruation was beyond their hopes; for you haue heard, it hath beene

to the *Spaniards* more fearefull then an Vtopian Purgatory; and to all Sea-men no lesse terrible then an inchanted den of Furies and Deuils; the most dangerous, vnfortunate, and forlorne place in the world: and they found it the richest, healthfullest and pleasantest they euer saw, as is formerly said. [1609]

Sir *George Somers* his first ranging the land.

Being thus safe on shore, they disposed themselues to search the Iles for food [**175**] and water; others to get a shore what they could from the ship; not long Sir *George* wandred but [he] found such a fishing, that in halfe an houre with a hooke and line, he tooke so many as sufficed the whole company. In some places they were so thicke in the Coues, and so great, they durst not goe in lest they should bite them, and these rocke fish are so great two will load a man, and fatter nor better fish cannot be. Master *Shelly* found a Bay neere a quarter of a mile ouer, so full of Mullets, as none of them before had euer seene or heard of the like: the next day seeking to kill them with fis-gigs, they strucke so many the water in many places was red with bloud, yet caught not one; but with a net they caught so many as they could draw a shore, with infinite number of Pilchards and diuers other sorts. Great craw-fishes in a night by making a fire they haue taken in great quantity. Sir *George* had twice his hooke and line broke out of his hand, but the third time he made it so strong he caught the same fish; which had pulled him into the Sea had not his men got hold of him, whereby he had his three hookes againe [that] were found in her belly. At their first hunting for hogs they found such abundance, they killed 32: and this hunting and fishing was appointed to Captaine *Robert Walsingham*, and Master *Henry Shelly* for the company in general: they report they killed at least 500. besides Pigs, and many that were killed by diuers others; for the birds in their seasons, the facility to make their cabens of Palmeta leaues, caused many of them vtterly forget or desire euer to returne from thence, they liued in such plenty, peace and ease.

What meanes they made to send to *Virginia*.

But let vs remember how the Knights began to resolue in those desperat affaires. Many proiects they had, but at last it was concluded, to decke their long boat with their ship hatches; which done, with all expedition they

[1609-10] sent Master *Rauen*, a very sufficient Mariner, with eight more in her to *Virginia*, to haue shipping from thence to fetch them away. Three weekes or a moneth they expected her returne, but to this day [1624] she was neuer more heard of.

All this time was spent in searching the Iles: now although God still fed them with this abundance of plenty, yet such was the malice of enuy or ambition, for all this good seruice done by *Sommers*, such a great difference fell amongst their Commanders, that they liued asunder in this distresse, rather as meere strangers then distressed friends: but necessity so commanded, patience had the victory.

A mariage and two children borne.

Two ships at this time by those seuerall parties were a building; in the meane time two children were borne, the Boy was called *Bermudas*, the Girle *Bermuda*, and amongst all those sorrowes they had a merry English mariage.

The forme of those Iles you may see at large in the Map of Master *Norwood*, where you may plainly see no place knowne hath better walls, nor a broader ditch.

But hauing finished and rigged their two new Cedar ships with such prouisions they saued from the Sea-aduenturer they left amongst the Rocks, they called the one the *Patience*, the other the *Deliuerance*; they vsed Lime and Oile, as *May* did, for Pitch and Tar. Sir *George Summers* had in his Barke no Iron at all but one bolt in her Keele; now hauing made their prouisions of victuall and all things ready, they set saile the tenth of May 1610. onely leauing two men behinde them, called *Christopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, that for their offences, or the suspition they had of their iudgements, fled into the woods: and there rather desired to end their daies then stand to their trials and the euent of Iustice; for one of their consorts was shot to death, and *Waters* being tied to a tree also to be executed, had by chance a Knife about him, and so secretly cut the Rope, he ran into the woods where they could not finde him [*pp.* 591, 640, 648, 649, 660].

There were two Saluages also sent from *Virginia* by Captain *Smith*, the one called *Namuntack* [*p.* 517], the other *Matchumps*: but some such differences fell betweene them, that *Matchumps* slew *Namuntack*, and hauing made a hole to bury him, because it was too short, he cut of[f] his legs

and laid them by him; which murder he concealed till he was in *Virginia*. [1610]

The foure and twentieth of the same moneth [*May* 1610] they arriued in *Virginia* at *Iames* towne, where they found but threescore persons, as you may reade at large in the History of *Virginia* [*pp.* 498, 500], of the fiue hundred left by Captaine *Smith*: [as] also of the arriuall [**176**] of the Lord *Laware*, that met them thus bound for *England*, returned them backe [*p.* 500]; and vnderstanding what plenty there was of hogs and other good things in the *Bermudas*, was desirous to send thither to supply his necessary occasions. Their arriuall in *Virginia*.

Whereupon Sir *George Summers*, the best acquainted with the place, whose noble minde euer regarded a generall good more then his owne ends, though aboue threescore yeeres of age, and had meanes in *England* su[i]table to his ranke, offered himselfe by Gods helpe to performe this dangerous voyage againe for the *Bermudas*; which was kindly accepted, so vpon the 19. of Iune [1610], he imbarked in his Cedar ship, about the burthen of thirty tunnes, and so set saile.

Much foule and crosse weather he had, and was forced to the North parts of *Virginia*; where refreshing himselfe vpon this vnknowne coast, he could not bee diuerted from the search of the *Bermudas*, where at last with his company he safely arriued: but such was his diligence with his extraordinary care, paines and industry to dispatch his businesse, and the strength of his body not answering the euer memorable courage of his minde; hauing liued so long in such honourable seruices the most part of his well beloued and vertuous life, God and nature here determined, should euer remaine a perpetuall memory of his much bewailed sorrow for his death: finding his time but short, after he had taken the best course he could to settle his estate; like a valiant Captaine he exhorted them with all diligence to be constant to those Plantations, and with all expedition to returne to *Virginia*. In that very place which we now call Saint *Georges* towne, this noble Knight died, whereof the place taketh the name. Sir *George Summers* his returne to the *Bermudas*.

But his men, as men amazed, seeing the death of him who was euen as the life of them all, embalmed his body and set saile for *England*; being the first that euer went to seeke those Ilands: which haue beene euer since called *Summers*

[1611-12] Iles, in honour of his worthy memory, leauing three men behind them, that voluntarily stayed, whose names were *Christopher Carter*, *Edward Waters*, there formerly left as is said [*p.* 638]; and *Edward Chard*.

This Cedar ship at last with his dead body arriued at *Whit-Church* in *Dorsetshire*; where by his friends he was honourably buried, with many vollies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier: and vpon his tombe was bestowed this Epitaph.

His Epitaph.

[*p.* 173.]

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæuiet inde et hiems;
At ver perpetuum nascetur, et Anglia læta,
Decerpit flores florida terra tuas.

In English thus:

Alas Virginia's Summer so soone past,
Autumne succeeds and stormy Winters blast,
Yet Englands *ioyfull Spring with ioyfull showers,*
O Florida, *shall bring thy sweetest flowers.*

The proceedings of the three men.

THE honour of this resolution belongs principally to *Carter*: for through his importunity, not to leaue such a place abandoned, *Chard* and *Waters* were moued to stay with him, and the rest promised with all the speed they could againe to reuisit them. But the ship once out of sight, those three Lords, the sole inhabitants of all those Ilands, began to erect their little common wealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing the ground, planting Corne, and such seeds and fruits as they had, building a house, &c. Then making priuy search amongst the creuises and corners of those craggy Rocks, what this maine Ocean since the worlds creation had throwne amongst them; at last they chanced vpon the greatest peece of Amber-greece was euer seene or heard of in one lumpe, being in weight foure-score pound, besides diuers other small peeces.

A peece of Amber-greece of 80. pound weight.

But now being rich, they grew so proud and ambitious, contempt tooke such [**177**] place, they fell out for supe-

riority, though but three forlorne men, more then three [1610-12] thousand miles from their natiue Country, and but small hope euer to see it againe. Notwithstanding, they sometimes fell from words to blowes about meere trifles: in one of which fights, one of them was bitten with his owne dog, as if the dumbe beast would reproue them of their folly; at last *Chard* and *Waters*, the two greater spirits, must try it out in the field, but *Carter* wisely stole away their weapons, affecting rather to liue amongst his enemies, then by being rid of them liue alone. And thus those miserable men liued full two yeeres [*May* 1610—*July* 1612], so that all their clothes were neere worne cleane from their backs, and their hopes of any forraine releefe as naked as their bodies.

At last they began to recouer their wits, yet in a fashion perhaps would haue cost them dearer then when they were mad; for concluding a tripartite peace of their Matachin warre, they resolued to frame as good a Boat as they could, and therein to make a desperate attempt for *Virginia*, or *New found Land*: but no sooner were they entred into that resolution, but they descried a saile standing in for the shore, though they neither knew what she was, nor what she would, they were so ouer-ioyed; [that] with all possible speed they went to meet her; and according to their hearts desire she proued an Englishman, whom they safely conducted into their harbour.

How they were supplied. 1611.

Now you are to vnderstand, that Captaine *Matthew Somers*, Nephew and heire to Sir *George*, that returned with his dead body, though both he and his Company did their vtmost in relating all those passages to their Countrey-men and aduenturers, their relations were beleeued but as trauellers tales, till it came to be apprehended by some of the *Virginia* Company, how beneficiall it might be, and helpfull to the Plantation in *Virginia*: so that some one hundred and twentie of them bought the pretended right of all the Company, and had sent this ship to make a triall; but first they had obtained Letters Patents of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected Treasurer and Gouernor heere, and Master *Richard More* to be Gouernor of the Iles and Colony there.

The first beginning of a Colonie in the Somer Iles, vnder the command of Master *Richard More*, extracted out of a plot of Master *Richard Norwood* Surueior, and the relations of diuers others.

[1612] The arriuall of Master *More*.

MAster *More* thus found those three men not onely well and lusty, but well stored with diuers sorts of prouisions, as an Acre of Corne ready to be gathered, number of Pumpions and Indian Beanes, many Tortoises ready taken, good store of hogs flesh salted, and made in flitches of Bacon, [which] were very good: and so

1612. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

presently landed his goods and sixty persons towards the beginning of Iuly 1612. vpon the South side of *Smiths* Ile.

Their differences about the Amber-greece.

Not long after his arriuall, *More* hauing some priuate intelligence of this Amber-greece, tooke first *Chard* in examination, he being one of the three [with] the most masterfull spirit, what Amber-greece, Pearle, Treasure, or other Commodities they had found. *Chard* no lesse witty then resolute, directly answered; Not any thing at all but the fruits of the Ile: what his fellowes had done he knew not, but if they had, he doubted not but to finde it out, and then hee should know it certainly.

This he spake onely to win time to sweare his Consorts to secrecy, and he would finde the meanes how they should all returne in that ship with it all for *England*, otherwise they should be deceiued of all. Till this was effected they thought euery houre an age; now for the better conueiance of it aboord, they acquainted it to Captaine *Dauis*, master of the ship, and one Master *Edwin Kendall*, that for their secrecy and transportation should participate with them. Without further ceremony the match was accepted, and absolutely concluded, the plot laid, time and place set downe to haue it aboord. But *Carter*, were it for feare the Gouernor

at last should know of it, to whom so oft they had denied it; or that the [**178**] rest should deceiue him, is vncertaine; but most certaine it is, he reuealed all the plot to Master *More*. To get so much wealth he knew would please them in *England*, though it did displease all his Company; and to lose such a prize he would not for hazarding a mutiny. So first hee reuealed himselfe to *Kendall* in faire tearmes, reprouing his dishonesty; but not being answered according to his expectation, he committed both *Chard* and him to person [*prison*]. [1612]

The next Sabboath day *Dauis* comming on shore, *More* also taxed with very hard language and many threats, to lay him fast also, if he mended not his manners; *Dauis* for the present replied little, but went with him to the place of praier: but in the midst of diuine seruice he goeth away, commanding all his Sea-men to follow him presently aboord; where he encourageth them to stand to him like men, and hee would free the Prisoners, haue all the Amber-greece for themselues, and so be gone.

Chard in danger of hanging.

The Gouernor hearing of this resolution, prepares with his company to repulse force with force, so that a generall expectance of a ciuill vnciuill warre possessed euery man; but this threatning gust passed ouer more calmlier then was expected: for *Dauis* hauing better aduised with himselfe, repented his rashnesse, and desired a reconcilement with the Gouernor. Peace thus concluded, *Kendall* was set at libertie; but *Chard* was condemned, and vpon the ladder to be hanged for his obstinacy: yet vpon better consideration *More* repri[e]ued him, but kept him a prisoner all the time he staied in the Country, which was generally thought a very bad reward for his great desert; and that there was more of this Amber-greece imbeziled, then would haue contented all the finders, that neuer had any consideration at all.

The greatest part th[r]ough *More* [was] thus recouered; yet *Dauis* and *Kendall* had so much, either by the ignorance or conniuency of the Gouernors, that arriuing in *England*, they prepared themselues for a new voiage: at last they two falling out, the Company hauing notice thereof, so tormented them both, they gaue ouer their voiage, and durst not be seene a long time after.

[1612] Master *Mores* industry in fortifying and planting.

The Gouernor thus rid of the ship and those discontents, remoued his seat from *Smiths* Ile to Saint *Georges*, after he had fitted vp some small Cabbens of Palmata leaues for his wife and family, in that valley where now stands their prime towne called *S. Georges*, hee began to apply himselfe to fortifie the Countrey, and training his men in the exercise of armes. For although he was but a Carpenter, he was an excellent Artist, a good Gunner, very witty and industrious: he built and laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the *Kings* Castle, *Charles* Fort, *Pembrookes* Fort, *Smiths* Fort, *Pagits* Fort, *Gates* Fort, *Warwicks* Castle, Saint *Katharines* Fort, &c. mounting in them all the Ordnance he had, preparing the ground to build Houses, plant Corne, and such Fruits as they had.

A contention of the Minister against the Gouernor.

Being thus busied, and as the necessitie of the time required, keeping his men somewhat hard at worke, Master *Keath* his Minister; were it by the secret prouocation of some drones that grew weary of their taskes, or his affection to popularity is not certaine: But he begins to tax the Gouernor in the Pulpit, hee did grinde the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethren with *Pharoahs* taxes. *More* finding this in short time, might breed ill bloud, called the Company together and also the Minister, vrging them plainly, to tell him wherein he had deserued those hard accusations: whereupon, with an vniuersall cry they affirmed the contrary, so that *Keath* [fell] downe of his knees to aske him forgiuenesse. But Master *More* kindly tooke him vp, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modest and charitable in his speeches; notwithstanding two other discontents so vpbraided *More* with that doctrine, and stood to maintaine it, he impaneled a Iury, with a great deale of seeming much adoe he would hang them being condemned, one of them with the very feare, fell into a dead Palsie; so that the other was set at libertie, and proued after a very good labourer.

Two peeces weighed out of the *Sea Aduenture*.

Many conclusions he tried about the *Sea-venture*, the wracke of Sir *George Somers*, [**179**] but he got onely for his paines but two peece[s] of Ordnance. Hauing framed a Church of timber, it was blowne downe by a tempest; so that he built another in a more closer place with Palmeta leaues.

Before this yeere was expired, the aduenterers sent them an aduiso with thirtie Passengers and good prouisions, to prepare with all expedition for their defence against the *Spaniard*, whom they vnderstood ere long would visit them. This occasioned him to keepe all his men together in that Ile so hard at worke, that wanting libertie to goe abroad for food, liuing onely on that they had, and expected daily to receiue from *England*, they were so ouer-toiled, [that] many fell sicke, but none died. Very earnest this ship [the *Elizabeth*] was to haue all the Amber-greece: which Master *More* perceiuing was the chiefest cause of their comming, and that it was the onely loadstone to draw from *England* still more supplies; for all the expresse command sent from the Company, he returned this ship but with the one third part; so from thence she went to *Virginia*, and not long after arriued safely in *England*. [1612–3] The first supply.

But before her returne the Company sent the *Martha* with sixtie Passengers more, they arriued in Iune [1613] with one Master *Bartlet* to suruey the Iland, and the estate of the Colonie, with expresse command for all the Amber-greece: but *More* perceiuing him not as he would haue him, and that the Company began to mistrust him, would send no more but another third part: wherewith they returned, leauing a French-man to make triall of the Mulberies for Silke, but he did not bring any thing to perfection; excusing himselfe, they were not the right Mulberies he expected. 1613. The second supply. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

About this time they were in hope of a small crop of Tobacco, but it was most spoiled for want of knowledge to vse it.

Now in *England* Master *More* became amongst the Merchants maruelous[ly] distastfull, for the detaining so long the Amber-greece; which delaies they so much abhorred, they forthwith dispatched the *Elizabeth* the second time and forty Passengers, much rebuking *More* for so long detaining the Amber-greece: for the which, hauing now no more colourable excuses, he deliuered it, wherewith the ship went to *Virginia*, and thence home.

In this ship was brought [*i.e.*, to *Bermuda*] the first Potata roots; which flourished exceedingly for a time, till by negligence they were almost lost; all but two cast-away A strange increase of Potatoes.

[1613] roots, that so wonderfully haue increased, they are a maine releefe to all the Inhabitants.

The attempt of two Spanish ships.

This ship was not long gone but there came two Spanish ships, sounding with their Boat, which attempted to come in: but from the Kings Castle, Master *More* made but two shot, which caused them presently depart. Marke here the handy-worke of the diuine prouidence, for they had but three quarters of a barrell of powder, and but one shot more; and the powder by carelesnesse was tumbled downe vnder the mussels of the two peeces, [which] were discharged, yet not touched with fire when they were discharged.

This feare thus past, appeares another much worse, which was the extremity of famine: in this extremity God sent Captaine *Daniel Elfrid* with a car[a]uell of meale, which a little relieued them; but brought withall so many Rats, that within two yeeres after neere ruined all. Now though *Elfrid* had deceiued his friend *Fisher* of this Caruell in the *West-Indies*, they reuenged *Fishers* iniury; for *Elfrid* had his passage for *England*, and they made vse of all he had.

Some two moneths after, came in the *Blessing* with an hundred Passengers; and two daies after, the *Starre* with a hundred and fourescore more, amongst which were many Gentlemen, as Master *Lower* for Marshall, Master *Barret*, Master *Felgate*, and diuers others; but very vnproper for what they vndertooke.

Within foureteene daies after, came in the *Margaret* and two Frygats, and in them one hundred and threescore Passengers; also Master *Bartlet* came now expresly to diuide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. But Master *More* finding no mention made of any part for himselfe nor all them with him, as he was promised in *England*, by no meanes would admit of any diuision, nor suffer his men from finishing their fortifications, which was so necessary, [that] it was his maine ambition to see that accomplished: but such vnkindnesse grew betwixt this Master *Bartlet* and [**180**] the Gouernour, that the rude multitude, with all the disdaine they could deuise, caused *Bartlet* [to] returne for *England* as he came.

About this time *William Millington* was drawne into the Sea by a fish, but neuer after euer seene.

The neglect of this diuision was very hardly conceited

in *England*, so that Master *More* grew more and more in dislike with the company; notwithstanding he followed the building of these Forts so earnestly, neglecting planting of Corne, till their store was neere all consumed, whereby they became so feeble and weake, some would not, others could not goe abroad to seeke releefe, but starued in their houses, and many that went abroad, through weaknesse were subiect to be suddenly surprized with a disease called the Feauges: which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriuing them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exercises, whether it were working, walking, or what else: being thus taken, if any presently gaue them food many times they straight recouered, yet some after a little rest would bee able to walke; but if they found not present succour, died. [1614]

1614. A great famine and mortalitie. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

About this time or immediatly before, came in a company of Rauens, which continued amongst them all the time of this mortality and then departed; which for anything knowne, neither before nor since were euer seene or heard of: this with diuers other reasons caused Master *More* to goe out to Sea, to see if he could discouer any other Ilands, but he went not farre ere ill weather forced him backe; and it were a noble aduenture of him [that] would vndertake to make more perfect all the dangers [that] are about the *Summer Iles*.

A strange being of Rauens

Thus famine and misery caused Gouernour *More* [to] leaue all his workes, and send them abroad to get what they could. One hundred and fifty of the most weake and sicke he sent to *Coupers* Ile, where were such infinite numbers of the Birds called Cahowes, which were so fearlesse they might take so many as they would; and that admired abundance of fish, that the extremity of their hunger, and their gluttony was such, those heauenly blessings they so consumed and wasted by carelesnesse and surfetting, many of them died vpon those silly Birds that offered themselues to the slaughter: which the Gouernour vnderstanding, caused them for change of aire to be remoued to *Port-royall*, and a Company of Fishers with a Boat to releeue them with fish. But the Gange grew so lazie the poore weaklings still died; they that remained killed the Cattle they found in the Ile, faining the heat caused them to runne into the Sea and so were drowned; so that the

All workes abandoned to get onely victuals.

[1614] Gouernour sent againe for them home, but some obtained leaue still to liue abroad; one amongst the rest hid himselfe in the Woods, and liued onely on Wilkes and land Crabs, fat and lusty many moneths.

But most of them being at Saint *Georges*, ordinarily was taken one hundred and fifty or two hundred great fishes daily for their food; for want of hookes and lines, the Smith made hookes of old swords, and lines of old ropes. But finding all those poore Engines also decay, they sent one of the two Frigats last left with them for *England*, to tell them of this misery.

All which was now attributed to Master *Mores* peruersnesse, who at first when he got the Amber-Greece had not such a generall applause, but now all the worst could possibly be suggested was too good for him; yet not knowing for the present how to send a better, they let him continue still, though his time was neere expired: and with all speed sent the *Welcome* fraught with prouision, where shee well arriued, and proued her selfe as welcome in deed as in name; for all those extremities, Master *Lewes Hues* writeth, not one of all those threescore that first beganne this Plantation was dead, which shewes it was not impossible, but industry might haue preuented a great part of the others sluggish carelesnesse.

A supply, and Master *Mores* returne.

This ship much refreshed this miserable Colony, but Master *More* seeing they sent not for him; his time being now expired, vnderstanding how badly they reputed him in *England*, and that his imploiment now was more for their owne ends then any good for himselfe, resolued directly to returne with this ship.

Hauing setled all things in the best order he could, [he] left the gouernment to the charge [181] of the counsell of six to succeed each other monethly, till they had further directions from *England*; whose names were Captaine *Miles Kendall*, Captaine *Iohn Mansfield*, *Thomas Knight*, *Charles Caldycot*, *Edward Waters*, and *Christopher Carter*, with twelue others for their assistances.

More thus taking leaue of those Ilands, arriued in *England*. Much wrangling they had, but at last they confirmed him according to promise eight shares of Land, and so he was dismissed of his charge, with shew of fauour and much friendship.

The rule of the six Gouernors. 1615.

THe first thing they did was casting of lots, who should rule first; which lot lighted vpon Master *Caldicot*. [1615]

This last supply somewhat abated the extremitie of their miseries, and the better in that their fortifications being finished, they had the more leasure to goe abroad with that meanes [which] was brought to that purpose to fish. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

Chard as you haue heard, whom all this while *More* had kept Prisoner, they set at libertie: now by reason of their former miseries, little or nothing could be done: yet this Gouernor hauing thus concluded his moneth, and prepared a Frigot and two and thirtie men, hee imbarked himselfe with two other of his fellow counsellers; namely *Knight* and *Waters*, for the West-Indies, to get Fruits and Plants, Goats, young Cattle, and such like.

But this poore vessell, whether through ill weather, or want of Mariners, or both, in stead of the *Indies* fell with the *Canaries*; where taking a poore *Portugall*, the which they manned with ten of their owne people, as soone after separated from her in a storme, and the next day [it] was taken by a French Pickaroune; so that the Frigot, out of hope of her prize, makes a second time for the West-Indies, where she no sooner arriued, but [she] foundred in the sea. But the men in their Boat recouered a desolate Ile, where after some few moneths stay, an English Pyrat tooke them in; and some of them at last got for *England*, and, some few yeares after, returned to the *Somer Iles*.

Captaine Iohn Mansfield *his moneth.*

THE Frigot thus gone, Captaine *Mansfield* succeeded. Then was contriued a petition, as from the generalitie, vnto the triumuerat Gouernors; wherein they supplicated, that by no

[1615] meanes they should resigne the gouernment to any [that] should come from *England*, vpon what tearmes soeuer, vntill six moneths after the returne of their ship sent to the West-Indies. About this vnwarrantable action, Master *Lewes Hues* their Preacher was so violent in suppressing it, that such discontents grew betwixt the Gouernors and him, and diuisions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemned, and imprisoned; but not long detained before released. Then the matter fell so hotly againe to be disputed betwixt him and one Master *Keath* a Scotchman, that professed scholarship, that made all the people in a great combustion: much adoe there was, till at last as they sate in the Church and ready to proceed to a iudicary course against Master *Hues*, suddenly such an extreme gust of wind and weather so ruffled in the trees and Church; some cried out a miracle; others, it was but an accident common in those Iles, but the noise was so terrible it disolued the assembly: notwithstanding, Master *Hues* was againe imprisoned, and as suddenly discharged; but those factions were so confused, and their relations so variable, that such vnnecessary circumstances were better omitted then any more disputed.

Master *Carter.* Captaine *Kendall* Captaine *Mansfield.*

THis mans moneth thus ended, begins Master *Carter*, which was altogether spent in quietnesse; and then Captaine *Miles Kendall* had the rule, whose moneth was also as quietly spent as his Predecessors. Then Captaine *Mansfield* begins his second moneth, when the ship called the *Edwin* arriued with good supplies. About this time diuers Boats going to sea were lost, and some men drowned; and [182] many of the Company repaired to Master *Hues*, that there might bee a Councell according to Master *Mores* order of sixe Gouernours, and twelue Assistants: whereupon grew as many more such silly brawles as before, which at last concluded with as simple a reconciliation.

In the *in*[*t*]*erim* happened to a certaine number of priuate persons as miserable and lamentable an accident, as euer was read or heard of, and thus it was:

In the month of March [1615], a time most subiect of all

others to such tempests; on a Friday there went seuen men in a boat of two or three tunnes, to fish. The morning being faire, so eager they were of their iourney, some went fasting: neither carried they either meat or drinke with them, but a few Palmeta berries: but being at their fishing place some foure leagues from the shoare, such a tempest arose, they were quickly driuen from the sight of land in an ouergrowne Sea, despairing of all hope, onely committing themselues to Gods mercy, let the boat driue which way shee would. [1615] A wonderfull accident.

On Sunday the storme being somewhat abated, they hoysed saile as they thought towards the Island. In the euening it grew starke calme; so that being too weake to vse their oares, they lay a drift that night.

The next morning *Andrew Hilliard* (for now all his compan[i]ons were past strength either to helpe him or themselues), before a small gale of winde, spred his saile againe.

On Tuesday one died, whom they threw ouer board. On Wednesday three. And on Thursday at night the sixt[h].

All these but the last were buried by *Hilliard* in the Sea, for so weake hee was growne hee could not turne him ouer as the rest, whereupon hee stripped him, ripping his belly with his knife, throwing his bowels into the water, hee spread his body abroad tilted open with a sticke, and so lets it lie as a cisterne to receiue some lucky raine-water, and this God sent him presently after, so that in one small shoure hee recouered about foure spoonefuls of raine water to his vnspeakable refreshment; he also preserued neere halfe a pint of blood in a shooe, which he did sparingly drinke of to moist his mouth. Two seuerall daies he fed on his flesh, to the quantity of a pound, on the eleuenth day from his loosing the sight of land, two flying fishes fals in his boat, whose warme iucie blood hee sucked to his great comfort. But within an houre after to his greater comfort you will not doubt, he once againe descried the land, and within foure houres after was cast vpon a rocke neere to Port royall, where his boat was presently split in pieces,but himselfe,though extreamly weake, made shift to clamber vp so steepe and high a rocke, as would haue troubled the ablest man in the Ile to haue done that by day [which] hee did by night.

[1615-6] Being thus astride on a rocke, the tumbling Sea had gotten such possession in his braines, that a good while it was before his giddy head would suffer him to venture vpon the forsaking it: towards the morning he craules a shore, and then to his accomplished ioy descernes where hee is, and trauels halfe a day without any refreshment then water; whereof wisely and temperately he stinted himselfe, otherwise certainly hee had drunke his last.

In which case hee attaines a friends house: where at the first they tooke him for a ghost, but at last acknowledged and receiued him with ioy; his story, after some houres of recouery of strength to tell it, [they] heard out with admiration: he was not long after conueyed to the towne, where he receiued his former health, and was liuing in the yeere 1622.

Treasure found in the *Summer Iles.*

The next newes that happened in this time of ease, was, that a merry fellow hauing found some few Dollars against the Flemish wracke, the bruit went currant the treasure was found, and they all made men. Much adoe there was to preuent the purloining of it, before they had it: vvhere after they had tyred themselues vvith searching, that they found amounted not to aboue twenty pounds starling, vvhich is not vnlike but to be the remainder of some greater store, washed from some wracke not farre from the shore.

A new Gouernor chosen.

The company, by the *Edwin* receiuing newes of the reuels [that] vvere kept in *Somer Iles*, resolued to make choice of a new Gouernour, called Master *Daniel Tuckar*, that a long time had beene a planter [in] *Virginia* in the gouernment of Captaine [**183**] *Smith* [*pp.* 129, 145].

All things being furnished for his voyage; hee set saile in the *George*, consorted vvith the *Edwin*, with many passengers, which being discouered by them in those Iles, they supposed them the Frigot sent to the West Indies; but when they vnderstood vvhat they vvere, much preparation they made to resist the new Gouernour.

Many great ostentations appeared on both sides, but vvhen the *quondam* Gouernour did see his men for most part forsake him, all was very well and quietly compounded; and with much kindnesse [they] receiued and welcomed [him] a shore, where his Commission was no sooner read, then they accepted and acknowledged him for their Gouernour.

The Gouernment of Captaine Daniel Tuckar.

1616.

ABout the midst of May [1616] arriued this Gouernor, where finding the Inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as also in a manner disdaining and grudging much to be commanded by him; it could not but passionate any man liuing. But at last, according to the *Virginia* order, hee set euery one [that] was with him at Saint *Georges*, to his taske, to cleere grounds, fell trees, set corne, square timber, plant vines and other fruits brought out of *England*. These by their taske-Masters by breake a day repaired to the wharfe, from thence to be imployed to the place of their imployment, till nine of the clocke, and then in the after-noone from three till Sunne-set. Beside meat, drinke and cloaths, they had for a time a certaine kinde of brasse money with a hogge on the one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges [that] was found at their first landing.

[1616]

Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

[*pp.* 149, 466, 502.]

This course thus squared, imitating diuers orders vsed in *Virginia* by Sir *Thomas Dale*: he began by them to looke into his instructions giuen by the Company. Whereupon by one Master *Richard Norwood* a Suruayor, sent ouer for that purpose, in the time of Master *Moore*, hee began to lay out the eight tribes in the maine, which were to consist of fifty shares to a tribe; and twenty five acers to euery share. He also began to plant some Colony men, on some of the especiall shares. He swore also certaine of the chiefe men of euery tribe to bee Bailiffes thereof; and

Captaine *Tuckars* proceedings.

[1616] appointed as many men as hee was able for all supplied shares. The goods landed in the store houses hee sent from thence, and dispersed it to his workemen in generall: some Boats also began to be builded; but the pinace called the *Thomas* [which it was] suspected might make an escape, was laid vp in a docke, were shee yet [1624] remaineth.

A Parke sent to the West Indies.

In the beginning of the second moneth of his gouernment, he directed warrants to all the Bailiffes, for the holding of a generall Assise at Saint *Georges*, and appointed Master *Stokes* Lieutenant of the Kings Castle at the Gurnets head. The *Edwin* [that] came with him, he sent to the West Indies by directions from *England*, to trade with the natiues, for cattell, corne, plants, and other commodities. A course of great importance, which had it been pursued, would certainly have produced more hopefull effects for the good of the Colony, then all the supplies and *Magazines* from *England* hath or will in a long time.

[*p.* 656.]

The Assises.

Presently after her departure, began the Assises, executed by his Deputy. The chiefe matter handled was the hanging one *Iohn Wood* a French man, for speaking many distastefull and mutinous speeches against the Gouernour, to shew the rest by that example, the power of his authority: which after with his owne hands he so oft executed with a bastinado amongst the poorer sort; many tearmed it a cruelty, not much lesse then tyranny: but the sequell is more then strange.

The strange aduenture of fiue men in a boat.

So it was that fiue of them, seeing by no meanes they could get passage for *England*, resolued to vndergoe all hazards but they would make an escape from such seruitude. The chiefe mariner and plotter of this businesse, was *Richard Sanders* and his confederates, *William Goodwin* a ship Carpenter, *Thomas Harison* a Ioyner, *Iames Barker* a Gentleman, and *Henry Puet*. These repairing to the Gouernour, and with pleasing insinuations told him, if hee would allow them but [**184**] things necessary, they would build him a boat of two or three tunnes, with a close decke, [that] should go a fishing [in] all weathers. The Gouernour halfe proud that hee had brought his men to so good a passe, as he conceiued, to offer themselues to so necessary a worke; instantly withall willingnesse furnished them with

all things they could desire, and many faire promises to incourage them to performe it with all expedition. Hauing made choise of a place most fit from molestation, they went forward with that expedition, that in a short time shee was brought to perfection. By this time, the ship that brought the Gouernour, being ready to depart, hee sends a lusty gange to goe [and] fetch his new boat to carry him aboard; but arriuing at the place where she was built, they could heare no more of her, but [that] she was gone the last euening to Sea, to try how shee would saile. [1616]

Much search and dispute was where this boat should be: but at last they found diuers letters in the cabbins, to this effect, directed to the Gouernour, and other their friends: that their hard and bad vsage was so intollerable, and their hope so smal euer againe to see their Countrey, or be deliuered from such seruitude, they did rather chuse to put themselues to that desperate hazard to goe for *England*, in which if they miscaried, as it was much to be mistrusted, their liues and bloods should be required at their hands [who] was the cause. A compasse Diall *Barker* had borrowed of Master *Hues*, to whom he writ that as hee had oft perswaded them to patience, and that God would pay them though none did: hee must now bee contented with the losse of his Diall, with his owne doctrine. Such leasure they found to bee merry when in the eye of reason they were marching into a most certaine ruine.

The Gouernour being thus satisfied of their escape, extreamly threatned them no lesse then a hanging, but the stormes of the Ocean they now more feared then him; good prouision by bartering they had got from the ship, where *Goodwin* in a brauado told the Mariners, though he could not be permitted to goe with them, yet peraduenture hee might be in *England* before them: whereat the Master and his Mate laughed merrily.

But hauing beene now vnder saile three weekes, the winds so fauoured them, they felt nothing of what they had cause to feare: then a blustering gale blowing in their teeth, put them to much extremity for diuers dayes, then becomming more gentle away they past prosperously some eight or ten dayes more, till meeting a French Piccaroune of whom they desired succour, hee like himselfe tooke from

[1616] them what hee liked, leauing them not so much as a crosse-staffe to obserue withall, and so cast them off: their course still they continued till their victuall began to fall to the lowest ebbe; and the very knees of their small vessell were halfe hewed away for fire wood.

At last to their infinit ioy they arriued in *Ireland*, where the Earle of *Tomund* honorably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung vp for a Monument; and well she might, for shee had sailed more then 3300 miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land: and I thinke since God made the world, the like nauigation was neuer done, nor heard of.

This fortunate *Sanders* going to the *East Indies*, in the rifling [of] some ships there tooke, it was his chance to buy an old chest for three or foure shillings; but because it wanted a key hee repented his bargaine, and would gladly haue sold it againe for lesse. A certaine time it lay tossed to and fro as a thing hee little regarded, but at last hauing little to doe, hee broke it open, where he found a thousand pounds starling, or so much gold as bought him in *England* a good estate: which leauing with his wife, he returned againe to the *East Indies*.

The *George* setting saile three dayes after this escape, the Gouernour seazed and confiscated all that those fugitiues left behinde them.

Plants from the West Indies. [*p.* 654.]

With in a weeke after, returned the *Edwin* from the *West Indies*, furnished with figges, pynes, sugar-canes, plantaines, papanes and diuers other plants; which were presently replanted, and since increased into greater numbers: also an *Indian* and a *Negar*, and so much *lignæ vit*[æ] as defrayed all the charge. The Gouernor thus busied amongst his plants, making hedges of Figtrees, and Pomgranets, and seuerall diuisions by [**185**] Palizadoes for the defence of their guarding and keeping their cattell, for in such husbandry qualities he well deserued great commendations.

The exploits of Captain *Powell*.

The Aduenturers to supply him sent with all speed they could, the *Hopewell*, a small Barke, but an excellent sailer; and in her one Captaine *Powell* an excellent Mariner, and well acquainted in the Indies where he was to goe [and] trade,

after he had landed his passengers in the Summer Iles: but in his iourney at the Westerne Iles meeting a *Brasile* man, hee liked the suger and passengers so well, hee man[ne]d the Caruill with his owne men, and continued his course, but bethinking himself how this would be entertained at the Summer Iles, hee found such doubts, hee went directly for the West Indies to take time to resolue what to doe. [1616]

Arriuing there hee met a French rouer, one euery way as cunning as himselfe, but much more trecherous. A great league of kindnesse is soone made betweene them; vpon confidence whereof, *Powell* and some of the chiefe with him being inuited aboord him, is easily entised, and in the midst of their cups both hee and his company treacherously made prisoners: and thus was forced to giue him their prise, or hang at the yards arme with all his company.

Hauing set them a shore, away goes the French man; *Powels* ship being but hard by, presently fetcht them all a boord: but finding his victuall neere spent, and no hope at all to recouer his prize, [he] set his Portugales on shore, and set saile for the Summer Iles; where safely arriuing, hee declared the whole passage to the Gouernour, lest some other in telling might make it worse, of which the Gouernour seemed well enough to approue.

This Gouernour still spent his time in good husbandry, although some of the snarling sort here in *England*, whom nothing will please, writ to him hee was fitter to be a Gardiner then a Gouernour: some time he spent in digging of a great pond, but that worke proued altogether vnprofitable.

The second Assise.

About that time was held the second Assise. The greatest matter passed, was a Proclamation against the spoile of Cahowes; but it came too late, for they were most destroyed before: a platforme [*battery*] hee caused to be erected by *Pagits* Fort, where a good Fort were very necessary.

Captaine *Powell* not hauing performed his seruice in the West Indies [that] he conditioned with the Company, is sent thither againe by this Gouernour, and thirteene or fourteene of his best men, furnished with all things necessary. In the meane time the Company vnderstanding, that in Ianuary, February and March, there are many Whales; for which fishing they sent the Neptune, a

[1616–7] tall ship well prouided with euery thing fitting for that purpose. But before she arriued, Captaine *Tuckar*, who had brought also with him most prouisions for that imploiment, sent three good Shalops to try what could be done: but whether it was the swiftnes of the Whale in swimming, or the condition of the place, certaine it is for all their labour and hazard, they could kill none, though they strucke many.

1617. The third Assise. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

To begin his second yeere, he called the third Assise, where diuers were punished as their faults deserued: three were condemned to die; two were repri[e]ued, but the third was hanged: the next day there was also a leuy for the repairing two Forts; but that labour tooke not such effect as was intended, for want of good directions.

The countrey neere deuoured with rats.

But the great God of heauen being angry at somewhat happened in those proceedings, caused such an increase of silly rats, in the space of two yeeres so to abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed, but swimming from place to place, spread themselues into all parts of the Countrey, insomuch that there was no Iland but it was pestered with them; and some fishes haue beene taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in swimming from Ile to Ile: their nests they had almost in euery tree, and in most places their burrowes in the ground like conies: they spared not the fruits of the plants, or trees, nor the very plants themselues, but ate them vp. When they had set their corne, the rats would come by troupes in the night and scratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any escaped till it came to earing, it should then very hardly escape them: and they became noysome euen to the very persons of men.

They vsed all the diligence they could for the destroying of [186] them, nourishing cats both wilde and tame, for that purpose; they vsed ratsbane, and many times set fire on the woods, that oft ran halfe a mile before it was extinct; euery man was enioyned to set twelue traps, and some of their owne accord haue set neere an hundred, which they euer visited twice or thrice in a night; they also trained vp their dogges to hunt them, wherein they became so expert, that a good dog in two or three houres

would kil forty or fifty. Many other deuices they vsed to destroy them, but could not preuaile, finding them still increasing against them: nay they so deuoured the fruits of the earth, that they were destitute of bread for a yeere or two; so that when they had it afterwards, they were so wained [*weaned*] from it, they easily neglected to eat it with their meat. Besides they endeuoured so much for the planting [of] Tobacco for present gaine, that they neglected many things [that] might more haue preuailed for their good; which caused amongst them much weaknesse and mortality, since the beginning of this vermine. [1617]

A strange confusion of rats.

At last it pleased God, but by what meanes it is not well knowne, to take them away; in so much that the wilde cats and many dogs which liued on them, were famished, and many of them leauing the woods, came downe to their houses, and to such places where they vse to garbish their fish, and became tame. Some haue attributed the destruction of them to the encrease of wild cats, but that is not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then foure yeeres before; and the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw some companies of them leaue the woods, and slew themselues for want of food. Others by the coldnesse of winter, which notwithstanding is neuer so great there as with vs in March, except it be in the wind: besides the rats wanted not the fethers of young birds and chickins, which they daily killed, and Palmeta mosse to build themselues warme nests out of the wind, as vsually they did; neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swimme from place to place, and bee very fat euen in the midst of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, so wee need not doubt, but that in the speedy encrease of this vermine; as also by the preseruation of so many of them by such weake meanes as they then enioyed, and especially in the so sudden remouall of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with and besides the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more mediate and secret worke of God.

About this time *Henry Long*, with seuen others in an extreame storme were cast away, but three of them

[1617] escaped. One of them being asked what hee thought in the worst of that extremity, answered, he thought [of] nothing but *gallowes claime thy right*: and it seemes God well heard his prayer, and rewarded his ingratitude; for he was hanged within halfe a yeere after.

In that March [1617] also fiue men went to Sea, but as yet was neuer heard of; and three more [were] drowned in a boat.

By *Hilliards* house grew a very faire Cedar, which by a thunder clap was rent almost to small shiuers, and a man [that] stood by him and *Samuel Tanton*, [was] most fearfully blasted; yet neither they, the house, nor a little childe: yet a paire of racks in the house was all torne to fitters.

The *Neptune* not long after arriuing to fish for whale, her fortune proued no better then the Gouernours; yet some are of opinion, profit might be made by them.

The returne of Master *Powel* from the Indies.

In May [1617] they discried foure saile, so that manning all their Forts, they stood two daies in Armes, expecting what they were: at last they found it Master *Powell* returned from the West-Indies in the *Hopewell*, where missing such trade as he expected, these three Frigots comming in his way, he could not chuse but take them. Meale, Hides and Munition was their lading. Faire weather the Gouernor made with *Powell*, till he had got all the goods into his owne possession, and then called *Powell* to a strict account for doing such an vnwarrantable act; much a doe then was betwixt the taker and receiuer: but *Powell* was glad to be excused to answer it in *England*, leauing all hee had taken behinde him in the Iles. The *Neptune* also returned with him, but noble *Powell* lost all his pay and pillage for [187] this yeeres worke. For which the Company sent for to *Tuckar*, so that he also lost his part as well as *Powell*.

Notwithstanding, the Gouernour by this meanes being strong in shipping, fitted the Caruill with twelue men, vnder the command of *Edward Waters* formerly spoken of, and sent them to *Virginia* about such businesse as hee had conceiued. Arriuing there, they obtained some goates, and hogs, and what they could spare, and so returned for the *Summer Iles*; but whether they could not finde the Iles for want of skill, or [were] beaten off by ill weather; or the ill will they bare the Gouernor, it matters not much:

[*pp.* 591, 638, 640, 648, 649.]

but they bare vp again for *Virginia*, where they all remained, and would returne no more to *Summer Iles*. [1617–8]

The Gouernour thinking to make some vse of the hides, set some that professed themselues Tanners, to make tryall of their skill; but they lost their labours and spoiled the hides.

A supposed mutiny by Master *Pollard*, and Master *Rich*.

Also he called another Assise concerning a poore fellow called *Gabriel*, for concealing some speeches Master *Pollard* and Master *Rich* should vse, tending to the disreputation of the Gouernour, and his iniustice and cruelties; which being brought within the compasse of sedition and mutiny, though a yeere agoe: many were called in question about it, although euery one ordinarily had spoke as much. Yet *Gabriel* for example sake was condemned to bee hanged; and was vpon the ladder, but reprieued. The other two Master *Pollard*, and Master *Rich* were imprisoned; but vpon better consideration, the fact appeared so small and ridiculous, vpon their submission they were pardoned, and restored to their places.

The diuision of the Summer Iles into Tribes, by Master Richard Norwood, *Surueyor.*

1618. The diuision of the Iles into Tribes. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer.

According to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, Master *Norwood* tooke a plot of the Ile, and diuided it with as much faithfulnes as he could, assigning to euery Aduenturer his share or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to bee called the generall land, and imployed for publike vses, as for the maintenance of the Gouernour, Ministers, Commanders of Forts, souldiers, and such like: and to this end was assigned *S. Georges* Iland, *S. Dauids* Iland, *Longbridge* Iland, *Smiths* Iland, *Coopers* Iland, *Cony* Iland, *Nonesuch* Iland, part of the maine, and sundry other small Iles. The rest was to be diuided into eight parts, each part to be called a tribe, and to haue his denomination of some principall person that was Aduenturer therein:

[1618] and accordingly the first Tribe to bee Eastward, was then called *Bedfords* Tribe, now *Hamiltons*: the second, *Smiths*: Tribe the third, *Cavendish*, now *Deuonshires:* the fourth, *Pembrooks*: the fift, *Pagits*: the sixt, *Mansils* now *Warwicks*: the seuenth, *Southhampton*: the eighth, *Sand*[*y*]*s*: in the honours of the Right honorable the Marquis *Hamilton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the *Lord Pagit*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Southhampton*, and Sir *Edwin Sand*[*y*]*s*.

Againe each of those Tribes were to bee diuided into fifty parts, called shares; and euery Aduenturer to haue his shares in these tribes as was determined, by casting lots in *England*, the manner of it appeares by the *Map*, and more largely by his Booke of the Suruay of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony.

And then began this which was before as you haue heard, but as an vnsetled and confused Chaos, to receiue a a disposition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation. [188]

The names of the Aduenturers, and their shares *in euery Tribe, according to the suruey, and* the best information yet ascertained, of any of their alterations.

Hamiltons Tribe.

	Share[s].
James L. Marquis Hamil[*ton*].	6
Sir Edward Harwood.	4
Master *Iohn Delbridge.*	3
Master *Iohn Dike*	3
Master *Ellis Roberts.*	2
Master *Robert Phips.*	1
Master *Ralph King.*	1
Master *Quicks assignes.*	2
Master *William Canni*[*n*]*g.*	4
Master *William Canni*[*n*]*g.*	1
Master *William Web.*	1
Master *Iohn Bernards assignes.*	2
Master *Elias Roberts Iun.*	1
Master *Iohn Gearing.*	2
Master *Cleophas Smith.*	2
Robert Earle of Warwick.	4
Master *Thomas Couell.*	3
Master *Greenwels assignes.*	1
Master *Cley.*	1
Master *Powlson.*	2
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1½
Common land for conueniency.	25
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1½

Master *George Thorps assignes.* 1

2. Smiths Tribe.

	Shares.
Sir Dudley Digs assignes.	2
Master *Richard Edwards.*	2
Master *William Pane.*	4
Master *Robert Smith.*	2
Master *George Barkley assignes.*	5
Sir Samuel Sand[y]s.	1
Master *Anthony Pennistone.*	4
Sir Edwin Sand[y]s.	5
Sir Thomas Smith.	5
Master *Richard More.*	4
Master *Ad[am] Brumfield.*	2
Master *Robert Iohnson Alderman.*	5
Master *Iohn Wroth.*	3
Master *George Smith.*	4

3. Deuonshire Tribe.

	Shares.
Master *Anthony Penistone.*	2
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1
Master *Iohn Dike.*	1
Master *Iohn Bernards heires.*	2
Robert Earle of Warwick.	2
Master *Francis West.*	2
William Lord Cavendish.	5
William Earle of Deuonshire	5
Master *Edward Luckin.*	5
Master *Edward Ditchfield.*	1
Master *Edward Ditchfield.*	4
Master *William Nicols.*	2
Master *Edward Ditchfield.*	1
Master *Iohn Fletcher.*	2
Master *Gedion Delawne.*	2
Master *Anthony Pennistone.*	3
Master *Best.*	2
Master *Edward Luckin.*	2
Master *Richard Rogers.*	2
Master *William Palmer.*	4

[1618]

4. Pembrookes Tribe.

Master *George Smith.*	4
Gleab land.	2
Master *Nicholas Hide.*	1
Sir Lawrence Hide.	1
Master *Thomas Iudwyn.*	2
William Earle of Pembroke.	10
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *Harding.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *Elias Roberts.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *Iacobsons assignes.*	1
Master *Iohn Farrar.*	1
Master *Nicholas Farrar.*	1
Master *Nicholas Farrar.*	1
Master *William Canning.*	2
Master *Richard Martin.*	2
Master *Moris Abbot.*	2
Master *Richard Caswell.*	1
Master *Richard Caswell.*	2
Master *William Caswell.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	2
Master *Richard Caswell.*	1
Master *Richard Edwards.*	1
Master *George Sand[y]s assignes.*	2
Master *William Paine.*	2

5. Pagits Tribe.

Master *Iohn Chamberlaine.*	5
Master *Thomas Ayres, and* Master *Richard Wiseman.*	4
Master *Richard Wiseman.*	1
William Lord Pagit.	10

[1618]

Master *William Palmer.* 4
Master *Bagnell.* 5
Master *Iohn Bale.* 1
Master *Wheatley.* 4
Master *Christopher Barron.* 4
Master *Iohn Wodall.* 1
Master *Iohn Wodall.* 1
Master *Lewis.* 2
Master *Owen Arthors assignes.* 2
Master *George Etheridge.* 4
2
Sir VVilliam VVade. 1
Master *Iohn Bernards heires.* 1

6. Warwicks Tribe.

Shares.

Master *VVheatley.* 2
Captaine Daniel Tuckar. 2
Master *William Felgate.* 1
Robert Earle of Warwicke. 5
Master *George Smith.* 5
Master *Samuel Tickner.* 2
Master *Francis Mevell.* 1
Master *S[t]ephen Sparrow* 1
Master *Ioseph Man.* 5
Captaine Daniel Tuckar. 2
Master *Elias More.* 1
Doctor Anthony Hunton. 2
Master *Francis Moverill.* 1
Master *Richard Poulson.* 1
Master *Mathew Shephard.* 1
Master *George Tuckar.* 10
Master *Ch[arles] Clitheroe.* 1
Master *George Swinow.* 2
Master *Richard Tomlings.* 1
Master *Francis Meverill.* 1
Master *Iohn Waters.* 2
Master *Martin Bond.* 2

7. Southamptons Tribe.

Captaine Daniel Tuckar. 4
Master *Iohn Britton.* 1
Master *Richard Chamberland.* 3
Master *Leonard Harwods assignes.* 1
Master *Iohn Banks.* 1
Sir Nathanael Rich. 12
Robert Earle of VVarwicke. 3 [189]
Master *Richard More.* 6
Master *George Scot.*
Master *Edward Scot.* } 6
Master *Anthony Abdy.*
Henry Earle of Southampton. 4
Master *Andrew Broumfield.* 2
Master *Henry Timbed.* 2
Sir Thomas Hewet. 2
Master *Perce.* 1
Sir Ralph Winwood. 2

8. Sandys Tribe.

Shares.

M. *George Barcklies heires.* 5
Sir Edwin Sand[y]s. 5
Master *Ierom Hidon.* 10
Master *Thomas Millin and* } 2
Master *Iohn Cuffe.* }
Master *Robert Chamberlaine* 2
Master *Abr. Chamberlaine.* 1
Master *George Smith.* 2
Master *Robert Gore.* 3
Sir Edward Sackvile. 1
Sir Iohn Dauers. 1
Master *Robert Gore.* 2
Master *Iohn Delbridge.* 1
Master *Iohn VVroth.* 1
Master *Iohn VVests heires.* 4
Master *Richard Chamberlaine.* 10

Touching the common ground in each Tribe, as also the ouer-plus, you may finde that at large in the Booke of Surueyes amongst their Records. [1618]

Now though the Countrey was small, yet they could not conueniently haue beene disposed and well setled, without a true description and a suruey of it; and againe, euery man being setled where he might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their houshold accordingly: then they built no more Cabbens, but substantiall houses; they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yeeld them their fruits in a few moneths, but also such as would affoord them profit within a few yeares, so that in a short time the Countrey began to aspire, and neerely approach vnto that happinesse and prosperitie, wherein now it flourisheth, &c.

But to follow the History; vpon the best plot of ground [that] could be found, the Gouernor preuailed so much with the generalitie, they built a faire house of Cedar: which being done, he appropriated it to himselfe, which occasioned exceeding much distaste. 1618.

About this time arriued the *Diana* with a good supply of men and prouision, and the first Magazin euer seene in those Iles; which course is not so much commended here, as cursed and abhorred by reason of enhansements of all the Inhabitants there; six or seuen weeks this ship staied, then hauing towards her fraught thirtie thousand [pounds] weight of Tobacco: which prouing good, and comming to a lucky Market, gave great encouragement to the Aduenturers to goe lustily forward in their Plantation; and without such successe, there is nothing but grudging and repining. The first Magazin.

But about the appropriation of this new built house, many bad discontents grew betwixt the oppressed Colony and the Gouernor; especially betwixt him and the Minister, and *Lewes*, who would neither be feared with threats nor imprisonment, that their malice continued till they met in *England*: of which the Minister made the cause so plaine, [that] hee very well and honestly, it seemes, discharged himselfe.

Now in those times of these endlesse vnciuill broiles, two desperate men and a proper Gentlewoman got into a

[1618] Boat, and thinking to make an escape to *Virginia*, as appeared by some Letters they left behinde them, were neuer more heard on.

Two exploits of desperate Fugitiues.

The very next moneth after, the like was attempted by six others, so desirous they were to be rid of their seruitude; but their plot being discouered by one of their societie, they were apprehended, arraigned, and condemned to be hanged: the next day being led with halters about their neckes to the place of execution, one was hanged, and the rest repri[e]ued.

The arriuall of the *Blessing*.

The *Diana* arriuing well in *England*, for all the infinite numbers of complaints, the Tobacco did helpe to sweeten all manner of grieuances; yet it bred a distaste in the opinions of so many, they began to thinke of another Gouernor: but for that time it was so qualified by diuers of his friends, they dispatched away the *Blessing*, which arriued in the *Somer Iles*.

Though their generall Letter was faire and courteous to the Gouernor, yet by the report of the Passengers and diuers particular letters from his friends, it was assured him his cruelty and couetousnesse, for all his paines and industry, was much disliked, nor was he like[ly] to enioy his [**190**] house, and that land he had planted for himselfe by the extreme oppression of the Comminalty. This caused so many ielousies to arise in his conceit, that at last he fully resolued to returne by this ship; that no sooner set saile for *England*, then they proceeded to the nomination of a new Gouernor.

Many were presented according to the affections of those that were to giue in their voices, but it chiefely rested betwixt one Captaine *Southwell*, and one Master *Nathaniel Butler*; where wee will leaue them a while to the consideration of the Court and Company.

Now Captaine *Tuckar* hauing instituted Captaine *Kendall* one of the six Gouernors before spoken of, for his substitute, returned with this ship directly for *England*; as well to excuse himselfe of those obiections he suspected, as to get assured him the house and land he had alotted for himselfe, lest it might otherwise be disposed of in his absence.

Collected out of their Records by N.B. *and the relations of Master* Pollard, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Miles Kendall, *Deputy for Captaine* Tuckar.

THE vnexpected returne [*to England*] of Captaine *Tuckar*, caused a demurre in the election of the new Gouernor; some perswading these oft changes were so troublesome, dangerous, and chargeable, it were best to continue Captaine *Kendall*; others againe stood for Captaine *Tuckar*: but during the time of these opinions, the *Gilliflower* was dispatched with a supply. [1618] The arriuall of two ships.

Now I should haue remembred, *Tuckar* was no sooner out of the harbour, but he met Master *Elfred* in a ship called the *Treasurer*, sent from *Virginia* to trade: by her he writ to his Deputy Master *Kendall*, to haue a care of all things, and beware of too much acquaintance with this ship, which hee suspected was bound for the West-Indies. Notwithstanding, *Elfred* receiued what kindnesse the Ile could afford; he promised to reuisit them at his returne. This done, because they would not be gouernlesse when his Deputiship was expired, there was a generall assembly, and by that Election *Kendall* was confirmed to succeed still Gouernor.

Now they began to apply themselues to the finishing [of] some plat-forme about *Smiths* Fort, and laying the foundation of a Church to be built of Cedar, till the *Gillyflower* arriued with some priuate letters to *Kendall*, how he was elected Gouernor of those Iles for three yeeres.

During her stay, they held their Assises, where for some

[1618-9] few suspected facts three were condemned, and the better to terrifie the rest, led to the place of execution, but reprieued; diuers of the rest had their faults pardoned, and the *Gilliflower* set saile for *New found land*.

Captaine *Butler* chosen Gouernor.

The loue and kindnesse, honesty and industry of this Captaine *Kendall*, hath beene very much commended; by others, somewhat disliked: but an Angell in those imploiments cannot please all men, yet this consideration bred much ill bloud as well here as there, so that the Company directly concluded, Captaine *Butler* should with what expedition they could, goe to be their Gouernor:

In the *Interim* they tooke the opportunitie of a ship, called the *Sea-flower*, bound for Virginia; and by her sent a Preacher and his Family, with diuers Passengers, and newes of a new Gouernor. This bred a great distaste amongst many, that still they should haue new officers and strangers for their Gouernors they neuer heard of, and themselues still kept there whether they would or no, without any preferment, no nor scarce any of them their inhabiting, to haue any land at all of their owne, but liue all as tenants, or as other mens poore seruants.

About this time came in Captaine *Kerby* with a small Barke from the West-Indies: who hauing refreshed himselfe, was very kindly vsed by the Gouernor; [191] and so departed.

Not long after a Dutch Frigot was cast away vpon the Westerne shore; yet by the helpe of the English they saued the men, though the ship perished amongst the Rocks.

A little after, one Ensigne *Wood* being about the loading of a peece, by thrusting a pike into the concauitie, grating vpon the shot, or somewhat about the powder, strucke fire within her and so discharged, but wounded him cruelly and blew him into the Sea: though hee was got out by some that stood by him, yet hee died of those wounds.

Within two or three daies after, Captaine *Elfred* now comes in a second time: but of that we shall say more in the gouernment of Captaine *Butler*; who presently after arriued with a good supply, and was kindly entertained by Captaine *Kendall* and all the Colony.

From a relation of Thomas Sparks, *and diuers others.*

The Gouernment of Captaine Nathaniel Butler.

CAptaine *Butler* being arriued the twentieth of October, 1619. some mutterings there was how to maintaine their election of Captaine *Kendall*; but better remembring themselues, that conceit quickly dissolued. [1619]

The next day [20 *Oct.*], *Kendall*, the Ministers, and the Counsell went aboord to salute the new Gouernor, where after they had dined with the best entertainment he could giue them; they saw the Redout belonging to the Kings Castle by a mischance on fire, whither he repaired with all the meanes he could to quench it; but all the platforme and cariages were consumed before their faces, and they could not helpe it. A plat-forme burnt, and much hurt by a *Hericano*. 1619.

Two daies after he went vp to the Towne, had his Commission publikely read, made a short speech to the Company, and so tooke vpon him the gouernment. Then presently he began to repaire the most necessary defects.

The next moneth, came in the *Garland*, sent from *England* six or seuen weekes before him; so that being seuenteene weeks in her voyage, it was so tedious and grieuous to diuers of the Fresh-water Passengers, that such a sicknesse bred amongst them, many died as well Sailers as Passengers. Hauing taken the best order he could for their releefe, [he] passed through all the Tribes, and held his first Assise in Captaine *Tuckars* house [*p.* 665] at the ouer-plus [*i.e., on the spare land not yet appropriated to any particular share*].

Towards the last of this moneth of Nouember [1619] there arose a most terrible storme or *Hericano*, that blew vp many great trees by the roots: the *Warwick* that

[1619-20] brought the Gouernor was cast away, but the *Garland* [that] rid by her, saued her selfe by cutting downe her Masts; and not long after a second storme, no lesse violent then the first, wherein the Mount (which was a frame of wood built by Master *More* for a Watch-tower to looke out to Sea) was blowne vp by the roots, and all that Winter crop of corne blasted. And thus was the new Gouernor welcomed.

The refortifying the Kings Castle.

With the beginning of the new yeere [1620] he began his first peece of fortification, vpon a Rocke which flankers the Kings Castle, and finding the ship called the *Treasurer* starke rotten and vnseruiceable, hee tooke nine peeces of Ordinance from her to serue other vses. The *Garland* for want of meanes, could not make her voiage to *Virginia* as she was appointed; wherefore he entertained her to returne to *England*, with all the Tabacco they had in the Ile. It was Ianuary [1620] before she departed, in which time, shee failed not much to haue beene twice cast away.

But those strange and vnauoidable mischances, rather seemed to quicken the Gouernors industry then to dull it. Hauing finished the Church begun by Captaine *Kendall*, with an infinite toile and labour he got three peeces out of the wracke *VVarwicke*. Hauing an excellent Dutch Carpinter he entertained of them that were cast away in the Dutch Frigot; he imploied him in building of Boats, whereof they were in exceeding great want. [*pp.* 669, 674.]

In February [1620], they discouered a tall ship beating too and againe, as it seemed by her working, being ignorant of the Coast; some thought her a *Spaniard* to view their Forts, which stand most to [**192**] that part she so neerely approached; some, English; but the most, some Dutch man of Warre: The wind blew so high, they durst not send out a Boat, though they much doubted she would be foule of their Rocks; but at last she bore vp rommy for the Sea, and we heard of her no more.

Amber-greece found.

That euening, a lucky fellow it should seeme he was, that found a peece of Ambergreece of eight ounces, as he had twice before; which bringing to the Gouernor, he had ready money for the one halfe, after three pound an ounce, according to their order of Court, to encourage others to looke out for more, and preuent the mischiefe insueth by concealing of it.

Within a few daies after, they descried two Frigots that came close to the shore, and sent a Letter to the Gouernor, writ in *Italian*, that they were *Hollanders* had beene in the West-Indies, and desired but to arriue, refresh themselues with wood and water, and so be gone. The Gouernor forthwith sent them to vnderstand, that being there vnder his Maiestie of *England* to command those Iles, he was to carrie himselfe a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; if therefore he could shew a lawfull Commission for his being honestly and nobly emploied, he and his should be kindly welcome, otherwise they were to aduenture at their perills. [1620]

The arriuall of two Dutch Frigots.

But his Commission was so good, he staied there two moneths, and was so well fitted with Oile and Bacon, they were all glad and happy of this Dutch Captaine *Scoutans* arriuall; with many thanks to their old friend Captaine *Powell* that had conducted him thither. The Colony being exceedingly in great want and distresse, bought the most part of it at reasonable rates; so Captaine *Scoutan* returned to the West-Indies, and Captaine *Powell* for his part in the Low-Countries.

Whilest these things were in action, the Aduenturers in *England* made many a long looke for their ships; at last the *Garland* brought them all the newes, but the Tobacco was so spoiled either in the leaking ship, or the making vp, it caused a great suspicion there could none [that] was good come from those Iles; where (were they but perfit in the cure) questionlesse it would be much better then a great quantitie of that they sell for *Verinas*, and many a thousand of it in *London* hath beene bought and sold by that title.

The Gouernor being cleere of those distractions, falls vpon the restoring of the burnt Redoubt, where he cuts out a large new plat-forme, and mounts seuen great peece[s] of Ordnance vpon new cariages of Cedar. Now amongst all those troubles, it was not the least to bring the two Ministers to subscribe to the Booke of Common Praier, which all the Bishops in *England* could not doe. Finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, [he] bethought himselfe of the Liturgie of *Garnsey and Iarse*, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at, were omitted. No sooner was this propounded, but it was gladly imbraced

The differences betwixt the Ministers.

[1620] by them both, whereupon the Gouernor translated it *verbatim* out of French into English, and caused the eldest Minister vpon Easter day [16 *April* 1620] to begin the vse thereof at *Saint Georges* towne; where himselfe, most of the Councell, Officers and Auditorie receiued the Sacrament: the which forme they continued during the time of his gouernment.

Much about this time, in such a faire morning that had inuited many Boats farre out to the Sea to fish, did rise such a *Hericano* that much indangered them all, so that one of them with two Boies were driuen to Sea and neuer more heard of.

The rebuilding the Mount.

The Ministers thus agreed, a Proclamation was published for keeping of the Sabbath; and all the defective cariages he endeuoured to haue renewed; [he also] builded a small Boat of Cedar onely to goe with Ores, to be ready vpon any occasion to discouer any shipping, and tooke order euery Fort should haue the like. Also caused numbers of Cedars to be brought from diuers places in flotes, to rebuild the Mount, which with an vnspeakable toile, was raised seuen foot higher then before, and a Falcon mounted at the foot, to be alwaies discharged for a warning to all the Forts vpon the discouery of any shipping: and this he called Rich Mount. This exceeding toile and labour, hauing no Cattle but onely mens [193] strengths, caused many petitions to the Gouernour, that all those generall works might cease till they had reaped their haruests, in that they were in great distresse for victuall; which hee so well answered, their owne shames did cause them desist from that importunity, and voluntarily performe as much as hee required.

The Tombe of Sir *George Summers.*

Finding accidentally a little crosse erected in a by place, amongst a many of bushes, vnderstanding there was buried the heart and intrailes of Sir *George Summers*, hee resolued to haue a better memory for so worthy a Souldier, then that. So finding also a great Marble stone brought out of *England*, hee caused it by Masons to bee wrought handsomely and laid ouer the place, which hee inuironed with a square wall of hewen stone, Tombe like; wherein hee caused to bee grauen this *Epitaph* he had composed, and fixed it vpon the Marble stone; and thus it was,

In the yeere 1 6 1 1, [1620]
Noble Sir George Summers *went hence to heauen*;
Whose well tri'd worth that held him still imploid,
Gaue him the knowledge of the world so wide.
Hence 't was by heauens decree, that to this place
He brought new guests, and name to mutuall grace.
At last his soule and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart.

Their manner of lawes reformed.

Vpon the sixt of Iune [1620], began the second Assise, that reduced them to the direct forme vsed in *England*. For besides the Gouernour and Councell: they haue the Bailiffes of the Tribes, in nature of the Deputy Lieutenants of the shires in *England*, for to them are all precepts and warrants directed, and accordingly answered and respected; they performe also the duties of Iustices of Peace, within their limits. The subordinate Officers to these in euery tribe, are the Constables, Head-borowes, and Church-wardens; these are the triers of the Tobacco, which if they allow not to be marchantable, is burnt: and these are the executioners of their ciuill and politicke causes.

Martiall Officers.

For points of warre and martiall affaires, they haue the Gouernour for Lieutenant generall, the Sergeant maior, Master of Ordinance, Captaines of Companies, Captaines of Forts, with their seuerall officers, to traine and exercise those numbers vnder their charge, in martiall discipline.

Ciuill Officers and Courts.

Concerning their Courts for decision of right and iustice, the first, though last in constitution, is their generall assembly; allowed by the state in *England*, in the nature of a Parliament, consisting of about forty persons; *viz.* the Gouernour, the Counsell, the Bailiffes of the tribes, and two Burgesses of each tribe chosen by voyces in the tribe, besides such of the Clergie as the Gouernour thinkes most fit, to be held once a yeere, as you shal heare more thereof hereafter.

The next Court is the Assise or Iayles of deliuerie, held twice euery yeere, in Christmas, and Whitson weeke, for all criminall offenders, and ciuill causes betwixt party and party; as actions of debt, trespasse, battery, slander,

[1620] and the like: and these are determined by a Iury of twelue men, and aboue them is also a grand Iury to examine matters of greater consequence.

The last day of the Assise might also well be held a Court, for hearing the trangressions in matters of contempt, misbehauiour towards any Magistrate, riots, seditious speakers, contemners of warrants, and such like.

There are also as occasion shall require, many matters heard by the Gouernor, or his Officers, and oft iustice done in seuerall places; but those are but as daies of hearing, and as preparatiues against their Courts, &c.

The second Assise. At this last Assize eighteene were arrained for criminall causes, a number very extraordinary considering the place; but now occasioned by reason of the hard yeere, and the store of ill chosen new commers: of these, some were censured to the whipping post, some burned in the hand, but two were condemned to die, yet the one was reprieued, the other hanged; this done, euery man returned to his home.

[*pp.* 669, 670.] Many trials they made againe about the Warwicke, but to small purpose, [**194**] her Ordnance being lashed so fast they could not be vnlcosed, till the ropes and decks were rotten, yet some few buttes of beare being flotie they got, which though it had lien six moneths vnder water was very good: notwithstanding the next yeere [1621], they recouered fiue peeces of Ordnance.

A generall assemblie in manner [of] a Parliament. Vpon the first of August [1620], according to the Companies instructions from *England*, began the generall assembly at the towne of Saint *George*, which was the first these Iles euer had: consisting as is said, of the Gouernour, Councell, Bailiffes, and Burgesses, and a Secretarie to whom all bils were presented, and by him openly read in the house, also a Clerke to record the Acts, being thirty two in all; fifteene of which [Acts] being sent into *England*, were by a generall consent receiued and enacted, the titles whereof are these following: as for all the reasons for them, they would be too tedious to recite.

Their Acts.

The first was against the vniust sale and letting of apprentises and other seruants, and this was especially for the righting the vndertakers in *England*.

The second, concerning the disposing of aged,

diseased, and impotent persons: for it being considered how carelesse many are in preferring their friends, or sending sometimes any they can procure to goe, such vnseruiceable people should be returned back at their charge that sent them, rather then be burdensome to the poore Inhabitants in the Ilès. [1620]

The third, the necessary manning the Kings Castle, being the key of the Ile, that a garison of twelue able men should bee there alwaies resident: and 3000. eares of corne, and 1000. pounds of Tobacco payed them by the generality yeerely, as a pension.

The fourth, against the making vnmarchantable Tobacco; and Officers sworne to make true trials, and burne that was naught.

The fift, inioyned the erection of certaine publike bridges, and the maintenance of them.

The sixt, for a continuall supply of victuall for all the Forts, to bee preserued, till some great occasion to vse it.

The seuenth was, for two fixed dayes euery yeere for the Assises.

The eight, commands the making of high-waies, and prohibiting the passage ouer mens grounds and planted fields; as well to preuent the spoyling of gardens, as conueniencie to answer any alarum.

The ninth, for the preseruing young tortoises and birds, that were carelesly destroyed.

The tenth prouided against vagabonds, and prohibited the entertainement of other mens seruants.

The eleuenth compelled the setting of a due quantity of corne for euery family.

The twelfth, the care corne being set, enioyned the keeping vp of their poultry till it was past their reaches.

The thirteenth, for the preseruation of sufficient fences, and against the felling of marked trees appointed for bounds.

The fourteenth, granted to a leuy for a thousand pound weight of Tobacco, towards the payment of publike workes, as the bridges and the mount.

The fifteenth, for the enioyning an acknowledgement

[1620] and acception of all resident Gouernours, and the warranting him to continue, though his time be expired, till the arriuall of a legitimate successor from *England*, to preuent all vnmeet and presumptuous elections: besides it was desired by petition in *England*, the new Gouernour should liue two months as a priuate man after his arriuall, if his predecessor did stay so long, the better to learne and obserue his course.

And these are the contents of those fifteene Acts, applied as you may perceiue: which the lawes of *England* could not take notice of, because euery climate hath somewhat to it selfe in that kinde in particular; for otherwise as it is conceiued, it had beene a high impudency and presumption to haue medled with them, or indeed with any such as these lawes, that had with such great iudgement and iustice alwaies prouided for.

The arriuall of the *Magazin* ship.

No sooner was this businesse ouer, but the *Magazin* ship is discouered, and that night came into the Harbour; but in a very weake and sickly case, hauing cast ouer board twenty or thirty of her people: and so violent was the infection, that the most part of the sailers, as well as passengers, were so sicke, or dismaid, or both, that the Master confessed, had they stayed at the Sea but a weeke longer, they had all perished.

There arriued with this ship diuers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their wiues and families; but many of them crasie by the tediousnesse of the voyage: [195] howsoeuer most of them, by the excellent salubrity of the aire, then which the world hath not a better, soone after recouered; yet some there were that died presently after they got ashore: it being certainly the quality of the place, either to kill, or cure quickly, as the bodies are more or lesse corrupted.

By this ship the Company sent a supply of ten persons for the generality, but of such bad condition that it seemed they had picked the Males out of *Newgate*, the Females from *Bridewell*: As the Gouernour found it his best course, to grant out the women to such as were so greedy of wiues, and would needs haue them for better for worse; and the men hee placed in the Kings Castle for souldiers.

But this bad, weake, sickly supply being dispersed for their best reliefe, by the much imployment of his boats in remoouing them, many of his owne men became infected, so that for some weekes, they were not able to doe him any seruice at all. [1620]

Strict instructions also they brought for the planting of Sugar canes, for which the Iland being rockie and dry, is so vnproper, that few as yet haue beene seene to prosper: yet there are others [that] hold the contrary opinion, that there is raine so ordinarily, the Iles are so moist, as produceth all their plants in such infinit abundance: there is no great reason to suspect this, were it rightly vsed, more then the rest.

Seuenty thousand [pounds] weight of Tobacco being prepared towards her fraught, she returned for *England*. 70000. weight of Tobacco.

No sooner was shee gone then came in another, sent by the Company and generalty, well conditioned; but shee failed not much to haue beene cast away amongst those dangerous and terrible rocks. By her came also expresse command, they should entertaine no other ships, then were directly sent from the Company: this caused much grudging, and indeed a generall distraction and exclamation among the Inhabitants, to be thus constrained to buy what they wanted, and sell what they had at what price the *Magazin* pleased; and to debarre true men from comming to them for trade or reliefe, that were daily receiued in all the harbours in *England*. So long this ship stayed going for fraught and wages, the Master not caring how long he lay at that rate in a good harbour, [that] the Gouernour was ready to send her away by Proclamation. Thus ended the first yeere of the gouernment of C[aptaine] *Butler*.

With the first [? days] of the second yeere were held the Assises, where all the Bailiffes were fined for not giuing a beginning to the building of the bridges; there was also an order to restraine the excessiue wages all handicrafts men would haue: and that the Church-wardens should meet twice a yeere, to haue all their presentments made perfect against the Assises. 1620. The building of three bridges and other works.

The Assises done, all the ablest men were trained in their armes, and then departed to their owne homes.

[1621] The towne thus cleered, he made certaine new carriages for some demy Culuerings, and a large new storehouse of Cedar for the yeerely *Magazines* goods; finished *Warwicks* Fort begun by Master *More*, and made a new platforme at *Pagits* Fort, also a faire house of lime and stone for the Townes-house. The three bridges appointed by the generall assembly, was followed with such diligence, [that] though they were more then an hundred, or an hundred and twenty foot in length, hauing the foundation and arches in the Sea, [they] were raised and accomplished, so that man or beast with facility might passe them.

The generall Assises, and the proceedings.

At Whitsonday [20 *May* 1621] was held the fourth generall Assise at Saint *Georges*, where were tryed twenty seuerall causes; foure or fiue were whipped or burnt in the hand, for breaking of houses: also an order was made, that the party cast in the triall of any cause, should pay to euery of the Iurours foure pence: moreouer, that not past ten leaues at the most should grow vpon a plant of Tobacco, and that also in the making it vp, a distinction should diligently be obserued of two kinds, a better and a worse: then they built a strong stone house for the Captaine of the Kings Castle and *corps du guard*; and repaired what defects they could finde in the platformes and carriages.

Captaine *Powell* so oft mentioned, hauing beene in the West-Indies for the States of *Holland*, came to an anchor within shot of their Ordnance, desiring admittance for wood and water, of which hee had great need, but the Gouernor [**196**] would not permit him, so he weighed and departed; whereat the company were so madded, it was not possible to constraine them to cease their exclaimations against the Companies inhibition, till they were weary with excla[i]ming. But still for their better defence, not thinking themselues sufficiently secure, hauing finished two new plat-formes more, arriued the Magazin ship [*Sept.* 1621]: but her Master was dead, and many of the Passengers; the rest for most part very sicke. And withall, a strange and wonderfull report of much complaint made against the Gouernor to the Company in *England*, by some of them returned in the last yeeres shipping. But it was eight daies before she could get in by reason of ill weather, being forced againe to Sea; so that time, they kept euery

night continually great fires, [that] she might see the Ile as well by night as day: but at last she arriued, and he plainly vnderstood, he had more cause a great deale to looke for misconstruction of all his seruice then an acknowledgment, much lesse a recompence any better then his predecessors; but it is no new thing to requite the best desert with the most vildest of ingratitude. [1621]

A strange deliuerance of a Spanish wracke.

The very next daies night after the arriuall of the Magazins ship, newes was brought the Gouernor by a dismaied Messenger from *Sand*[*y*]*s* his Tribe, that one hundred *Spaniards* were landed in that part, and diuers ships discouered at Sea; whereupon he presently manned the Forts, and instantly made thitherward in person with twentie men, determining as he found cause to draw together more strength by the way. Being got thither by the breake of the next day, in stead of an enemy which he expected, he met onely with a company of poore distressed *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, who in their passage from *Carthagena* in the *West-Indies*, in consort with the Spanish fleet of Plait [*the annual Plate Fleet, taking the treasure to Spain*]; by the same storme that had indangered the Magazin ship, lost theirs vpon those terrible Rocks, being to the number of seuenty persons, [who] were strangely preserued; and the manner was thus.

About Sunne-set their ship beating amongst the Rocks, some twenty of the Sailers got into the Boat with what treasure they could; leauing the Captaine, the Master, and all the rest to the mercy of the Sea. But a Boy not past foureteene yeares of age that leaped after, to haue got into the Boat; missing that hope, it pleased God he got vpon a Chest a drift by him: whereon they report he continued two daies, and was driuen neere to the cleane contrary part of the Ile, where he was taken vp neere dead, yet well recouered. All this night the ship sticking fast, the poore distressed in her the next day spying land, made a raft; and were those [that] gaue the alarum first a shore about three of the clocke in the after noone.

The morning after, about seuen of the clocke came in the Boat to a place called *Mangroue Bay*; and the same day their Carpenter was driuen a shore vpon a Planke neere *Hog-Bay*. There was a Gentlewoman that had stood wet

[1621] vp to the middle vpon the raft from the ship to the shore, being big with childe; and although this was vpon the thirteenth of September, [1621] she tooke no hurt, and was safely deliuered of a Boy within three daies after.

The best comfort [that] could be giuen them in those extremities they had, although some of the baser sort had beene rifling some of them before the Gouernors arriuall. Also the Spanish Captaine and the chiefe with him, much complained of the treachery of his men to leaue him in that manner, yet had conueyed with them the most of the money they could come by, which he easily missed; whereupon hee [*Butler*] suddenly caused all them he accused, to be searched, and recouered to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds starling: which he deliuered into the Captaines hands, to be imploied in a generall purse towards their generall charge. During their stay in the Iles, some of the better sort, nine or ten weeks [13 *Sept.*—? 12 *Nov.*], dieted at his owne table; the rest were billited amongst the Inhabitants at foure shillings the weeke, till they found shipping for their passage, for which they paied no more then the English paied themselues; and for the passage of diuers of them, the Gouernor was glad to stand bound to the Master. Some others that were not able to procure such friendship, were so constrained to stay in the Iles, till by their labours they had got [197] so much as would transport them: and thus they were preserued, releeued, and deliuered.

In the moneth insuing [*October* 1621] arriued the second ship; and she also had lost her Master, and diuers of her Passengers: in her came two *Virginian* Women [*these were of the Indian maids that had gone to England in* 1616, *in attendance on Pocahontas*] to be married to some would haue them, that after they were conuerted and had children, they might be sent to their Countrey and kindred to ciuilize them.

Towards the end of this moneth [*Oct.*] came in the third ship with a small Magazin; [she] hauing sold what she could, caried the rest to *Virginia*: and neuer did any of those Passengers complaine either of their good diet, or too good vsage at sea; but the cleane contrary still occasioned many of those extremities.

[1621]

How they solemnized the powder treason, and the arriuall of two ships.

The fift of Nouember [1621] the damnable plot of the powder treason was solemnized, with Praiers, Sermons, and a great Feast: whereto the Gouernor inuited the chiefe of the *Spaniards*, where drinking the Kings health, it was honored with a quicke volly of small shot, which was answered from the Forts with the great Ordnance, and then againe concluded with a second volley of small shot; neither was the afternoone without musicke and dancing, and at night many huge bone-fires of sweet-wood.

The Spaniards returne, and in danger againe. 1621.

The *Spaniards* to expresse their thankfulnesse, at their departure, made a deed of gift to the Gouernor of whatsoeuer he could recouer of the wracked ship; but the ships as they went out came so dangerously vpon a Rock, that the poore *Spaniards* were so dismaied, swearing this place was ominous vnto them, especially the women, that desired rather to goe a shore and die howsoeuer, than aduenture any further in such a labyrinth of dangers: but at last she got cleere without danger, and well to *England*.

The other went to *Virginia*, wherein the Gouernor sent two great Chests filled with all such kinds and sorts of Fruits and Plants as their Ilands had; as Figs, Pomgranats, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar-canes, Plantanes, Potatoes, Papawes, Cassado roots, red Pepper, the Prickell Peare, and the like.

Three English Murderers found in the Spanish wracke.

The ships thus dispatched, hee goeth into the maine, and so out to sea to the Spanish wracke. He had beene there before, presently after her ruine; for neuer had ship a more sudden death, being now split in peeces all vnder water. He found small hope to recouer any thing, saue a Cable and an Anchor, and two good Sacars; but the wind was so high hee was forced to returne, being ten miles from the shore, onely with three Murderers [*small cannon*], which were knowne to be the same Captaine *Kendall* had sold to Captaine *Kerby*: whose ship was taken by two men of warre of *Carthagena*, the most of his men slaine or hanged, and he being wounded, died in the woods. Now their Pilot being at this seruice, got thus those three Murderers to their ship; and their ship thus to the *Bermudas*, as the *Spaniards* remaining related to the Gouernor and others.

Hauing raised three small Bulwarkes at *Southhamptons*

[1621-2] Fort, with two Curtaines, and two Rauilings, which indeed is onely the true absolute peece of fortification in the Iles.

Their Assises, and other passages.

Christmas [1621] being come, and the prefixed day of the Assise; diuers were whipped and burnt in the hand, onely three young boyes for stealing were condemned, and at the very point of hanging repri[e]ued. The Gouernour then sent his Lieutenant all ouer the maine to distribute Armes to those were found most fit to vse them, and to giue order[s] for their randezuous, which were hanged vp in the Church.

About this time it chanced a pretty secret to be discouered to preserue their corne from the fly, or weauell, which did in a manner as much hurt as the rats. For the yeere before [1620] hauing made a Proclamation that all Corne should be gathered by a certaine day; because many lazy persons [*p.* 676.] ranne so after the ships to get Beere and *Aquavitæ*, for which they will giue any thing they haue, much had beene lost for want of gathering. This yeare [1621] hauing a very faire crop, some of the Inhabitants, none of the best husbands, hastily gathered it for feare of the penaltie, threw it in great heaps into their houses vnhusked, and so let it lie foure or fiue moneths, which was thought would haue spoiled it: where the good husbands husked it, and with much labour hung it vp, where the Flies did so blow on it, they increased to so many Weauels, they generally [**198**] complained of great losse; but those good fellowes that neuer cared but from hand to mouth, made their boasts, that not a graine of theirs had beene touched nor hurt; there being no better way to preserue it then by letting it lie in its huske, and spare an infinite labour formerly [that] had beene vsed.

There were also very luckily about this time found out diuers places of fresh water, of which many of the Forts were very destitute; and the Church-wardens and Side-men were very busie in correcting the prophaners of the Sabbath, Drunkards, Gamesters, and such like.

There came also from *Virginia* a small Barke with many thanks for the presents sent them: much Aquauitæ, Oile, Sacke, and Bricks they brought in exchange of more Fruits and Plants, Ducks, Turkies and Limestone; of which she had plenty, and so returned.

During the aboad of the stay of this ship, the mariage of

one of the *Virginia* maides was consummated with a husband fit for her, attended with more then one hundred guests, and all the dainties for their dinner [that] could be prouided. [1622]

They made also another triall to fish for Whales, but it tooke no more effect then the former: this was done by the Master of the *Virginia* ship that professed much skill that way, but hauing fraughted his ship with Limestone, with 20000. [pounds] weight of Potatoes, and such things as he desired, [he] returned for *Virginia*.

Aprill and May [1622] were spent in building a strong new Prison, and perfecting some of the Fortifications, and by the labour of twenty men in fourteene daies was got from the Spanish wracke foure excellent good Sacres, and mounted them at the Forts.

Then began the generall Assize [*June* 1622], where not fewer then fifty ciuill, or rather vnciuill actions were handled, and twenty criminall prisoners brought to the bar; such a multitude of such vild people were sent to this Plantation, that he [*Butler*] thought himselfe happy his time was so neere expired: three of the foulest acts were these: the first for the rape of a married woman, which was acquitted by a senselesse Iury; the second for buggering a Sow, and the third for Sodomy with a boy, for which they were hanged. A strange Sodomy.

During the time of the imprisonment of this Buggerer of the Sow, a Dung-hill Cocke belonging to the same man did continually haunt a Pigge of his also, and to the wonder of all them that saw it, who were many, did so frequently tread the Pigge as if it had beene one of his Hens, that the Pigge languished and died within a while after; and then the Cocke resorted to the very same Sow (that this fellow was accused for) in the very same manner: and as an addition to all this, about the same time two Chickens were hatched, the one whereof had two heads; the other crowed very loud and lustily within twelue houres after it was out of the shell.

A desperate fellow being to bee arraigned for stealing a Turky, rather then he would endure his triall, secretly conueighed himselfe to Sea in a little Boat, and neuer since was euer heard of; nor is he euer like to be, without an exceeding wonder, little lesse then a miracle.

In Iune [1622] they made another triall about the Spanish

[1622] More trialls about the wracks.

wracke, and recouered another Sacre and a Murderer: also he caused to be hewed out of the maine Rocke a paire of large staires for the conuenient landing of goods and passengers, a worke much to the beauty and benefit of the towne. With twenty chosen men, and two excellent Divers, the Gouernour went himselfe to the wracke *Warwick*, but they could recouer but one Murderer [*a small cannon*]: from thence he went to the *Sea-aduenture*, the wracke of Sir *George Summers*, the hull though two or three fathomes in the water, they found vnperished and with much a doe weighed a Sacre, her sheat Anchor, diuers barres of Iron and pigs of Lead, which stood the Plantation in very great stead.

Towards the end of Iuly [1622] he went to seeke for a wracke they reported lay vnder water with her hatches spiked vp, but they could not finde her, but from the Spanish wracke [which] lay there by, they weighed three faire Sacres more, and so returned through the Tribes to Saint *Georges:* some were also imployed to seeke out beds of Oisters for Pearle, some they found, some seed Pearle they got, but out of one little shell aboue all the rest they got about 120. small Pearle, but somewhat defectiue in their colour. [199]

The Planters complaints.

The time of Captain *Butlers* gouernment drawing neere an end, the Colony presented vnto him diuers grieuances, to intreat him to remember to the Lords and Company in *England* at his returne: also they appointed two to be ioyned with him, with letters of credence to solicit in their behalfe those grieuances following:

> First, they were defrauded of the food of their soules: for being not fewer then one thousand and fiue hundred people, dispersed in length twenty miles, they had at that present but one Minister, nor neuer had but two; and they [had been] so shortned of their promises, that but onely for meere pity they would haue forsaken them.
>
> Secondly, neglected in the safety of their liues by wants of all sorts of munition.
>
> Thirdly, they had beene censured contrary to his Maiesties Lawes, and not allowed them the benefit of their booke as they are in *England*, but by Captaine *Butler.*

Fourthly, they were frustrated of many of their couenants, and most extremely pinched and vndone by the extortion of the Magazine; for although their Tobacco was stinted but at two shillings sixpence the pound, yet they pitched their commodities at what rate they pleased. [1622]

Fifthly, their fatherlesse children are left in little better condition then slaues; for if their Parents die in debt, their children are made as bondmen till the debt be discharged.

These things being perfected, there grew a great question of one *Heriot* for plotting of factions and abusing the Gouernour, for which he was condemned to lose his eares, yet he was vsed so fauourably he lost but the part of one in all.

The returne of Captaine *Butler.*

By this time it being growne past the wonted season of the comming in of ships from *England*, after a generall longing and expectation, especially of the Gouernour, whose Commission being neere vpon expiration, gaue him cause to wish for a meane of deliuerance from so troublesome and thanklesse an imploiment as he had hitherto found it; a saile is discouered, and long it was not before shee arriued in the Kings Castle-Harbour.

This Barke was set out by two or three priuate men of the Company, and hauing landed her supplies, was to goe for *Virginia*; by her the Gouernour receiued certaine aduertisements of the carriage and behauiour of the Spaniards, which he had relieued as you haue heard [*p.* 680] the yeere before: that quite contrary both to his merit, their vow, and his owne expectation, they made clamours against him; the which being seconded by the Spanish Ambassadour, caused the State to fall in examination about it.

Whereupon hauing fully cleared their ingratefulnesse and impudency, and being assured of the choice of a successor that was to be expected within fiue or six weekes; hee was desirous to take the opportunity of this Barke, and to visit the Colony in *Virginia* in his returne for *England* [*p.* 603]: leauing the gouernment to Captaine *Felgat*, Captaine *Stokes*, Master *Lewis Hewes*, Master *Nedom* and Master *Ginner*.

[1622] But now his time being fully expired, and the fortifications finished, *viz.*

The *Kings Castle* wherein were mounted vpon sufficient Platformes fixteene peece of Ordnances:

In *Charles* Fort two;

In *Southampton* Fort fiue, betwixt which and the Castle passeth the Chanell into the Harbour, secured by three and twenty peeces of good artillery to play vpon it.

In *Cowpers* Ile is *Pembrocks* Fort, where is two Peeces.

The Chanell of Saint *George* is guarded by *Smiths* Fort, and *Pagits* Fort, in which is eleuen peece of Ordnance. Saint *George* towne is halfe a league within the Harbour, commanded by *Warwicks* Fort, where are three great Peeces: and on the Wharfe before the Gouernours house eight more, besides the warning Peece by the mount, and three in Saint *Katharines*;

So that in all there are ten Fortresses and two and fifty peeces of Ordnance sufficient and seruiceable: their formes and situations you may see more plainlier described in the Map; and to defend those, he left one thousand fiue hundred persons with neere a hundred boats, and the Ile well replenished with store of such fruits, prouisions and Poultry, as is formerly related: yet for so departing and other occasions, much difference hath beene betwixt him and some of the Company, as any of his Predecessors; which I rather wish were reconciled, then to be a reporter of such vnprofitable dissentions. [200]

For

Till trechery and faction, and auarice be gone,
Till enuy and ambition, and backbiting be none,
Till periury and idlenesse, and iniury be out,
And truly till that villany the worst of all that rout;
Vnlesse those vises banisht be, what euer Forts you haue,
A hundred walls together put will not haue power to saue.

Master Iohn Barnard *sent to be Gouernour.* 1622.

TO supply this place was sent by the noble aduenturers *Iohn Bernard*, a Gentleman both of good meanes and quality, who arriued within eight daies after *Butlers* departure [1622] with two ships, and about one hundred and forty passengers with armes and all sorts of munition and other prouisions sufficient. [1622-3]

The Lord *Cauendish* Treasurer. Master *Nicholas Farrar* Deputy.

During the time of his life which was but six weekes in reforming all things he found defectiue, he shewed himselfe so iudiciall and industrious as gaue great satisfaction; and did generally promise vice was in great danger to be suppressed, and vertue and the Plantation much aduanced: but so it hapned that both he and his wife died in such short time they were both buried in one day and one graue; and Master *Iohn Harrison* chosen Gouernour till further order came from *England*.

What hapned in the gouernment of Master Iohn Harrison.

THey are still much troubled with a great short worme that deuours their Plants in the night, but all the day they lie hid in the ground; and though early in the morning they kill so many, they would thinke there were no more, yet the next morning you shall finde as many. The Caterpillers to their fruits are also as pernicious, and the land Crabs in some places are as thicke in their Borowes as Conies in a Warren, and doe much hurt. 1623.

Sir *Edward Sackuil* Treasurer. Master *Gabriel Barber* Deputy.

Besides all this, there hapned this yeere [1623] a very heauy disaster, for a ship wherein there had beene much swearing and blaspheming vsed all the voyage, and landed what she had to leaue in those Iles, iouially froliking in their Cups and Tobacco, by accident fired the Powder, that at the very instant blew vp the great Cabin, and some one way and some another: it is a wonder to thinke how they could bee so blowne out of the gun-roome into the Sea,

[1623-4] where some were taken vp liuing, so pitifully burned [that] their liues were worse then so many deaths, some died, some liued: but eighteene were lost at this fatall blast, the ship also immediatly sunke with threescore barrels of meale sent for *Virginia*, and all the other prouision in her was thus lost.

Note. Now to consider how the Spaniards, French, and Dutch haue beene lost and preserued in those inuincible Iles, yet neuer regarded them but as monuments of miseries, though at this present they all desire them; How Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* being ready to sinke in the sea were saued, what an incredible abundance of victuall they found, how it was first planted by the English, the strange increase of Rats, and their sudden departure, the fiue men came from *England* in a boat, the escape of *Hilliard*, and the rest of those accidents there hapned: a man would thinke it a tabernacle of miracles, and the worlds wonder, that from such a Paradise of admiration who would thinke should spring such wonders of afflictions as are onely fit to be sacrificed vpon the highest altars of sorrow, thus to be set vpon the highest Pinacles of content, and presently throwne downe to the lowest degree of extremity, as you see haue beene the yeerely succeedings of those Plantations; the which to ouercome, as it is an incomparable honour, so it can be no dishonour if a man doe miscarry by vnfortunate accidents in such honourable actions, the which renowne and vertue to attaine hath [**201**] caused so many attempts by diuers Nations besides ours, euen to passe through the very amazement of aduentures.

Vpon the relation of this newes the Company hath sent one Captaine *Woodhouse*, a Gentleman of good repute and great experience in the warres, and no lesse prouident then industrious and valiant: then returned report, all goeth well there.

1624. Sir *Thomas Smith* Treasurer, and Master *Edwards* Deputy.

It is too true, in the absence of the noble Treasurer, Sir *Edward Sackvill*, now Earle of *Dorset*; there haue beene such complaints betwixt the Planters and the Company, that, by command, the Lords appointed Sir *Thomas Smith* againe Treasurer, that since then according to their order of Court he is also elected: where now we must leaue them all to their good fortune and successe, till we heare further of their fortunate proceedings.

FINIS.

To his friend Captaine *Smith*, [p. 183.]

vpon his description of New-England.

SIr; your Relations I haue read: which shew, [1616]
Ther's reason I should honour them *and* you:
And if their meaning I haue vnderstood,
I dare to censure thus: Your Proiect's *good;*
And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine,
With honour, pleasure and a trebble gaine;
Beside the benefit that shall arise
To make more happy our Posterities.
For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more
Then what ore-fils, and surfets vs in store,
To order Nature's *fruitfulnesse a while*
In that rude Garden, *you* New-England *stile;*
With present good, ther's hope in after-daies
Thence to repaire what Time *and* Pride *decaies*
In this rich Kingdome. And the spacious West
Being still more with English *bloud possest,*
The proud Iberians *shall not rule those Seas,*
To checke our ships from sailing where they please;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become so great to force a bound to Our.

[1616] *Much good my minde foretels would follow hence*
With little labour, and with lesse expence.
Thriue therefore thy Designe, *who ere enuy :*
England *may ioy in* England's *Colony,*
Virginia *seeke her Virgin sisters good,*
Be blessed in such happy neighbourhood :
Or, whatsoere Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honour'd for first mouing it.

George Wither. *e societate Lincol.*

[*p.* 182.] To that worthy and generous *Gentleman, my very good friend,* *Captaine* Smith.

May Fate thy Proiect, prosper that thy name
May be eternized with liuing fame :
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Enuie euer waits vpon desert : [**202**]
In spight of Pelias, *when his hate lies cold,*
Returne as Iason *with a fleece of gold.*
Then after-ages shall record thy praise,
That a New-England *to this Ile didst raise :*
And when thou di'st (as all that liue must die)
Thy fame liue here ; thou, with Eternity.

R. Gunnell.

To his worthie Captaine, the Author.

[f. 230.]

Ft thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere [1616]
In bloudy wars, where thousands haue beene slaine.
Then giue me leaue in this some part to beare;
And as thy seruant, here to reade my name.
Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene
In the fierce warres of Transiluania:
Long ere that thou America *hadst seene,*
Or led wast captiu'd in Virginia;
Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,
And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause me thinke
That thou I'aue seene so oft approu'd in dangers,
(And thrice captiu'd, thy valour still hath freed)
Art yet preserued, to conuert those strangers:
By God thy guide I trust it is decreed.
For me: I not commend but much admire
Thy England yet vnknowne to passers by-her
For it will praise it selfe in spight of me;
Thou it, it thou, to all posterity.

Your true friend and souldier, *Ed. Robinson.*

[*f.* 231.]

To my honest Captaine, the Author.

[1616]

Malignant Times! What can be said or done,
But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some!
This worthy Worke, which thou hast bought so deare,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors need to feare.
Thy words by deeds so long thou hast approu'd,
Of thousands know thee not thou art below'd.
And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and below'd, than ere thou wert before.
I neuer knew a Warrier yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
I call thee Warrier: *and I make the bolder;*
For, many a Captaine *now, was neuer Souldier.*
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they haue done like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.

Your true friend, sometimes your souldier,
Thos. Carlton. [**203**]

The General History of New England.
1606–1624;
with a Note on Newfoundland.
1622.]

[This Sixth Book consists of a reprint, with variations, of our Author's own :

A Description of New England 1616, *pp.* 175–232.
New Englands Trials, 1620, *pp.* 233–248.

together with extracts from :

Dr. J. DEE. *British Monarchy*, 1577, *pp.* 245, 773.
[G. MOURT]. *Relation or Journal*, &c., 1622, at *pp.* 749–760.
An abstract of Letters from New Plymouth, 16 July 1622, *pp.* 760–762.
E. W[INSLOW]. *Good News from New England*, 1624, *pp.* 762–9.
R. WHITBOURNE. *A loving Invitation . . . Newfoundland* 1622, *pp.* 777–781.]

NEW ENGLAND
The most remarqueable parts thus named by the high and mighty Prince CHARLES, Prince of great Britaine
THE PORTRAICTUER OF CAPTAYNE IOHN SMITH, ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND.
These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn:
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.
If so; in Brasse, (too soft Smiths Acts to beare)
I fix thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele outweare.
Thine, as thou art Virtues, John Dauies. Heref:
HONY SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE
Edenborough
Cambridg
The Base
Schooters hill
Sandwich
Dartmouth
Ipswich
Snadoun hill
Leth
The River forth
St Iohn Towne
Norwich
Aberden
Lowmonds
Pembrocks Bay
Gerrards Ils
Heghton Ils
Barty Ils
Willowby Ils
Harington Bay
Cape ELIZABETH
P. Kent
Boston
Hull
Poynt Dauies
Smith Ils
South Hampton
Cape ANNA
Bristow
Talbotts Bay
Fawmouth
Fullerton Ils
The River CHARLES
Cary Ils
Cheuvot hills
P. Murry
London
Oxford
Poynt Suttliff
Poynt Gorge
Cape IAMES
Plimouth
STUARDS Bay
Barwick
A Scale of Leagues
2 4 6 8 10
Observed and described by Captayn John Smith
1614
Simon Passaeus sculpsit
Robert Clerke Exudit
London Printed by Geor Low

The sixth Booke.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

CONcerning this History you are to vnderstand the Letters-Patents granted by his Maiesty in 1606. for the limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34. to 44. which was diuided into two parts; namely, the first Colony and the second: the first was to the honourable City of London, and such as would aduenture with them to discouer and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34. and 41. The second was appropriated to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter* and *Plimoth*, &c. and the West parts of *England*, and all those that would aduenture and ioine with them, and they might make their choise any where betwixt the degrees of 38. and 44.; prouided there should bee at least 100. miles distance betwixt these 2 Colonies: each of which had lawes, priuileges and authoritie, for the gouernment and aduancing their seuerall Plantations alike. [1606]

[1607-8] Now this part of *America* hath formerly beene called *Norumbega*, *Virginia*, *Nuskoncus*, *Penaquida*, *Cannada*, and such other names as those that ranged the Coast pleased.

But because it was so mountainous, rocky and full of Iles, few haue aduentured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithstanding, that honourable Patron of vertue, Sir *Iohn Popham*, Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, in the yeere 1606. procured meanes and men to possesse it, and sent Captaine *George Popham* for President, Captaine *Rawley Gilbert* for Admirall, Captaine *Edward Harlow* master of the Ordnance, Captaine *Robert Dauis* Sargeant-Maior, Captaine *Elis Best* Marshall, Master *Seaman* Secretary, Captaine *Iames Dauis* to be Captaine of the Fort, Master *Gome Carew* chiefe Searcher: all those were of the Councell, who with some hundred more were to stay in the Country: they set saile from *Plimoth* the last of May [1607], and fell with *Monahigan* the eleuenth of August.

Sir *Francis Popham* Treasurer.

At *Sagadahock* 9. or 10. leagues southward, they planted themselues at the mouth of a faire nauigable Riuer, but the coast all thereabouts [being] most extreme stony and rocky: that extreme frozen Winter [1607–8] was so cold they could not range nor search the Country, and their prouision so small, they were glad to send all but 45. of their company backe againe. Their noble President Captaine *Popham* died, and not long after arriued two ships well prouided of all necessaries to supply them; and some small time after another, by whom vnderstanding of the [**204**] death of the Lorde chiefe Iustice, and also of Sir *Iohn Gilbert*: whose lands there the President *Rawley Gilbert* was to possesse according to the aduenturers directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for *England* in the yeere 1608. and thus this Plantation was begunne and ended in one yeere, and the Country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky Desart.

Notwithstanding, the right Honourable *Henry* Earle of South-hampton and those of the Ile of *Wight*, imploied Captaine *Edward Harlow* to discouer an Ile supposed about Cape *Cod*, but they found their plots had much abused them, for falling with *Monahigan*, they found onely Cape *Cod* no

Ile but the maine, there they detained three Saluages aboord them, called *Pechmo, Monopet* and *Pekenimne,* but *Pechmo* leapt ouer board, and got away; and not long after with his consorts cut their Boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand, and guarded her with Bowes and Arrowes the English lost her. Not farre from thence they had three men sorely wounded with Arrowes. [1608]

Anchoring at the Ile of *Nohono,* the Saluages in their Canowes assaulted the Ship till the English Guns made them retire; yet here they tooke *Sakaweston* that, after he had liued many yeeres in *England,* went a Souldier to the warres of *Bohemia.*

At *Capawe* they tooke *Coneconam* and *Epenow* [*pp.* 264, 701], but the people at *Agawom* vsed them kindly. So with fiue Saluages they returned for *England.*

Yet Sir *Francis Popham* sent diuers times one Captaine *Williams* to *Monahigan* onely to trade and make core fish, but for any Plantations there was no more speeches.

For all this, as I liked *Virginia* well, though not their proceedings; so I desired also to see this country, and spend some time in trying what I could finde, for all those ill rumors and disasters.

From the relations of Captaine Edward Harlow *and diuers others.*

[*My first visit to* New England.]

[*p.* 187.] My first voyage to *New-England.* 1614. [*pp.* 240, 256, 936.]

IN the month of Aprill 1614. at the charge of Captaine *Marmaduke Roydon,* Captaine *George Langam,* Master *Iohn Buley* and Master *William Skelton,* with two ships from *London,* I chanced to arriue at *Monahigan* an Ile of *America,* 434. [? 43°, 40′], of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales, for which we had one *Samuel Cramton,* and diuers others expert in that faculty, and also to make trialls of a Mine of gold and copper; if those failed, Fish and Furs were then our refuge to make our selues sauers howsoeuer.

[1614] We found this Whale-fishing a costly conclusion; we saw many and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any. They being a kinde of *Iubartes*, and not the Whale that yeelds Fins and Oile as we expected; for our gold it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it, then any knowledge he had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furs were now our guard, and by our late arriuall and long lingring about the Whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceiued it, wee thinking that their seasons serued at all times: but we found it otherwise, for by the middest of *Iune* the fishing failed, yet in *Iuly* and *August* some were taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about forty thousand, of Cor-fish about seuen thousand.

[*p.* 188.] Whilest the Sailers fished, my selfe with eight others of them might best bee spared, ranging the Coast in a small Boat, we got for trifles neere eleuen thousand Beuer skinnes, one hundred Martins, as many Otters, and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues.

The commodities I got amounted to 1500. pounds

We ranged the Coast both East and West much further, but Eastward our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neere the French who afforded them better, with whom the Saluages had such commerce that only by trade they made exceeding great voyages (though they were without the limits of our precincts): during the time we tried those conclusions, not knowing the coast, nor Saluages habitations.

With these Furres, the traine Oile and Cor-fish, I returned for *England* in the Barke, where within six moneths after our departure from the Downes, wee safely arriued backe. The best of this fish was sold for 5. li. the hundred; the rest, by ill vsage, betwixt three pounds and 50. shillings.

The other ship stayed to fit her selfe for Spaine with the dry fish which was sold at *Maligo*, at forty Rialls the Quintall, each hundred [weight] weighing two quintals and a halfe.

The trechery of Master *Hunt*. But one *Thomas Hunt* [**205**] the Master of this ship (when I was gone) thinking to preuent that intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding Countrey still in obscuritie, that onely he and some few

Merchants more might enioy wholly the benefit of the Trade, and profit of this Countrey, betraied foure and twenty of those poore Saluages aboord his ship: and most dishonestly, and inhumanely, for their kinde vsage of me and all our men, caried them with him to *Maligo*, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for Rials of eight; but this vilde act kept him euer after from any more emploiment in those parts. [1614] [*p.* 734.]

Now because at this time I had taken a draught of the Coast, and called it *New England*; yet so long he [*i.e.*, *Hunt*] and his Consorts drowned that name with the Eccho of *Cannaday*; and some other ships from other parts also, that vpon this good returne the next yere went thither [*June* 1615]: that at last I presented this Discourse with the Map, to our most gracious Prince *Charles*, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince *Charles* was their God-father; which for your better vnderstanding both of this Discourse and the Map, peruse this Schedule, which will plainly shew you the correspondency of the old names to the new, as his Highnesse named them.

How Prince *Charles* called the most remarkable places in *New-England*. [*p.* 232.]

The old names.	The new names.
Cape *Cod*.	Cape *Iames*.
The Harbor at Cape *Cod*.	*Milforth* hauen.
Chawum.	*Barwick*.
Accomack.	*Plimoth*.
Sagoquas.	*Oxford*.
Massachusets Mount.	*Cheui*[*o*]*t* hills.
Massachusits Riuer.	*Charles* Riuer.
Totan.	*Fa*[*l*]*mouth*.
A great Bay by Cape *Anne*.	*Bristow*.
Cape *Tragabigsanda*.	Cape *Anne*.
Naembeck.	*Bastable*.
Aggawom.	*Southampton*.
Smiths Iles.	*Smiths* Iles.
Passataquack.	*Hull*.
Accominticus.	*Boston*.
Sassanows Mount.	*Snowdon* hill.
Sowocatuck.	*Ipswich*.

[1614]

Bahanna.	*Dartmouth.*
A good Harbor within that Bay.	*Sandwich.*
Ancociscos Mount.	*Shuters* hill.
Ancocisco.	The *Bas*[*s*]*e.*
Anmoughcawgen.	*Cambridge.*
Kenebecka.	*Edenborow.*
Sagadahock.	*Leth.*
Pemmayquid.	*S. Iohns* towne.
Segocket.	*Norwich.*
Mecadacut.	*Dunbarton.*
Pennobscot.	*Aberden.*
Nusket.	*Low Mounds* [*i.e.*, Lomonds].

Those being omitted, I named my selfe.

Monahigan.	*Barties* Iles.
Matinack.	*Willowbies* Iles.
Metinacus.	*Haughton* Iles.

The rest of the names in the Map, are places that had no names that we did know.

Aspersions against *New England.* [*p.* 219.]

But to continue the History succeedingly as neere with the day and yeere as may bee.

Returning in the Barke as is said; it was my ill chance to put in at *Plimoth*, where imparting those my purposes to diuers I thought my friends, whom as I supposed were interested in the dead Patent of this vnregarded Countrey, I was so encouraged and assured to haue the managing [of] their authoritie in those parts during my life, and such large promises, that I ingaged my selfe to vndertake it for them.

Arriuing at *London*, though some malicious persons suggested there was no such matter to be had in that so bad abandoned Countrey, for if there had, other could haue found it so well as I; therefore it was to be suspected I had robbed the French men in *New France* or *Cannada*; and the Merchants set me forth seemed not to regard it: yet I found so many promised me such assistance, that I entertained [*contracted with*] *Michael Cooper* the Master of the Barke, that returned with me and others of the Company.

How he dealt with others, or others with him, I know not; but my publike proceeding gaue such encouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some few of the *Virginia*

Company, as those proiects [**206**] for fishing onely was so well liked, they furnished *Couper* with foure good ships to Sea, before they at *Plimoth* had made any prouision at all for me; but onely a small Barke set out by them of the Ile of *Wight*. [1614]

Captaine *Hobson* his voiage to *Capawuk*.

Some of *Plimoth*, and diuers Gentlemen of the West Countrey, a little before I returned from *New England*, in search for a Mine of Gold about an Ile called *Capawuck*, South-wards from the Shoules of Cape *Iames*, as they were informed by a Saluage called *Epenew* [*p.* 697]: that hauing deluded them as it seems thus to get home, seeing they kept him as a prisoner in his owne Countrey, and before his friends: being a man of so great a stature, he was shewed vp and downe *London* for money as a wonder; and it seemes of no lesse courage and authoritie, then of wit, strength, and proportion. For so well he had contriued his businesse, as many reported he intended to haue surprised the ship; but seeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped ouer-boord. Many shot they made at him, thinking they had slaine him: but so resolute they were to recouer his body, the master of the ship was wounded, and many of his company. And thus they lost him; and not knowing more what to do, returned againe to *England* with nothing: which so had discouraged all your West Countrey men, they neither regarded much their promises, and as little either me or the Countrey, till they saw the *London* ships gone and me in *Plimoth* according to my promise [*in Jan.* 1615, *p.* 733], as hereafter shall be related.

The Londoners send foure good ships to New *England*.

I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the foure ships that went with *Couper*, in that they offered me that imploiment if I would accept it; and I finde still my refusall incurred some of their displeasures, whose loue and fauour I exceedingly desired; and though they doe censure me opposite to their proceedings, they shall yet still in all my words and deeds finde, it is their error, not my fault that occasions their dislike: for hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrey, I had beene very dishonest to haue broke my promise, nor

1614] will I spend more time in discouery or fishing, till I may goe with a Company for a Plantation; for I know my grounds, yet euery one to whom I tell them, or that reads this Booke, cannot put it in practise, though it may helpe any that hath seene or not seene to know much of those parts. And though they endeuour to worke me out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but I would be sorry their intruding ignorance should by their defailments bring those certainties to doubtfulnesse. So that the businesse prosper I haue my desire, be it by whomsoeuer that are true subiects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I seeke, and there is more then enough for all, if they could be contented.

[p. 188.] The situation of New England.

New England is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea, opposite to *Noua Albion* [*California*] in the South Sea, discouered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is stiled *New England*, being in the same latitude. *New France* of it is Northwards, South-wards is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning continent with new *Granado*, new *Spaine*, new *Andolosia*, and the *West-Indies*.

NOw because I haue beene so oft asked such strange questions of the goodnesse and greatnesse of those spatious Tracts of Land, how they can be thus long vnknowne, or not possessed by the *Spaniards*, and many such like demands; I [p. 189.] intreat your pardons if I chance to bee too plaine or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction.

Notes of *Florida*.

Florida is the next adioyning to the *Indies*, which vnprosperously was attempted to be planted by the French, a Countrey farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian, but by the wonderfull endeuours of *Ferdinando de Soto*, a valiant *Spaniard*, whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

Virginia is no Ile as many doe imagine, but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*, whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof, without offence to any Christian Inhabitant, for from the degrees of thirtie to forty eight, his Maiesty hath now enlarged his Letters Patents. The Coast extending South-west [**207**] and North-east about sixteene or seuenteene hundred miles, but to follow it aboord the shore may well be three thousand miles at the least: of which twentie miles is the most giues entrance into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*, where is the London Plantation, within which is a Countrey, as you may perceiue by the Map, of that little I discouered, may well suffice three hundred thousand people to inhabit: but of it, and the discoueries of Sir *Ralph Laine* and Master *Heriot*, Captaine *Gosnold*, and Captaine *Waymouth*, they haue writ so largely, that posteritie may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. [1614] Notes of *Virginia*.

But for diuers others that haue ranged those parts since, especially this Countrey now called *New England*, within a kenning sometimes of the shore; some touching in one place, some in another; I must intreat them pardon me for omitting them, or if I offend in saying, that their true descriptions were concealed, or neuer were well obserued, or died with the Authors, so that the Coast is yet still but euen as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscouered.

I haue had six or seuen seuerall plots of those Northerne parts, so vnlike each to other, or resemblance of the Country, as they did me no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more, it may bee it was not my chance to see the best; but lest others may be deceiued as I was, or through dangerous ignorance hazard themselues as I did, I haue drawne a Map from point to point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-markes, as I passed close aboord the shore in a little Boat; although there bee many things to bee obserued, which the haste of other affaires did cause me to omit: for being sent more to get present Commodities, then knowledge of any discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would; yet it will serue to direct any [that] shall goe that waies to safe Harbours and the Saluages habitations: what merchandize [p 190.]

[1614] and Commodities for their labours they may finde, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

Obseruations for presumptuous ignorant directors.

Thus you may see of these three thousand miles, more then halfe is yet vnknowne to any purpose, no not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discouered: as for the goodnesse and true substance of the Land, we are for most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it be those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack* and *Sagadahock*, but onely here and there where we haue touched or seene a little, the edges of those large Dominions which doe stretch themselues into the maine, God doth know how many thousand miles, whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France*, can describe the harbours and dangers by landing here or there in some Riuer or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substance of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria*, and the rest; nay, there are many haue liued fortie yeeres in London, and yet haue scarce beene ten miles out of the Citie: so are there many that haue beene in *Virginia* many yeeres, and in *New England* many times, that doe know little more then the place they doe inhabit, or the Port where they fished, and when they come home, they will vndertake they know all *Virginia* and *New England*, as if they were but two Parishes or little Ilands. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that thinke euery one that hath beene in *Virginia* or *New England*, vnderstandeth or knoweth what either of them are; Or that the Spaniards know one halfe quarter of those large Territories they possesse, no not so much as the true circumference of *Terra incognita*, whose large Dominions may equalize the goodnesse and greatnesse of *America* for any thing yet [*p.* 191.] knowne. It is strange with what small power he doth range in the *East-Indies*, and few will vnderstand the truth of his strength in *America:* where hauing so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they need not greatly feare his fury in *Sommer Iles*, *Virginia*, or *New England*, beyond whose bounds *America* doth stretch many thousand miles. Into the frozen parts whereof, one Master *Hutson* [*Hudson*] an English Mariner, did make the greatest discouerie of any Christian I know, where hee vnfortunately was left by his cowardly Com-

pany, for his exceeeding deserts, to end and die a most miserable death. [**208**] [1614]

For *Affrica*, had not the industrious *Portugals* ranged her vnknowne parts, who would haue sought for wealth amongst those fried Regions of blacke brutish *Negars* where notwithstanding all their wealth and admirable aduentures and endeuours more then one hundred and fortie yeeres [1476-1616] they know not one third part of those blacke habitations.

But it is not a worke for euery one to manage such an affaire, as make a discouery and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing then another, and therein best to be imploied: and nothing breeds more confusion then misplacing and misimploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus*, *Courtes*, *Pitzara*, [*p.* 965.] *Zoto*, *Magilanus*, and the rest serued more then a Prentiship, to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the *West-Indies*, which to the wonder of all ages successefully they effected, when many hundreds of others farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions, that keepe vs backe from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits, that aduanced themselues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest power, glory, and renowne.

The Description of New England.

[1614]
[*pp.* 192, 237, 938.

THat part we call *New England*, is betwixt the degrees of fortie one and fortie fiue, the very meane betwixt the North pole and the line; but that part this Discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Penobscot* to Cape *Cod*, some seuentie fiue leagues by a right line distant each from other; within which bounds I haue seene at least fortie seuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coast, and sounded about fiue and twentie excellent good Harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for fiue hundred saile of ships of any burden; in some of them for one thousand, and more then two hundred Iles ouergrowne with good Timber of diuers sorts of wood, which doe make so many Harbours, as required a longer time then I had to be well obserued.

The principall Countries or gouernments. [*p.* 938.]

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobscot*. Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers, we found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemaquid*, *Nuscoucus*, *Sagadahock*, *Aumoughcowgen*, and *Kenebeke*; and to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshoquen*, *Wakcogo*, *Pasharanack*, &c. To these are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Ancocisco*, *Accomynticus*, *Passataquack*, *Aggawom*, and *Naemkeck*: All these for any thing I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment: though most of them be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Penobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next I can remember by name, are *Mattahunts*, two

pleasant Iles of Groues, Gardens, and Corne fields a league in the Sea from the maine: Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Topent*, *Secassaw*, *Totheet*, *Nasnocomacack*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*, *Patuxet*, *Massasoyts*, *Pakanokick*: then Cape *Cod*, by which is *Pawmet* and the Ile *Nawset*, of the language and aliance of them of *Chawum*; the others are called *Massachusets*, and differ somewhat in language, custome, and condition. [1614]

For their Trade and Merchandize, to each of their principall families or habitations, they haue diuers Townes and people belonging, and by their relations and descriptions, more then twentie seuerall habitations and riuers that stretch themselues farre into the Countrey, euen to the Borders of diuers great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Otters.

From *Pennobscot* to *Sagadahoc*. This Coast [**209**] is [*p.* 193] mountainous, and Iles of huge Rockes, but ouer-growne for most part, with most sorts of excellent good woods, for building Houses, Boats, Barks or Ships, with an incredible abundance of most sorts of Fish, much Fowle, and sundry sorts of good Fruits for mans vse.

Betwixt *Sagadahock*, and *Sowocatuck*, there is but two or three Sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and Cape *Iames* very many: especially the Coast of the *Massachusets* is so indifferently mixed with high Clay or Sandy clifts in one place, and the tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and Quaries of stones in other places, so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as Free-stone for building, Slate for tyling, smooth stone to make Furnasses and Forges for Glasse and Iron, and Iron Ore sufficient conueniently to melt in them; but the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Deuonshire*, I thinke most of the clifts would make such Lime-stone: if they bee not of these qualities, they are so like they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine: all which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good Iron and Steele in those parts as I know it is within the bounds of the Countrey, I dare ingage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the Simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building and rigging of ships of any proportion, and good Merchandise for their fraught, within a square of

[1614] ten or foureteene leagues, and it were no hard matter to proue it within a lesse limitation.

A proofe of an excellent clime.

And surely by reason of those sandy clifts, and clifts of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong, and well proportioned people, besides the greatnesse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnesse of the Fish, and the moderate temper of the aire (for of fiue and forty not a man was sicke, but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall diet) who can but approue this a most excellent place, both for health and fertilitie: and of all the foure parts of the world I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but means to transport a Colony, I would [*p.* 194.] rather liue here then any where; and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

Staple Commodities present.

The maine staple from hence to bee extracted for the present, to produce the rest, is Fish, which howbeit may seeme a meane and a base Commoditie; yet who will but truly take the paines and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is strange to see, what great aduentures the hopes of setting forth men of warre to rob the industrious innocent would procure, or such massie promises in grosse, though more are choaked then well fed with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore *Hollanders* chiefely by fishing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious, and by the venting this poore Commoditie to the Easterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rozen, Cordage, and such like; which they exchange againe to the *French*, *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *English*, &c. for what they want, are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but *Venice* of twice their magnitude is so well furnished, with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping, and all sorts of Merchandize, as well of Gold, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, pretious Stones, Silkes, Veluets, and Cloth of

Obseruations of the *Hollanders*.

Gold; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse Commodities? What voiages and discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they? What an Army by Sea and Land haue they long maintained, in despight of one of the greatest Princes of the world, and neuer could the *Spaniard* with all his Mines of Gold and Siluer, pay his debts, his friends, and Army, halfe so truly as the *Hollanders* still haue done by this contemptible Trade of Fish. Diuers (I know) may alleage many other assistances; but this is the chiefest Mine, and [**210**] the Sea the source of those siluer streames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the onely paterne of perfection for these affaires: and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum Mobile* that turnes all their spheares to this height, of plentie, strength, honor, and exceeding great admiration. [1614]

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie, that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicitie such as it is: and from which (few would thinke it) they should draw so many millions yeerely as they doe, as more in particular in the trials of *New England* [*pp.* 233-272] you may see; and such an incredible number of ships, that breeds them so many Sailers, Mariners, Souldiers, and Merchants, neuer to be wrought out of that Trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they that will vse it, though not so certainly, nor so much in quantitie, for want of experience: and this Herring they take vpon the Coast of *England* and *Scotland*, their Cod and Ling vpon the Coast of *Izeland*, and in the North seas, if wee consider what gaines the *Hamburgans*, the *Biskinners*, and *French* make by fishing; nay, but how many thousands this fiftie or sixty yeeres [1564–1614 *or* 1624] haue beene maintained by *New found land*, where they take nothing but small Cod, whereof the greatest they make Cor-fish, and the rest is hard dried, which we call Poore-Iohn, would amaze a man with wonder. [*p.* 195.] Note.

If then from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of Fish, especially by the *Hollanders*, that hath but little of their owne, for building of ships and setting them to sea; but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many parts of the world

[1614] ere they come together to be vsed in those voiages: If these (I say) can gaine, why should we more doubt then they; but doe much better, that may haue most of all those things at our doores for taking and making, and here are no hard Landlords to racke vs with high rents, or extorting fines, nor tedious pleas in Law to consume vs with their many yeeres disputation for iustice; no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders as in popular States: so freely hath God and his Maiestie bestowed those blessings on them [that] will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master of his owne labour and land, or the greatest part (if his Maiesties royall meaning be not abused) and if he haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp his Trade; and by industry quickly grow rich, spending but halfe that time well, which in *England* we abuse in idlenesse, worse, or as ill.

[*p.* 196.]

Note.

Examples of the Altitude comparatiuely.

Here is ground as good as any lieth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c. which is as temperate, and as fruitfull as any other parallel in the world.

As for example, on this side the line, West of it in the South Sea, is *Noua Albion*, discouered as is said [*p.* 702] by Sir *Francis Drake*. East from it is the most temperate part of *Portugall*, the ancient Kingdomes of *Galizia*, *Bisky*, *Nauarre*, *Aragon*, *Cattilonia*, *Castillia* the old, and the most moderatest of *Castillia* the new, and *Valentia*; which is the greatest part of *Spaine*: which if the Histories be true, in the *Romans* time abounded no lesse with gold and siluer Mines, then now the *West-Indies*; the *Romans* then vsing the *Spaniards* to worke in those Mines, as now the *Spaniards* doe the *Indians*.

In *Spaine.*

In *France* the Prouinces of *Gascony*, *Langadocke*, *Auignon*, *Prouince*, *Dolphine*, *Pyamont*, and *Turyne*, are in the same parallel; which are the best and richest parts of *France*.

In *France.*

In *Italy* the Prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous state of *Venice*, the Dukedomes of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bolognia*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slauonia*, *Istria*, and *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Grecia* those famous Kingdomes

In *Greece*

of *Macedonia*, *Bullulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated the most pleasant and plentifull Citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople*. [1614]

In *Asia* in the same latitude, are the temperatest parts of *Natolia*, *Armenia*, [**211**] *Persia*, and *China*; besides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in those most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia*. In *Asia*. [*p.* 197.]

Southward in the same height is the richest of Gold Mines, *Chily*, and *Baldinia*, and the mouth of the great Riuer of *Plate*, &c. for all the rest of the world in that height is yet vnknowne. Beyond the line.

Besides these reasons, mine owne eies that haue seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes (as well as it) can finde no aduantage they haue in Nature but this, they are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and art; This is onely as God made it when hee created the world.

Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intrailes of those Regions were sought, if their Land were cultured, planted, and manured by men of industry, iudgement, and experience; what hope is there, or what need they doubt, hauing the aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of these famous Kingdomes in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions: seeing euen the very hedges doe naturally affoord vs such plentie, as no ship need returne away emptie, and onely vse but the season of the Sea, Fish will returne an honest gaine, besides all other aduantages; her treasures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originals wasted, consumed, nor abused.

The particular staple commodities that may be had by industry.

And whereas it is said the *Hollanders* serue the Easterlings themselues, and other parts that want with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod: The Easterlings, a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgion and Cauiare, as the Blacke Sea doth *Grecia*, *Podolia*, *Sagouia*, *Natolia*, and the *Hellespont*. Cape *Blanke*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, and the *Leuant*, with Mulit and Puttargo. *New found land*, the most part of the chiefe Southerne Ports in *Europe*, with a thin Poore-Iohn; which hath beene so long, so much ouer-laied with Fishers. as the fishing decaieth, so that many oft times are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway*

[1614] and *Poland* affoords Pitch and Tarre, Masts and Yards. *Sweathland* and *Russia*, Iron and Ropes. *France* and *Spaine*, Canuase, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oile. *Italy* and *Greece*, Silkes and Fruits. I dare boldly say, because I haue seene naturally growing or breeding in those parts, the same materials that all these are made of, they may [*p.* 198.] as well bee had here, or the most part of them within the distance of seuentie leagues for some few ages, as from all those parts, vsing but the same meanes to haue them that they doe; but surely in *Virginia*, their most tender and daintiest fruits or commodities, would be as perfit as theirs, by reason of the heat, if not in *New England*, and with all those aduantages.

The nature of the ground approued. First, the ground is so fertill, that questionlesse it is capable of producing any Graine, Fruits, or Seeds, you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions aforenamed. But it may be not to that perfection of delicacy, because the Summer is not so hot, and the Winter is more cold in those parts we haue yet tried neere the Sea side, then wee finde in the same height in *Europe* or *Asia:* yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rocky Ile in three and forty degrees and an halfe, foure leagues from the maine in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for Sallets in Iune and Iuly.

All sorts of Cattle may here be bred and fed in the Iles or Peninsulaes securely for nothing. In the *Interim*, till they increase (if need be) obseruing the seasons, I durst vndertake to haue Corne enough from the Saluages for three hundred men, for a few trifles; and if they should be vntowards, as it is most certaine they will, thirtie or fortie good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this prouision, if they vnderstand what to doe: two hundred whereof may eight or nine moneths in the yeere be imploied in helping the Fisher-men, till the rest prouide other necessaries, fit to furnish vs with other Commodities.

The seasons for fishing approued. In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, heere is Cod in abundance; In May, Iune, Iuly, and August, Mullit and Sturgion, whose Roes doe make Cauiare and Puttargo; Herring, if any desire them: I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the Saluages

compare the store in the Sea with the haires of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. [**212**] In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you may haue Cod againe to make Core-fish or Poore-Iohn: Hake you may haue when the Cod failes in Summer, if you will fish in the night, which is better then Cod. Now each hundred you take here, is as good as two or three hundred in *New found Land*; so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting and touring, is saued: And you may haue your fish at what market you will, before they haue any in *New found land*, where their fishing is chiefely but in Iune and Iuly; where[as] it is here in March, Aprill, May, September, October and Nouember, as is said: so that by reason of this Plantation, the Merchants may haue their fraught both out and home, which yeelds an aduantage worth consideration. [1614] [*f.* 199.]

Your Core-fish you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serue the Ports in *Portugall*, as *Lisbone*, *Auera*, *Porta* Port, and diuers others, (or what market you please) before your Ilanders [*Icelanders*] returne. They being tied to the season in the open Sea, and you hauing a double season, and fishing before your doores, may euery night sleep quietly ashore with good cheere, and what fires you will, or when you please with your wiues and family: they onely and their ships in the maine Ocean, that must carie and containe all they vse, besides their fraught.

The Mullits here are in that abundance, you may take them with nets sometimes by hundreds, where at Cape *Blanke* they hooke them: yet those are but a foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I haue measured, which makes me suspect they are some other kinde of fish, though they seeme the same, both in fashion and goodnesse. Much Salmon some haue found vp the Riuers as they haue passed; and here the aire is so temperate, as all these at any time may be preserued.

Imploiment for poore people and fatherlesse children.

Now, young Boies and Girles, Saluages, or any other bee they neuer such idlers, may turne, carie or returne a fish, without either shame or any great paine. He is very idle that is past twelue yeeres of age and cannot doe so much; and she is very old that cannot spin a threed to make Engins to catch a fish.

[1614] For their transportation, the ships that goe there to fish may transport the first: who for their passage will spare the charge of double manning their ships, which they must do in *New found land* to get their fraught; but one third part of that company are onely proper to serue a stage, carie a Barrow, and turne Poore-Iohn; notwithstanding, they must haue meat, drinke, clothes, and passage so well as the rest.

The facilitie of the Plantation.

Now all I desire is but this, That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choice they can, or accept such as shall bee presented them to serue them at that rate: and their ships returning leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding, apparell, salt, nets, hookes, lines, and such like, as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne may keepe their Boats, and doe them many other profitable offices. Prouided, I haue men of abilitie to teach them their functions, and a company fit for Souldiers to be ready vpon any occasion, because of the abuses that haue beene offered the poore Saluages, and the libertie that both French and English, or any that will, haue to deale with them as they please; whose disorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worse.

[*p.* 200.]

Now such order with facilitie might be taken, with euery Port, Towne, or Citie, with free power to conuert the benefit of their fraughts to what aduantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion, who euer as they are able to subsist of themselues, may begin the new Townes in *New England*, in memory of their old: which freedome being confined but to the necessitie of the generall good, the euent (with Gods helpe) might produce an honest, a noble, and a profitable emulation.

Present Commodities.

Salt vpon Salt may assuredly be made, if not at the first in ponds, yet till they be prouided this may be vsed: then the ships may transport Kine, Horse, Goats, course Cloth, and such Commodities as we want; by whose arriuall may be made that prouision of fish to fraught the ships that they stay not; and then if the Sailers goe for wages it

matters not, it is hard if this returne defray not the charge: [**213**] but care must be had they arriue in the Spring, or else that prouision be made for them against winter. [1614]

Of certaine red berries called Kermes, which is worth ten shillings the pound, but of these haue beene sold for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yeerely be gathered a good quantity. Kermes.

Of the Muskrat may be well raised gaines worth their labour, that will endeuour to make triall of their goodnesse. Musquasses.

Of Beuers, Otters and Martins, blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yeerely be had six or seuen thousand, and if the trade of the French were preuented, many more: 25000. this yeere [1614] were brought from those northerne parts into *France*, of which trade we may haue as good part as the *French* if we take good courses. Beuers [*i.e.*, *their skins*].

Of Mines of Gold and Siluer, Copper, and probabilities of Lead, Crystall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances; it is true indeed, I made many trialls according to the instructions I had, which doth perswade me I need not despaire but that there are metals in the Country: but I am no Alcumist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, who will vndertake the rectifying of an iron Forge, if those that buy meat and drinke, coles, ore, and all necessaries at a deare rate, gaine; where all the sethings are to be had for taking vp, in my opinion cannot lose. [*p.* 201.] Mines.

Of woods, seeing there is such plenty of all sorts, if those that build ships and boats, buy wood at so great a price as it is in *England*, *Spaine*, *France* and *Holland*, and all other prouisions for the nourishment of mans life, liue well by their trade; when labour is all [that is] required to take these necessaries without any other tax, what hazard will be here but to doe much better, and what commodity in Europe doth more decay then wood? for the goodnesse of the ground, let vs take it fertill or barren, or as it is, seeing it is certaine it beares fruits to nourish and feed man and beast as well as *England*, and the Sea those seuerall sorts of fishes I haue related. Woods.

Thus seeing all good things for mans sustenance may with this facility be had by a little extraordinary labour,

[1614] till that transported be increased, and all necessaries for shipping onely for labour, to which may added the assistance of the Saluages which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their kinds, towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods.

What gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses dwelling there, you may serue all Europe better and farre cheaper then can the Iland Fishers, or the Hollanders, Cape-blanke, or *Newfound land*, who must be at much more charge then you) may easily be coniectured by this example.

An example of the gaines vpon euery yeere or six moneths returne.

Two thousand [pounds] will fit out a ship of 200. tunnes, and one [ship] of 100. tuns. If of the dry fish they both make, [they] fraught that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintall, but commonly it giues fifteene or twenty, especially when it commeth first, which amounts to 3. or 4000. pound, but say but ten, which is the lowest, allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate to 2000. [pounds] which is the whole charge of your two ships and the equipage: then the returne [*by exchange*] of the mony and the fraught of the ship for the vintage or any other voyage is cleere gaine; with your ship of one hundred tunnes of traine Oile and Cor-fish, besides the Beuers and other commodities, and that you may haue at home within six moneths if God please to send but an ordinary passage.

[*p.* 202.]

Then sauing halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victuall, ouerplus of men and wages, with her fraught thither with necessaries for the Planters, the Salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time; if nothing may be expected but this, it might in time equalize your Hollanders gaines, if not exceede them: hauing their fraughts alwaies ready against the arriuall of the ships.

This would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so incourage and imploy a great part of our Idlers and others that want imployment fitting their qualities at home, where they shame to doe that they would doe abroad, that could they but once taste the sweet fruits of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be aduised by good discipline to take more pleasure in honest industry, then in their humors of dissolute idleness. [214]

[1614]

A description of the Countrey in particular, and their situations.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my proiects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Aire, the Land, the Fruits, their Rocks, the People, the Gouernment, Religion, Territories, Limitations, Friends and Foes: But as I gathered from their niggardly relations in a broken language, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c.

The most Northerne part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues: but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuer ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people; but they were from their habitations, either fishing amongst the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods for Deere and Beuers. The Bay is full of great Iles of one, two, six or eight miles in length, which diuides it into many faire and excellent good Harbours. [*p.* 203.]

On the East of it are the *Tarrentines*, their mortall enemies, where inhabit the French, as they report, that liue with those people as one Nation or Family. And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high Mountaine, a kinde of fortresse against the *Tarrentines*, adioyning to the high Mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea; but ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them foureteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next, then *Nuskoucus*, *Pemmaquid*, and *Sagadahock*.

Vp this Riuer, where was the Westerne Plantation, are *Aumoughcawgen*, *Kinnebeke*, and diuers others, where are planted some Corne fields. Along this Riuer thirtie or fortie miles, I saw nothing but great high clifts of barren Rocks ouergrowne with Wood, but where the Saluages dwell there the ground is excellent salt [*fat*], and fertill.

Westward of this Riuer is the Country of *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good Harbours.

Sawocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large Sandy

[1614] Bay, which hath many Rockes and Iles, but few good Harbours but for Barkes I yet know.

But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre as I could see Eastward of it, is nothing but such high craggy clifty Rockes and stony Iles, that I wonder such great Trees could grow vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrey rather to affright then delight one, and how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more [*p.* 204.] barren, I know not; yet are those rocky Iles so furnished with good Woods, Springs, Fruits, Fish and Fowle, and the Sea the strangest Fish-pond I euer saw, that it makes me thinke, though the coast be rocky and thus affrightable, the Vallies and Plaines and interior parts may well notwithstanding be very fertill. But there is no Country so fertill [that] hath not some part barren, and *New-England* is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited.

As you passe the coast still westward, *Accominticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient Harbours for small Barkes; and a good Country within their craggy clifts.

Augoan is the next: this place might content a right curious iudgement, but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many rising hils, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields and delightfull groues. On the East is an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marish ground, fit for pasture or salt Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens; there is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe Harbour.

Naiemkeck, though it be more rocky ground, for *Augoan* is sandy, [is] not much inferiour neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceiue but the multitude of people.

[*pp.* 204, 206, 232, 276, 720, 853, 855, 866.] From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, now called Cape *An*, fronted with the [*pp.* 204, 720, 838.] three Iles wee called the three Turkes heads; to the north of this doth enter a great Bay, where we found some habitations and Corne fields, they report a faire Riuer and at least 30. habitations [**215**] doth possesse

this Country. But because the French had got their trade, I had no leisure to discouer it. [1614]

The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the west side of this Bay, where are many Iles and some Rocks that appeare a great height aboue the water like the Pyramides in Ægypt, and amongst them many good Harbours, and then the country of the *Massachusits*, which is the Paradice of all those parts; for here are many Iles planted with Corne, Groues, Mulberies, saluage Gardens and good Harbours, the Coast is for the most part high clayie sandy clifts, the sea Coast as you passe shewes you all along large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained here neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the Inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be three thousand people vpon those Iles, and that the Riuer doth pierce many daies iourney the entrailes of that Country. [*p.* 205.] [*pp.* 747, 754, 933.]

We found the people in those parts very kinde, but in their fury no lesse valiant; for vpon a quarrell we fought with forty or fifty of them, till they had spent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke six or seuen of their Canowes, which towards the euening they ransomed for Beuer skinnes: and at *Quonahasit* falling out there but with one of them, he with three others crossed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine rockes whereby wee must passe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger; yet one of them was slaine, and another shot through his thigh.

An Indian slaine, another shot.

Then come you to *Accomacke* an excellent good Harbour, good land, and no want of any thing but industrious people: after much kindnesse, wee fought also with them, though some were hurt, some slaine, yet within an houre after they became friends.

Cape Cod is the next [that] presents it selfe, which is onely a headland of high hils, ouer-growne with shrubby Pines, hurts and such trash; but an excellent harbour for all weathers. This Cape is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a Sickell; on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet*, and in the bottome of the Bay them of *Chawum*.

Towards the South and South-west of this Cape, is found a long and dangerous shoule of rocks and sand, but so

[1614] farre as I incercled it, I found thirty fathome water and a strong currant, which makes mee thinke there is a chanell about this Shoule, where is the best and greatest fish to be had winter and summer in all the Country; but the Saluages say there is no Chanell, but that the Shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet* to the Ile of *Nawset*, and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea.

[*pp.* 264, 697, 701, 732.] The next to this is *Capawucke*, and those abounding Countries of Copper, Corne, People and Mineralls, which I went to discouer this last yeere [1615]; but because I mis-

[*p.* 206.] carried by the way, I will leaue them till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

The *Massachusets* they report sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, and are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawum* and their alliance; but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other so farre as they haue society on each others frontiers: for they [the *Bashabes*] make no such voyages as from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, seldome to *Massach*[*u*]*set*.

In the North as I haue said they haue begun to plant Corne, whereof the south part hath such plenty as they haue what they will from them of the North, and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and fowle; but both Winter and Summer hath it in one part or other all the yeere, being the meane and most indifferent temper betwixt heat and cold, of all the Regions betwixt the Line and the Pole: but the Furs Northward are much better, and in much more plenty then Southward.

The land Markes

The remarkablest Iles and Mountaines for land Markes are these: the highest Ile is *Sorico* in the Bay of *Pennobscot*, but the three Iles, and the Iles of *Matinack* are much further in the Sea: *Metynacus* is also three plaine Iles, but many great Rocks: *Monahigan* is a round high Ile, and close by it [is] *Monanis*, betwixt which is a small Harbour where we rid; in *Damerils* Iles is such another, *Sagadahocke* is knowne by *Satquin*, and foure or fiue Iles in their mouth. *Smiths* Iles are a heape together, [**216**] none neere them

[*pp.* 204, 718, 838.] against *Accomintycus:* the three *Turkes heads*, are three Iles, seene farre to Sea-ward in regard of the Head-land.

[*pp.* 204, 206, 232, 276, 718, 853, 855, 866.] The chiefe Head-lands, are onely Cape *Tragabigzanda*, and Cape *Cod*; now called [*p.* 232] Cape *Iames*, and Cape *Anne*.

The chiefe Mountaines, them of *Pennobscot*, the twinkling Mountaine of *Acocisco*, the great Mountaine of *Sassanow*, and the high Mountaine of *Massachuset*. Each of which you shall finde in the Map, their places, forme, and altitudes. [1614]

The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrailes of rocky Mountaines.

Herbs and Fruits. The Herbs and Fruits are of many sorts and kinds, as Alkermes, Currans, Mulberies, Vines, Respises, Gooseberies, Plums, Wall-nuts, Chesse-nuts, Small-nuts, Pumpions, Gourds, Strawberies, Beanes, Pease, and Maize; a kinde or two of Flax, wherewith they make Nets, Lines, and Ropes, both small and great, very strong for their quantities. [*p.* 207.]

Woods. Oake is the chiefe wood, of which there is great difference, in regard of the soyle where it groweth, Firre, Pine, Wall-nut, Chesse-nut, Birtch, Ash, Elme, Cipris, Cedar, Mulbery, Plum tree, Hazell, Saxefras, and many other sorts.

Birds. Eagles, Grips, diuers sorts of Hawkes, Craines, Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Cranes, Swannes, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Gulls, Turkies, Diue-doppers, and many other sorts whose names I know not.

Fishes. Whales, Grompus, Porkpisces, Turbut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddocke, Cole, Cuske or small Ling, Sharke, Mackarell, Herring, Mullit, Base, Pinnacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eeles, Crabs, Lobsters, Mustels, Wilks, Oisters, Clamps, Periwinkels, and diuers others, &c.

Beasts. Moos, a beast bigger than a Stag, Deare red and fallow, Beuers, Wolues, Foxes both blacke and other, Aroughcunds, wilde Cats, Beares, Otters, Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diuers other sorts of Vermin whose names I know not.

All these and diuers other good things doe here for want of vse still increase and decrease with little diminution, whereby they grow to that abundance, you shall scarce finde any bay, shallow shore or Coue of sand, where you may not take many clamps or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure, and in many places load your Boat if you please; nor Iles where you finde not Fruits, Birds, Crabs, and Mustels, or all of them; for taking at a low water Cod, Cuske, Hollibut, Scate, Turbit, Mackarell, or such like are taken plentifully in diuers sandy Bayes,

[1614] [p. 208.] store of Mullit, Bases, and diuers other sorts of such excellent fish as many as their Net can hold: no Riuer where there is not plenty of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both, all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons: but if a man will goe at Christmas to gather Cherries in Kent, though there be plenty in Summer, he may be deceiued; so here these plenties haue each their seasons, as I haue expressed.

We for the most part had little but bread and Vinegar, and though, the most part of Iuly when the fishing decayed, they wrought all day, lay abroad in the Iles all night, and liued on what they found, yet were not sicke. But I would wish none long [to] put himselfe to such plunges, except necessity constraine it: yet worthy is that person to starue that here cannot liue if he haue seuse, strength and health, for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place but that one hundred men may in two or three houres make their prouisions for a day, and he that hath experience to manage these affaires, with forty or thirty honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good Corne, Fish, and Flesh as the earth hath of those kinds, and yet make that labour but their pleasure: prouided that they haue Engines that be proper for their purposes.

A note for men that haue great spirits and small meanes.

Who can desire more content that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to aduance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life; if hee haue but the taste of vertue and magnanimity, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant then planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by Gods blessing and his [**217**] owne industry without preiudice to any; if hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paine; what so truly su[i]tes with honour and honesty, as the discouering things vnknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust,

teaching vertue and gaine to our natiue mother Country a Kingdome to attend her, finde imploiment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee; and remembring thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise. [1616] [p. 209.]

Consider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule; what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother City? For example: *Rome*, what made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad; and the iustice and iudgement out of their experiences, when they grew aged: what was their ruine and hurt but this, the excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of parents, the want of experience in Maiestrates, the admiration of their vndeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealousies, their politike incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse and their deeds of secret lewdnesse; finally in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their Predecessors got in many yeeres they lost in a few daies: those by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants; this is the difference betwixt the vse of armes in the field and on the monuments of stones, the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and misery, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making common weales and marring common weales, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then who would liue at home idly, or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue, onely to eat, drinke and sleepe, and so die; or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily; or by vsing that miserably that maintained vertue honestly; or for being descended nobly, and pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred in penury; or to maintaine a silly shew of brauery, toile out thy heart, soule and time basely, by shifts, tricks, Cards and Dice; or by relating newes of other mens actions, sharke here and there for a dinner or supper; deceiue thy friends by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer meanest to

[1616] [p. 210.] pay; offend the Lawes, surfet with excesse, burthen thy Countrie, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then cousen thy Kindred, yea euen thy owne brother, and wish thy Parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates: though thou seest what honours and rewards the world yet hath for them that will seeke them and worthily deserue them.

I would bee sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning; for I wish good to all, hurt to none: but rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life.

And what hellish care doe such take to make it their owne misery and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most need of their imploiment, drawing by all manner of inuentions from the Prince and his honest Subiects, euen the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their baggs or brags were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them, when they are the onely bait to cause vs not onely to bee assaulted, but betrayed and murthered in our owne security ere wee will perceiue it. [**218**]

An example of secure couetousnesse.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walls, riches and pleasures [at] last taken by the Turke, which were then but a bit in comparison of their mightinesse now, remember vs of the effects of priuate couetousnesse; at which time the good Emperour held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacy and prodigality: his pouerty when the Turke besieged the Citizens (whose merchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth) little conceiuing the desperat resolution of a valiant expert enemy, left the Emperour so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young raw discontented Souldiers, that suddenly he, they, and their City were all a prey to the deuouring Turke, and what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their enemies to torment them, their friends and Country, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeues in the world to rob you) not [to] grudge to lend some

proportion to breed them that haue little, yet willing to learne how to defend you, for it is too late when the deed is doing. [1616] [p. 211.]

The Romans estate hath beene worse then this, for the meere couetousnesse and extortion of a few of them so moued the rest, that not hauing any imploiment but contemplation, their great iudgements grew to so great malice, as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselues by faction; let this moue you to imbrace imployment for those whose educations, spirits and iudgements want but your purses, not only to preuent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue.

And you fathers that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couetous, or so wilfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonnesse till they grow your masters; or become so basely vnkinde that they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts grow dissolute; and although you would wish them any where to escape the Gallowes and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two or three hundred pound[s] a yeere; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduenture with them to obtaine an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your prouidence, might bee better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you [that] any place yet vnknowne, can affoord such fortunes, you would not beleeue it, no more then *Columbus* was beleeued there was any such land as is now the well knowne abounding *America*, might lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Africa* and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita*.

The Authors conditions.

I haue not beene so ill bred but I haue tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery; nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent force me to these endeuours; nor am I ignorant what small thankes I shall haue for my paines, or that many would haue the world imagine them to bee of great iudgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty obiections and detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want imploiment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne [p. 212.]

[1616] senselesnesse and incredulity, hoping that gaine will make them affect that which Religion, Charity and the common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in mee to deceiue my selfe, much more the King and State, my Friends and Country, with these inducements: which seeing his Maiesty hath giuen permission, I wish all sorts of worthy honest industrious spirits would vnderstand, and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to giue it, not to perswade them to goe onely, but goe with them; not leaue them there, but liue with them there.

I will not say but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses may bee taken [that] may make vs miserable enough: but if I may haue the execution of what I haue proiected, if they [**219**] want to eat, let them eat or neuer disgest mee. If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines [which] may su[i]te my paines, quality and condition; and if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeeres end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne; I feare not want of company sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of these Countries; and by the proofe of that wealth I hope yeerely to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents as are beyond my power in reason to preuent; for I am not so simple to thinke that [*p.* 928.] euer any other motiue then wealth will euer erect there a common wealth, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in *New-England* to effect my purposes.

The Planters pleasures and profit. And lest any should thinke the toile might be insupportable, though these things may bee had by labour and diligence; I assure my selfe there are who delight extremely in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England* to enioy it, then I should doe here [*New England*] to gaine wealth sufficient, and yet I thinke they should not haue halfe such sweet content: for our pleasure here is still gaines, in *England* charges and losse; here nature and liberty affoords [*p.* 213.] vs that freely which in *England* we want, or it costeth vs deerely. What pleasure can bee more then being tired with any occasion a shore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Herbes, in contriuing their owne grounds to the pleasure of their owne minds, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other workes, &c. to recreate

themselues before their owne doores in their owne Boats vpon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling may take diuers sorts of excellent Fish at their pleasures; and is it not pretty sport to pull vp two pence, six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you can ha[u]le and vere a line; hee is a very bad Fisher [that] cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line one, two, or three hundred Cods, which dressed and dryed, if they bee sold there for ten shillings a hundred, though in *England* they will giue more then twenty, may not both seruant, master and Merchant be well content with this gaine? if a man worke but three daies in seuen, hee may get more then hee can spend vnlesse hee will bee exceedingly excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Tailer, Smith, Sailer, Forger, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they can eat in a weeke; or if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choise, yet sell it or change it with the Fisher-men or Merchants for any thing you want; and what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt and charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweet aire from Ile to Ile, ouer the silent streames of a calme Sea; wherein the most curious may finde profit, pleasure and content. [1616]

Thus though all men be not fishers, yet all men whatsoeuer may in other matters doe as well, for necessity doth in these cases so rule a common wealth, and each in their seuerall functions, as their labours in their qualities may be as profitable because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

Imploiments for Gentlemen

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them then ranging daily these vnknowne parts, vsing fowling and fishing for hunting and hawking, and yet you shall see the wilde Hawkes giue you some pleasure in seeing them stoupe six or seuen times after one another an houre or two together, at the skulls of Fish in the faire Harbours, as those a shore at a fowle; and neuer trouble nor torment your selues with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horse and man with running and crying, See you not a Hawke: for hunting also, the Woods, Lakes and Riuers affoord not onely chase sufficient for any that delights in that kinde of toile or pleasure, but such beasts [*p.* 214.]

[1616] to hunt, that besides the delicacie of their bodies for food, their skinnes are so rich, as they will recompence thy daily labour with a Captaines pay. [220]

Imploiments for Labourers.

For Labourers, if those that sow Hempe, Rape, Turnups, Parsnips, Carrats, Cabidge, and such like; giue twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie shillings yeerely for an Acre of Land; and meat, drinke, and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich: when better, or at least as good ground may bee had and cost nothing but labour; it seemes strange to me any such should grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents, men from their wiues, nor seruants from their masters; onely such as with free consent may bee spared: but that each Parish, or Village, in Citie, or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children of thirteene or fourteene yeeres of age, or young maried people that haue small wealth to liue on, here by their labour may liue exceeding well. Prouided alwaies, that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defend them, and meet prouisions for them, for [any] place may be ouer-laine: and it is most necessary to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practise) and sufficient masters of all necessarie mec[h]anicall qualities, to take ten or twelue of them for Apprentises; the Master by this may quickly grow rich, these may learne their trades themselues to doe the like, to a generall and an incredible benefit for King and Countrey, Master and Seruant.

Examples of the *Spaniards.*

It would be a History of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries; which with such [*p.* 215.] incomparable honor, and constant resolution, so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured in their discoueries and plantations, as may well condemne vs of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence: yet the Authors of these new inuentions were held as ridiculous for a long time, as now are others that doe but seeke to imitate their vnparalleld vertues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprung from the Plants of their generous indeuours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that we either ignorantly

The causes of our defailments.

beleeue nothing, or so curiously contest, to preuent we know not what future euents; that we either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire Sand rather then vpon rough Rocks, iudge that we know not, gouerne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their wils to be idle, or as ill. And who is hee [that] hath iudgement, courage, and any industry or quality with vnderstanding, will leaue his Country, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweet *England* doth affoord to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by enioying his deserts, whose prosperitie once appearing, will encourage others: but it must be cherished as a childe, till it be able to goe and vnderstand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed aboue it[s] strength, ere it know wherefore. [1616]

A childe can neither performe the office nor deeds of a man of strength, nor endure that affliction he is able: nor can an Apprentise at the first performe the part of a Master. And if twentie yeeres be required to make a childe a man, seuen yeeres limited an Apprentise for his trade: if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States-man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet; if perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must be Practice as well as Theoricke: Let no man then condemne this paradox opinion, to say that halfe seuen yeres is scarce sufficient for a good capacitie to learne in these affaires how to carrie himselfe. And who euer shall try in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the end of seuen yeeres occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and in the *Interim*, all the content, rewards, gaines, [*p.* 216.] and hopes, will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning, till it be able to creepe, to stand, and goe, and to encourage desert by all possible meanes; yet time enough to keepe it from running, for there is no feare it will grow too fast, or euer to any thing, except libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the Planters of those affaires in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyrannie, ingratitude, and such double dealing, as bindes free men to become slaues, [221] and honest men turne

[1616] knaues; which hath euer beene the ruine of the most popular Common-weales, and is very vnlikely euer well to begin anew.

The blisse of *Spaine.* Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spaniard*, but these new conclusions in searching those vnknowne parts of this vnknowne world; by which meanes he diues euen into the very secrets of all his neighbours, and the most part of the world; and when the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* had found the *East* and *West-Indies*, how many did condemne themselues, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*, who vpon our neglect brought them to it, perswading our selues the world had no such places as they had found: and yet euer since we finde, they still (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and Trades, and still daily doe finde, both in *Asia*, *Affrica*, *Terra incognita*, and *America*, so that there is neither Souldier nor Mechanicke, from the Lord to the Beggar, but those parts affoords them all imploiment, and discharges their natiue soile of so many thousands of all sorts, that else by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* it selfe.

Now hee knowes little that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries; and seeing for all they haue, they cease not still to search for that they haue not, and know not; it is strange we should be so dull, as not [to] maintaine that which we haue, and pursue that we know.

Surely, I am sure many would take it ill, to be abridged of the titles and honors of their predecessors; when if but truly they would iudge themselues, looke how inferior [*p.* 217.] they are to their Noble Vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honors and liuings, which neuer were ordained for shewes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by Heroicall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it both in their purse and person they would not doe, for the good of their Common-wealth, which might moue them presently to set out their spare children in these generous designes.

Religion aboue all things should moue vs, especially the Clergie, if we are religious, to shew our faith by our works, in conuerting those poore Saluages to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spaniards* takes to bring them to their adultered faith. Honour might moue the Gentry, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all, if we were that we would seeme, and be accounted: or be we so farre inferior to other Nations, or our spirits so farre deiected from our ancient predicessors, or our mindes so vpon spoile, piracy, and such villany, as to serue the *Portugall*, *Spaniard*, *Dutch*, *French*, or *Turke*, (as to the cost of *Europe* too many doe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selues; excusing our idlenesse and our base complaints by want of imploiment, when here is such choice of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting and discouering these North parts of *America*. [1615-6]

My second voyage to New England.

My second Voiage to *New England*. 1615.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1615. I was imploied by many my friends of *London*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, a noble Knight, and a great fauourer of those actions, who perswaded the reuerend Deane of *Exeter* Doctor *Sut[c]liffe*, and diuers Merchants of the West, to entertaine this Plantation.

Much labour I had taken to bring the *Londoners* and them to ioyne together, because the *Londoners* haue most Money, and the Westerne men are most proper for fishing; and it is neere as much trouble, but much more danger, to saile from *London* to *Plimoth*, then from *Plimoth* to *New England*, so that halfe the voiage would thus be saued: yet by no meanes I could preuaile, so desirous they were both to be Lords of this fishing.

Now to make my words more apparant by my deeds, to begin a Plantation [**222**] for a more ample triall of those conclusions, I was to haue staied there but with sixteene men, whose names were;

[1615] [pp. 223, 258, 736, 746, 747.]

Thos. Dirmer. *Edw. Stallings.* *Daniel Cage.* *Francis Abbot.*	Gent.	*Thomas Digby.* *Daniel Baker.* *Adam Smith.* *Tho. Watson.* *Walter Chisell.* *Robert Miller.* And two Boyes	were to learne to be Sailers.
Iohn Gosling. *William Ingram.* *Dauid Cooper.* *Iohn Partridge.*	Souldiers.		

[p. 218.] I confesse I could haue wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions beene in like proportion; nor would I haue had so few, could I haue had means for more: yet would God haue pleased we had safely arriued, I doubted not but to haue performed more then I promised, and that many thousands ere this would haue bin there ere now.

The ground and plot for our plantation. The maine assistance next God I had to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the Saluages, especially with *Dohoday*, one of their greatest Lords, who had liued long in *England* (and another called *Tantum*, I [had] caried with mee from *England*, and set on shore at Cape *Cod*); by the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue got that credit amongst the rest of the Saluages and their alliance, to haue had as many of them as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also they had by such a kinde of exchange of their Countrey Commodities, which both with ease and securitie might then haue beene vsed.

[pp. 747, 754, 757.]

[p. 205] With him and diuers others, I had concluded to inhabit and defend them against the *Tarentines*, with a better power then the *French* did them; whose tyrannie did inforce them to embrace my offer with no small deuotion.

And though many may think me more bold then wise, in regard of their power, dexteritie, treachery, and inconstancy, [pp. 697, 701.] hauing so desperately assaulted and betraied many others; I say but this (because with so many, I haue many times done much more in *Virginia* then I intended here, when I wanted that experience *Virginia* taught mee) that to me it seemes no more danger then ordinary: and though I know my selfe [to be] the meanest of many thousands, whose apprehensiue inspection can pierce beyond the bounds of my abilities, into the hidden things of Nature, Art, and Reason: yet I intreat such, [to] giue

mee leaue to excuse my selfe of so much imbecillitie, as to say, that in these eighteene yeeres [1606–1624] which I haue beene conuersant with these affaires, I haue not learned, there is a great difference betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall knowledge, and the superficiall coniecture of variable relation: wherein rumour, humour, or misprision haue such power, that oft times one is enough to beguile twentie, but twentie not sufficient to keepe one from being deceiued. Therefore I know no reason but to beleeue my owne eies before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the conceits of my owne proiects and endeuours, but I honor with all affection, the counsell and instructions of iudiciall directions, or any other honest aduertisement, so farre to obserue, as they tie me not to the crueltie of vnknowne euents. [1614–5]

The meanes vsed to preuent it and me. [*pp.* 219, 700.]

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imploiments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures, wherein though I haue had many discouragements, by the ingratitude of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friends, the treachery of cowards, and slownesse of Aduenturers.

How I set saile and returned.

Now you are to remember, as I returned first from *New England* at *Plimoth*, I was promised foure good ships ready prepared to my hand the next Christmas, and what conditions and content I would desire, to put this businesse in practise, and arriuing at *London*, foure more were offered me with the like courtesie. But to ioyne the *Londoners* and them in one, was most impossible; so that in Ianuary [1615] with two hundred pound in Cash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from *London* to the foure ships were promised me at *Plimoth*, but I found no such matter: and the most of those that had made such great promises, by the bad returne of the ship [that] went for Gold, and their priuate emulations, were extinct and qualified. [*p.* 701.]

Notwithstanding at last, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the [223] greatest of the burden lay on me, and a few of my particular friends, I was furnished with a ship of two hundred tunnes, and another of fiftie. But ere I had sailed one hundred and twentie leagues, she brake all her Masts, pumping each watch fiue or six thousand strokes; onely her spret-saile remained to spoone before the winde, till [*p.* 221.]

[1615] we had re-accommodated a Iury-mast to returne for *Plimoth*, or founder in the Seas.

My Vice-Admirall being lost [*i.e.*, *lost sight of*], not knowing of this, proceeded [on] her voyage.

My reimbarkement, encounter with Pirats, and imprisonment by the French.

Now with the remainder of those prouisions, I got out againe in a small Barke of sixtie tuns with thirty men; for this of two hundred [tuns], and prouision for seuentie: which were the sixteene before named [*pp.* 217, 732], and foureteene other Sailers for the ship.

With those I set saile againe the foure and twentieth of Iune [1615]. Where what befell me (because my actions and writings are so publike to the world) enuy still seeking to scandalize my endeuours, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens minds, lest my owne relations of those hard euents might by some constructors bee made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukeley*, a worthy Knight, and Vice-Admirall of *Deuonshire*, which was as followeth.

The Examination of Daniel Baker, *late Steward to Captaine* Iohn Smith, *in there turne of* Plimoth, *taken before Sir* Lewis Stukeley *Knight, the eighth of December*, 1615.

THE effect in briefe was this: being chased by one *Fry* an English Pirat, *Edward Chambers* the Master, *Iohn Miller* his Mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pylot, and diuers others importuned him to yeeld; much swaggering wee had with them, more then the Pirats: who agreed vpon such faire conditions as we desired, which if they broke, he vowed to sinke rather then be abused. Strange they thought it, that a Barke of threescore tuns with foure guns should stand vpon such termes, they being eightie expert Sea-men, in an excellent ship of one hundred and fortie tuns, and thirty six cast Peeces and Murderers.

[*p.* 222.]

But when they knew our Captaine, so many of them had beene his Souldiers, and they but lately runne from *Tunis*, where they had stolne this ship, wanted victuall, and in combustion amongst themselues, would haue yeelded all to his protection, or wafted vs any whither: but those mutinies occasioned vs to reiect their offer, which afterward we all repented. [1615]

For at *Fiall* we met two French Pirats, the one of two hundred tuns, the other thirty: no disgrace would cause our mutiners [to] fight, till the Captaine offered to blow vp the ship rather then yeeld, till hee had spent all his powder: so that together by the eares we went, and at last got cleere of them for all their shot.

At *Flowers* we were againe chased with foure French men of warre, the *Admirall* one hundred and fortie tuns, and ninety men well armed; the rest good ships, and as well prouided: much parly we had, but vowing they were *Rochilers*, and had a Commission from the King onely to secure true men, and take *Portugals*, *Spaniards*, and Pirats, and as they requested, our Captaine went to shew his Commission, which was vnder the broad Seale; but neither it nor their vowes they so much respected, but they kept him, rifled our ship, manned her with French men, and dispersed vs amongst their Fleet. Within fiue or six daies they were increased to eight or nine saile.

At last they surrendred vs our ship, and most of our prouisions; the defects they promised the next day to supply, and did. Notwithstanding, there was no way but our mutiners would for *England*, though we were as neere *New England*; till the major part resolued with our Captaine to proceed.

But the *Admirall* sending his Boat for our Captaine, they espying a Saile, presently gaue chase; whereby our mutiners finding an opportunitie in the night ran away, and thus left our Captaine in his Cap, Bretches, and Wastcoat, alone among the French men: his clothes, armes, and what he had, our mutiners shared among them, and with a false excuse, faining [**224**] for feare lest he should turne man of warre, they returned for

[1615] *Plimoth*: fifteene of vs being Land-men, not knowing what they did.

[p. 223.] *Daniel Cage, Edward Stalings, Walter Chisell, Dauid Cooper, Robert Miller*, and *Iohn Partridge*, vpon oath affirmes this for truth before the Vice-Admirall.

A double treachery.

NOw the cause why the French detained mee againe, was the suspition this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them, that I would reuenge my selfe vpon the *Banke*, or in *Newfound land*, of all the French I could there encounter; and how I would haue fired the ship, had they not ouer-perswaded me: and that if I had but againe my Armes, I would rather sinke by them, then they should haue from me but the value of a Bisket; and many other such like tales to catch but opportunitie in this manner to leaue me, and thus they returned to *Plimoth*, and perforce with the French men I thus proceeded.

A fleet of nine French men of war, and fights with the Spaniard.

Being a fleet of eight or nine saile, we watched for the *West-Indies* fleet, till ill weather separated vs from the other eight: still wee spent our time about the Iles of the *Assores*, where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this Discourse, thinking to haue sent it to you of his Maiesties Councell by some ship or other, for I saw their purpose was to take all they could.

At last we were chased by one Captaine *Barra*, an English Pirat in a small ship, with some twelue Peece[s] of Ordnance, about thirty men, and neere all starued. They sought by courtesie releefe of vs, who gaue them such faire promises, as at last they betraied Captaine *Wollistone* his Lieutenant, and foure or fiue of his men aboord vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce.

Now my part was to be prisoner in the Gun-roome, and not to speake to any of them vpon my life; yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing well those French intents, made ready to fight, and *Wollistone* as

resolutely regarded not their threats, which caused vs [to] demurre vpon the matter longer some sixteene houres, and then returned them againe Captaine *Wollistone* and all their Prisoners, and some victuall also vpon a small composition. [1615]

But whilest we were bartering thus with them; a Caruill before our faces got vnder the Castle of *Gratiosa*, from whence they beat vs with their Ordnance.

A prise of Fish.

The next wee tooke was a small English man of *Poole* from *New found land*: the great Cabben at this present was my prison, from whence I could see them pillage these poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish: when hee was gone, they sold his poore clothes at the maine Mast by an out-cry, which scarce gaue each man seuen pence a peece.

A Scotch prise. [*p.* 225.]

Not long after, we tooke a *Scot* fraught from Saint *Michaels* to *Bristow*, he had better fortune then the other; for hauing but taken a Boats loading of Sugar, Marmelade, Suckets, and such like, we descried foure saile, after whom we stood: who forling their maine Sailes attended vs to fight, but our French spirits were content onely to perceiue they were English red Crosses.

Within a very small time after, wee chased 4. Spanish ships that came from the *Indies*: we fought with them foure or fiue houres, tore their sailes and sides with many a shot betwixt wind and weather, yet not daring to boord them, lost them; for which, all the Sailers euer after hated the Captaine as a professed coward.

A prise worth 36000 crownes.

A poore Caruill of *Brasile* was the next wee chased; and after a small fight, thirteene or foureteene of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe, we tooke her with three hundred and seuenty chests of Sugar, one hundred hides, thirty thousand Rialls of eight. [*p.* 739.]

The next was a ship of *Holland*, which had lost her Consorts in the Streights of *Magilans*, going for the South sea. She was put roomy, she also these French men with faire promises, cunningly betraied to come aboord them to shew their Commission, and so made prise of all: the most of the *Dutch-men* we tooke aboord the *Admirall*, and manned her [*the Dutch ship*] with *French-men*, that within two or three nights after ran away with her for *France*. The wounded *Spaniards* we set on shore on the Ile of *Tercera*, the rest we kept to saile the Caruill.

[1615] Within a day or two after, we met a *West-Indies* man of warre, of one hundred [**225**] and sixtie tuns, a forenoone wee fought with her, and then tooke her with one thousand one hundred Hides, fiftie Chests of Cutchanele, foureteene Coffers of wedges of Siluer, eight thousand Rialls of eight, and six Coffers of the King of *Spaines* Treasure, besides the good pillage and rich Coffers of many rich Passengers.

A prise worth 200000 crownes.

[*f.* 739.]

Two moneths [*Aug.–Oct.* 1615] they kept me in this manner, to manage their fights against the *Spaniards*, and bee a Prisoner when they tooke any English. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me on shore [on] the Iles [*Azores*], or the next ship he tooke; yet at the last he was contented I should goe in the Caruill of Sugar for *France*, himselfe seeming as resolued to keepe the Seas: but the next morning we all set saile for *France*, and that night we were separated from the *Admirall* and the rich prise by a storme.

[*f.* 739.]

Within two daies after, wee [*in the Caravel*] were hailed by two *West-Indies* men: but when they saw vs waife them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot thorow our maine Mast, and so left vs.

Hauing liued now this Summer [*Aug.–Nov.* 1615] amongst those French men of warre, with much adoe we arriued at the *Gulion*, not farre from *Rotchell:* where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction and full content, and tenne thousand Crownes was generally concluded I should haue; they kept me fiue or six daies Prisoner in the Caruill, accusing me to be he that burnt their Colony in *New France*, to force me to giue them a discharge before the Iudge of the Admiraltie, and stand to their courtesies for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischiefe.

Indeed this was in the time of combustion, that the Prince of *Cundy* was with his Army in the field; and euery poore Lord, or men in authoritie, as little Kings of themselues. For this iniury was done me by them that set out this voyage (not by the Sailers); for they were cheated of all as well as I, by a few Officers aboord, and the owners on shore.

My escape from the French men.

[*f.* 226.]

But to preuent this choise, in the end of such a storme that beat them all vnder hatches, I watched my opportunitie to get a shore in their Boat; whereinto in the darke

night I secretly got, and with a halfe Pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat* Ile: but the currant was so strong, and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea, till it pleased God the wind so turned with the tide, that although I was all this fearefull night of gusts and raine in the Sea the space of twelue houres, when many ships were driuen ashore, and diuers split: (and being with skulling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke me) at last I arriued in an Oazy Ile by *Charowne*, where certaine Fowlers found me neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, cold, and hunger. [1615]

My Boat I pawned to finde meanes to get to *Rotchell*; where I vnderstood our man of war and the rich prize, (wherein was the Captaine called *Mounsieur Poyrune*, and the thirtie thousand Rialls of eight we tooke in the Caruill), was split; the Captaine drowned and halfe his Company the same night, within six or seuen leagues of that place, from whence I escaped in the little Boat by the mercy of God, far beyond all mens reason or my expectation. [*p.* 738.] [*p.* 737.]

Arriuing at *Rotchell:* vpon my complaint to the Iudge of the Admiraltie, I found many good words and faire promises; and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, told me the newes they heard of my owne death. These I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held proofe sufficient. What law I had.

All which being performed according to their order of justice, from vnder the Iudges hand, I presented it to Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, then Ambassadour at *Burdeaux*; where it was my chance to see the arriuall [21 *Nov.* 1615] of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*.

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Master *Crampton*, that no lesse grieued at my losse, then willingly to his power did supply my wants; and I must confesse, I was more beholden to the French men that escaped drowning in the man of warre, Madam *Chanoyes* at *Rotchell*, and the Lawyers of *Burdeaux*, then all the rest of my Country-men I met in *France*. Of the wracke of the [**226**] rich prize, some three thousand six hundred crownes worth of goods came ashore and was saued, with the Caruill, which I did my best to arrest: the Iudge promised I should haue Iustice, what will be the con- [*p.* 277.] [*p.* 738.]

[1615-6] clusion as yet [*June* 1616] I know not. But vnder the couler to take Pirats and the *West-Indie* men (because the *Spaniards* will not suffer the French to trade in the *West-Indies*) any goods from thence, though they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine*, are lawfull prize, or from any of his Territories out of the limits of *Europe:* and as they betraied me, though I had the broad-seale, so did they rob and pillage twentie saile of English men more, besides them I knew not of, the same yeere.

My returne for England. [*f.* 227.]

Leauing thus my businesse in *France* I returned [*Dec.* 1615] to *Plimoth*, to finde them [that] had thus buried me amongst the French; and not onely buried me, but with so much infamy as such treacherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villanies. [*f.* 745.]

The Chiefetaines of this mutiny that I could finde, I laid by the heeles; the rest, like themselues, confessed the truth, as you haue heard.

Now how I haue or could preuent these accidents, hauing no more meanes, I rest at your censures; but to proceed to the matter; yet must I sigh and say, How oft hath Fortune in the world (thinke I) brought slauery, freedome, and turned all diuersly.

NEwfoundland I haue heard, at the first, was held as desperate a fishing as this I proiect for *New England*. *Placentia*, and the *Banke*, neare also as doubtfull to the French. But for all the disasters hapned [to] me, the businesse is the same it was, and the fiue ships [that] went from *London*, whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes, found fish so much, that neither *Izeland* man, nor *Newfoundland* man, [that] I could heare of hath bin there, will go any more to either place, if they may go thither.

The successe of my Vice-Admirall.

So that vpon the good returne of my *Vice-Admirall*; this yeere [1616] are gone 4 or 5 saile from *Plimoth*, and from *London* as many, only to make voyages of profit: whereas if all the English had bin there till my returne, put all their returnes together, they would scarce make one a sauour of neere a dozen I could nominate, except one

sent by Sir *Francis Pop[h]am*; though there be fish sufficient, as I am perswaded, to fraught yeerely foure or fiue hundred Saile, or as many as will goe. [1616] [p. 228.]

For this fishing stretcheth along the Sea Coast from Cape *Iames* to *Newfoundland*, which is seuen or eight hundred miles at the least; and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yere long: keeping their ha[u]nts and feedings, as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But all men are not such as they should be, that haue vndertaken those voyages: All the *Romans* were not *Scipioes*; nor *Carthagenians*, *Hanibals*; nor all the *Genweses*, *Columbusses*; nor all the *Spaniards*, *Courteses*: had they diued no deeper in the secrets of their discoueries then we, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidentall chances, they had neuer beene remembered as they are, yet had they no such certainties to begin as we.

But to conclude, *Adam* and *Eue* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry. *Noe* and his family began againe the second Plantation; and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Countrey another, and so the world to that estate it is: but not without much hazard, trauell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthy Fathers, and their memorable off-spring, not beene more diligent for vs now in these ages, then we are to plant that yet is vnplanted for the after liuers. Had the seed of *Abraham*, our Sauiour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselues to no more dangers to teach the Gospell then we, euen wee our selues had at this present beene as saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage, yet vnciuilized. [pp. 223, 934.]

The *Hebrewes* and *Lacedemonians*, the *Gothes*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the rest, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Teritories, enrich their subiects, resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no siluered idle golden Pharis[i]es, but industrious Iron steeled Publicans: They regarded more prouisions

[1616] and necessaries [**227**] for their people, then Iewels,
[*p.* 229.] riches, ease, or delight for themselues; Riches were their Seruants, not their Masters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tirants) their people as Children, not as Slaues; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountred not with all manner of incumbrances. And what hath euer beene the worke of the greatest Princes of the Earth, but planting of Countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to ciuilitie and humanitie, whose eternall actions fills our Histories. Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, whose euer-liuing actions before our eies will testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion. We owe our God, our King and Countrey, and want of Charitie to those poore Saluages, whose Countrey wee challenge, vse and possesse; except wee be but made to vse, and marre what our fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme our selues too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them to prouide that doth maintaine vs, and basenesse in vs to doe the like for others? Surely no.
[*Ff.* 229,936.] Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to help other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or our bad by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue, to carie our soules to heauen or hell. Seeing honor is our liues ambition, and our ambition after death to haue an honorable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignities and glories of our predecessors, let vs imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors: to conclude with *Lucretius*,

> *Its want of reason, or its reasons want*
> *Which doubts the minde and iudgement, so doth dant,*
> *That those beginnings makes men not to grant.*

Iohn Smith writ this with his owne hand.

Here followeth a briefe Discourse of the trials of *New England*, with certaine Obseruations of the *Hollanders* vse and gaine by fishing, and the present estate of that happy Plantation, begun but by sixtie weake men, in the yeere of our Lord 1620. and how to build a fleet of good ships to make a little Nauy Royall, by the former Author.

[*pp.* 749–69.]

[*pp.* 773–5.]

HE saith, that it is more then foure and forty yeeres agoe [*i.e.*, *by* 1577], and it is more then fortie yeeres agoe [1577] since he writ it; that the Herring Busses out of the Low Countries vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fiue hundred, besides one hundred French men, and three or foure hundred saile of *Flemings*. [1620–2] Master *Dee* his report. [*pp.* 238,254.]

The Coast of *Wales* and *Lancashire* was vsed by 300 Saile of Strangers.

Ireland at *Beltamore*, fraughted yeerely three hundred saile of *Spaniards*, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the straight, to haue tribute for fishing.

Black Rocke was yerely fished by three or foure hundred saile of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *Biskiners*.

The *Hollanders* raise yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, thirty [*or rather* three hundred] thousand pounds. The benefit of fishing, as Master *Gentleman* and others report.

English and French, by Salt-fish, Poore-Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, three hundred [*or rather* thirty] thousand pounds.

[1620] *Hambrough* and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, one hundred thousand pounds.

Cape *Blanke* for Tunny and Mullit, by the *Biskiners* and *Spaniards*, thirty thousand pounds.

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yeerely tribute of the Fishers, for Tunny, Mullit, and Porgos, more then ten thousand pounds.

The Records of *Holland* and other learned obseruers.

Lubecke hath seuen hundred [**228**] ships; *Hambrough* six hundred; *Emden* [but] lately a Fisher towne, one thousand foure hundred: whose customes by fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Zeland* not much greater then *Yorkeshire*, hath thirty walled Townes, foure hundred Villages, and twenty thousand saile of Ships and Hoies; three thousand [*p.* 239.] six hundred [ships] are Fisher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, seuen hundred Pinkes and Well-Boats, seuen hundred Fraud-boats, Britters, and Tode-boats, with thirteene hundred Busses; besides three hundred that yeerely fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for Gold: and fifteene yeeres agoe [1605] they had more then an hundred and sixteene thousand Sea-faring men.

[*p.* 255.] These fishing ships doe take yeerely two hundred thousand last of fish, twelue barrels to a last, which amounts to 300000[0]. pounds by the fisher mens price, that 14. yeeres agoe [1606] did pay for their tenths three hundred thousand pound; which venting in *Pumerland*, *Sprustia*, *Denmarke*, *Lefeland*, *Russia*, *Swethland*, *Germany*, *Netherlands*, *England*, or else where, &c. makes their returnes in a yeere about threescore and ten hundred thousand pounds, which is seuen millions; and yet in *Holland* there is neither matter to build ships nor merchandize to set them forth, yet by their industry they as much increase as other nations decay.

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine.

That the coast of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, the North Sea with *Island* and the *Sound*, *Newfound-land* and Cape *Blanke*, doe serue all Europe, as well the land townes as ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of staple fish, which is transported from whence it is taken

many a thousand mile, *viz.* Herring, salt Fish, Poore-Iohn, [1614–7]
Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Cauiare, Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them may be had in a land more fertill, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boats and houses, and the nourishment of man; the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neere the habitations we may there make, that *New-England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all Europe farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from the habitation. But *New-Englands* fishings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruits, Fowles, Corne or other refreshings needfull, and the [*p.* 240.] *Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugall, Prouaues, Sauoy, Sicillia*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Cauiare and Buttargo, as *Norway, Swethland, Littuania* or *Germany* for their Herring, which is heare also in abundance for taking; they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tar, Sope-ashes, Cordage, [*p.* 256.] Flax, Wax, and such like commodities: wee Wines, Oiles, Sugars, Silkes, and such merchandize as the Straits [*i.e., of Gibraltar*] offoord [*afford*]; whereby our profit may equalize theirs, besides the increase of shipping and Marriners: and for proofe hereof.

In the yeere of our Lord 1614. you haue read how 1614.
I went from *London:* also the next yeere 1615. how foure 1615.
good ships went from *London*, and I with two more from *Plimoth*, with all our accidents, successes and returnes: in the yeere 1616. ere I returned [*Dec.* 1615] from *France*, the [*pp.* 241, 257.] Londoners for all their losse by the Turkes, sent foure 1616. ships more; foure more also went from *Plimoth*.

After I returned from *France*, I was perswaded againe to goe to *Plimouth*, with diuers of my friends with one hun- [*p.* 740.] dred pound for our aduentures besides our charges; but wee found all things as vntoward as before, and all their great promises nothing but aire: yet to prepare the voyage against the next yeere, hauing acquainted a great part of the 1617.

[1617-8] Nobility with it, and ashamed to see the Prince his Highnesse till I had done some what worthy his Princely view; I spent that Summer [1616] in visiting the Cities and Townes of *Bristoll*, *Exeter*, *Bastable*, *Bodnam*, *Perin*, *Foy*, *Milborow*, *Saltash*, *Dartmouth*, *Absom*, *Tattnesse*, and the most of the Gentry in *Cornewall* and *Deuonshire*, giuing them Bookes and Maps, shewing how in six moneths the most of [**229**] those ships had made their voyages, and some in lesse, and with what good successe; by which incitation they seemed so well contented, as they promised twenty saile of ships should goe with mee next yeere [1617], and in regard of my paines, charge, and former losses, the westerne Commissioners in behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Company, and them hereafter that should be ioyned to them, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters-Patents so to be nominated. Halfe the fruits of our endeuours to be theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged, now the businesse is made plaine and likely to prosper, some of them would not onely forget me and their promises, but also obscure me, as if I had neuer beene acquainted in the businesse: but I am not the first they haue deceiued.

My su[i]te to the Country.

[*pp.* 267, 748, 941.]

1618. There was foure good ships prepared at *Plimoth*, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward: the one being of two hundred tunnes, returned well fraught to *Plimoth*, and her men in health, within fiue moneths; the other of fourescore tunnes, went for Bilbow with drie fish and made a good returne.

[*pp.* 241, 257.]

In this voyage *Edward Rowcroft*, alias *Stallings*, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with me in *Virginia*, and was with me also when I was betrayed by the French, was sent againe in those ships, and hauing some wrong offered him there by a French man, he tooke him [*i.e.*, *his ship*], and as he writ to me, went with him to *Virginia* with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare. He had not past ten or twelue men, and knew both those countries well, yet he promised me the next spring to meet me in *New-England*; but the ship and he both perished in *Virginia*.

[*pp.* 217, 223, 732, 736.]

This yeere againe, diuers ships intending to goe from *Plimoth*, so disagreed, there went but one of two hundred tunnes, who stayed in the Country about six weeks, which with eight and thirty men and boies had her fraught, which she sold at the first penny for 2100. [pounds] besides the Furres: so that euery poore Sailer that had but a single share had his charges and sixteene pound ten shillings for his seuen moneths worke. [1619-20] 1619. [*pp.* 242, 258.] [*p.* 941.]

Master *Thomas Dirmire* an vnderstanding and industrious Gentleman, that was also with me amongst the French men, hauing liued about a yeere in *Newfoundland*, returning to *Plimoth*, went for *New-England* in this ship, so much approued of this Country, that he staied there with fiue or six men in a little Boat; finding two or three French men amongst the Saluages who had lost their ship, [he] augmented his company, with whom he ranged the Coast to *Virginia*: where he was kindly welcommed and well refreshed [*Nov.* 1619], thence returned to *New-England* againe; where hauing beene a yeere, in his backe returne to *Virginia* [1621] he was so wounded by the Saluages, he died vpon it. [*pp.* 217, 732.] [*pp.* 259, 542, 770.]

Let not men attribute these their great aduentures, and vntimely deaths to vnfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserue them with so small meanes to doe so much; leauing the fruits of their labours to be an incouragement to those our poore vndertakings, and as warnings for vs not to vndertake such great workes with such small meanes: and this for aduantage as they writ vnto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by ciuill warres and a mortall disease, for where I had seene one hundred or two hundred Saluages, there is scarce ten to be found, and yet not any one of them [*Dermer's crew*] touched with any sicknesse but one poore French man that died. [*pp.* 719, 754, 933.]

They say this plague vpon them thus sore fell,
It was because they pleas'd not Tantum *well.* [*pp.* 732, 754, 757.]

From the West Country to make triall this yeere onely to fish, is gone six or seuen saile, three of which I am certainly informed made so good a voyage, that euery Sailer that had a single share had twenty pound for his 1620.

[1620-1] seuen moneths work, which is more then in twenty moneths he should haue gotten, had he gone [**230**] for wages any where.

Now although these former ships haue not made such good voiages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to saue that they tooke, nor take that there was, which now patience and practice hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection; in despight of all detractors and calumnia-
[*pp.* 242,259.] tions, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath beene in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me: But,

A due desert, for fortune makes prouision
For Knaues and Fooles, and men of base condition.

My su[i]te to the Citie.

NOw all these proofes and this relation I now called *New-Englands* triall. I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed: one thousand with a great many Maps both of *Virginia*
[*pp.* 242, 266, 941.] and *New-England*, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in *London* at their Halls, desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it, and by the vse of a stocke of fiue thousand pound, to ease them of the superfluity of the most of their companies that had but strength and health to labour.

Neere a yeere [1621] I spent to vnderstand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment, then to haue beene in *New-England* about my businesse but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge, as all
[*p.* 746.] the rest.

A Plantation in *New-England.* 1620.

VPon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen, and Merchants of *London* and other places, prouided two ships, the one of a hundred and threescore tunnes, the other of threescore and ten. They left the Coast of *England* the two and thirtieth [*twentieth*] of August [1620], with about a hundred and twenty persons; but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimoth*: where discharging her and twenty passengers; with the greater ship and one hundred passengers besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September [1620], and the ninth of Nouember fell with Cape *Iames*. [1620] [*p.* 259.] [*p.* 260.]

But being pestred nine weekes in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their Cabins, most of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea; then for want of experience, ranging two [*weeks*], and againe six weekes, before they found a place they liked to dwell on; forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture: forty of them died, and threescore were left in very weake estate, at the ships comming away, about the fifth of Aprill following, and [she] arriued in *England* the sixth of May [1621].

Though the Harbour [*at Cape Cod, pp.* 205, 719] be good, the shore is so shallow, they were forced to wade a great way vp to the knees in water, and vsed that that did them much hurt; and little fish they found but Whailes, and a great kinde of Mustell so fat, that few did eat of them that were not sicke: these miseries ocasioned some discord, and gaue some appearance of faction; but all was so reconciled, that they vnited themselues by common consent vnder their hands, to a kinde of combination of a body politike,

[1620] by vertue whereof to inact and constitute lawes and ordinances, and Officers from time to time, as should bee thought most conuenient for their generall good.

Their first iourny by land.

Sixteene or seuenteene daies they could doe little for want of their Shallop which was a mending; yet Captaine *Miles Standish*, vnto whom was ioyned in Councell, *William Bradfor[d]*, *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Tilly*, went well armed ashore; and by that time they had gone a mile, [they] met fiue or six Indians that fled into the Woods.

We traced them by the footing eight or ten miles, then the night approaching we made a fire, by which we lay that night; and the next morning followed the Saluages by their tract, thinking to finde their habitations, but by [**231**] the way we found a Deere amongst many faire springs of water, where we refreshed our selues. Then we went a shore and made a fire, that they at the ship might perceiue where we were, and so marched to a place where we supposed was a Riuer; by the way we saw many Vines, Saxefras, haunts of Deere and Fowle, and some fifty Acres of plaine ground [that] had beene planted by the Indians, where were some of their graues: from thence we followed a path that brought vs through three or foure fields that had bin planted that yeere; in one graue we digged, we found a basket or two of Indian Corne, so much as we could carry we tooke with vs, the rest we buried as we found it, and so proceeded to the place we intended, but we found it not such a Harbour as we expected. And so we returned, till the night caused vs [to] take vp our lodging vnder a tree; where it rained six or seuen houres.

The next morning, as we wandred, we passed by a tree, where a young sprig was bowed downe ouer a bough, and some Acornes strewed vnder it, which was one of their Gins to catch a Deere; and as we were looking at it, *Bradford* was suddenly caught by the leg in a noosed Rope, made as artificially as ours. As we passed we see a lease of Bucks, sprung some Partriges, and great flocks of wilde Geese and Ducks; and so we returned well wearied to our ship.

Their first iourny by Shallop.

Master *Iones* our Master with foure and thirty men, also went vp and downe in the frost and snow, two or three daies, in the extremity of the cold; but could finde no

harbour: only among the old graues we got some ten bushels of Corne, some Beanes, and a bottle of Oile; and had we not thus haply found it, we had had no Corne for seede, so that place we euer called *Corne-hill.* [1620]

The next day, Master *Iones* with the Corne and our weakest men returned to the Ship: but eighteene of vs quartered there that night, and in the morning following the paths, wee found in the Snow in a field a greater hill or graue then the rest, digging it wee found first a Mat, vnder that a boord three quarters long, painted and carued with three Tyns at the top like a Cronet, betweene the Mats also were Bowles, Traies and Dishes and such trash, at length we found a faire new Mat, and vnder that two bundles, the one biggar the other lesse; in the greater wee found a great quantity of fine red powder like a kinde of imbalmement, and yeelded a strong but no offensiue smell, with the bones and skull of a man that had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed, a Knife, a Pack-needle, and two or three old Iron things was bound vp in a Sailers canuase Cassocke, also a paire of cloth Breeches; in the lesse bundle we found likewise of the same powder, and the bones and head of a little childe; about the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and braslets of white beades, there was also a little Bow, and some other odde knacks, the prettiest we tooke, and couered againe the corps as they were. Not farre from thence were two of their houses, where were a great deale of their miserable houshold stuffe; which we left as wee found, and so returned to our Boat, and lay aboord that night.

Many arguments we had to make here our Plantation or not. In the *Int[e]rim*, Mistris *White* was brought to bed of a young sonne, which was called *Perigrine:* and a Sailer shooting at a Whale, his peece flew in peeces stocke and all, yet he had no hurt. A foolish boy discharging his fathers peece hard by halfe a barrell of Powder, and many people by it; it pleased God it escaped firing, so that no hurt was done. Accidents.

But to make a more certaine discouery where to seat our selues, Captaine *Standish*, Master *Caruer*, *William Branford* [*Bradford*], *Edward Winslo[w]e*, *Iohn Tilly*, *Edward Tilly*, with diuers others to the number of seuenteene, vpon

[1620] the sixt of December [1620] set saile; and hauing sailed six
Their second iourney by water to finde a place to plant in.
or seuen leagues, we espied eight or ten Saluages about a dead Grampus: still following the shore we found two or three more cast vp by the ill weather. Many we see in the water, therefore we called it *Grampus Bay*. Ships may ride well in it, but all the shore is very shallow flats of sand.

At last seuen or eight of vs went a shore, many fields we saw where the Saluages had inhabited, and a buriall place incompassed with a Palizado, so we returned to our Shallop: [**232**] in the night we heard a hideous cry and howling of Wolues and Foxes.

Their first fight with the Saluages.
In the morning as we were ready to goe into our Shallop, one of our men being in the woods, came running crying, Indians, Indians; and with all their Arrowes flying amongst vs, some of our men being in the boat, and their Armes a shore: so well it chanced, Captaine *Standish* with two or three more discharged their peeces till the rest were ready. One Saluage more stout then the rest, kept
[*V.* 754.]
vnder a tree, till he had shot three or foure Arrowes, and endured three or foure Musket shot; but at last they all fled. This was about breake of day in the morning, when they saw vs, and we not them.

The description of their place to plant in.
Hauing the wind faire, we sailed along the coast 8. or 10. leagues, thinking to haue got to a Harbour where one of our company had beene, within 8. leagues of Cape *Cod*, for neither cricke nor Harbour in this bay we could finde; and the wind so increased, our Rudder broke, and our Mast flew ouer-boord, that we were in danger to be cast away: but at last it pleased God we were in a harbor we knew not, thinking it [the] one we were acquainted with; this we found to be an Ile where we rid that night.

And hauing well viewed the land about it, and sounded the Bay to be a good Harbour for our ship, compassed with good land, and in it two faire Iles; where there is in their seasons innumerable store of all sorts of fish and fowle, good water, much plaine land, which hath beene planted: with this newes we returned to our ship; and with the next faire wind brought her thither, being but within the sight of Cape *Cod*. In the meane time *Goodwife Alderton* was deliuered of a sonne, but dead borne.
Another Boy borne in *New-England*.

Vpon the 28. of December [1620], so many as could

went to worke vpon the hill, where we purposed to build our Platforme [*battery or fort*] for our ordnance: which doth command all the Plaine and the Bay, and from whence wee may see far into the Sea; and be easily impailed. So in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and diuided our company into 19. families, alotting to euery person a poule in bredth and three in length: and so we cast lots where euery man should lie, which we staked out; thinking this proportion enough at the first to impale for lodgings and gardens. [1620-1] Their first Plantation.

Francis Billington from the top of a tree seeing a great water some three miles from vs in the land, went with the Masters Mate, and found it two great Lakes of fresh water: the bigger fiue or six miles in circuit, and an Ile in it of a Cables length square; the other three miles in compasse, full of fish and fowle, and two brooks issuing from it; which will be an excellent helpe in time for vs. Where they saw seuen or eight Indian houses, but no people. Two faire Lakes.

Foure being sent a mile or two from our plantation, two of them stragling into the woods was lost, for comming to a Lake of water they found a great Deere, hauing a mastiue Bitch and a Spanell with them, they followed so farre they could not finde the way backe. That afternoone it rained, and did freeze and snow at night: their apparell was very thin, and had no weapons but two sickles, nor any victuals; nor could they finde any of the Saluages habitations. When the night came they were much perplexed that they had no other bed then the earth, nor couerture then the skies; but that they heard, as they thought, two Lions roaring a long time together very nigh them, so not knowing what to doe, they resolued to climbe vp into a tree, though that would be an intollerable cold lodging; expecting their coming they stood at the trees root, and the bitch they held fast by the necke, for shee would haue beene gone to the Lions or what they were, that as it chanced came not nigh them. So they watched the tree that extreme cold night, and in the morning trauelling againe, passing by many lakes, brooks and woods, and in one place where the Saluages had burnt 4. or 5. miles in length, which is a fine champion Country; in the afternoone they discouered the two Iles in their Bay, and so that night, neere famished, Two men lost themselues in the woods.

[1621] they got to their Plantation: from whence they had sent our men euery way to seeke them.

That night the house they [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] had built and thatched, where lay their armes, bedding, powder, &c. tooke fire and was burnt. The Coast is so shoule, [that] the ship rides more then a mile from the Fort: but God be thanked no man was hurt, though much was burnt. [**233**]

Their first conference with a Saluage.

All this time we could not haue conference with a Saluage, though we had many times seene them and had many alarums: so that we drew a Councell, and appointed Captaine *Standish* to haue the command of all martiall actions; but euen in the time of consultation, the Saluages gaue an alarum.

The next day also, as wee were agreeing vpon his [*Standish*'s] orders, came a tall Saluage boldly amongst vs, not fearing any thing, and kindly bad vs welcome in English. He was a *Sagamo*, towards the North, where the ships vse to fish, and did know the names of most of the Masters that vsed thither: such victuall as we had we gaue him, being the first Saluage we yet could speake with.

[*pp.* 719, 747, 933.] He told vs this place where we were was called *Patuxet*, and that all the people three or foure yeeres agoe [1617–18] there died on the plague. In a day or two we could not be rid of him; then he returned to the *Massasoyts* from whence he came, where is some sixty people: but the [*p.* 752.] *Nawsits* are 100. strong, which were they [who] encountred our people at the first.

The second conference.

Two daies after, this *Samoset*, for so was his name, came againe, and brought fiue or six of the *Massasoyts* with him, with certaine skinnes, and certaine tooles they had got that we had left in the woods at their alarums: much friendship they promised, and so departed; but *Samoset* would not leaue vs, but fained himselfe sicke, yet at last he went to entreat the Saluages [to] come againe to confirme a peace.

Now the third time, as we were consulting of our Marshall orders, two Saluages appeared; but when we went to them they vanished: not long after came *Samoset*, [*pp.* 732, 747, 757.] and *Squanto*, a natiue of *Patuxet* where we dwell, and one of them carried into *Spaine* by *Hunt* [*pp.* 219, 698], thence brought into *England*, where a good time he liued: and now

here signified vnto vs, their great *Sachem* of *Massasoyt*, with *Quadaquina* his brother, and all their men, was there by to see vs. Not willing to send our Gouernour, we sent *Edward Wollisio* [*Winslow*] with presents to them both, to know their minds; making him to vnderstand by his Interpreters how King *Iames* did salute him and was his friend. [1621]

After a little conference, with twenty of his men he came ouer the brooke to our Plantation, where we set him vpon a rug; and then [we] brought our Gouernour to him with Drums and Trumpets: where after some circumstances, for they vse few complements, we treated of peace with them to this effect.

Their condition: of peace.

That neither he nor any of his should iniury or doe hurt to any of vs; if they did, he should send vs the offender, that we might punish him: and wee would doe the like to him.

If any did vniustly warre against him, we would aid him, as he should vs against our enemies; and to send to his neighbour confederats to certifie them of this, that they might likewise be comprised in these conditions.

That when any of them came to vs, they should leaue their Bow and Arrowes behinde them; as we would our peeces, when we came to them.

All which the King seemed to like well of, and was applauded of his followers. In his person hee is a very lusty man, in his best yeeres, an able body, graue of countenance, and spare of speech: in his attire little differing from the rest.

After all was done, the Gouernour conducted him to the brooke, but kept our hostage till our messengers returned; in like manner we vsed *Quaddaquina*: so all departed good friends.

Two of his people would haue staied with vs, but wee would not permit them, onely *Samoset* and *Squanto* wee entertained kindly; as yet [11 *Dec.* 1621] wee haue found they intend to keepe promise, for they haue not hurt our men they haue found stragling in the Woods, and are afraid of their powerfull Aduersaries the *Narrohiggansets*, against whom hee hopes to make vse of our helpe.

The next day, *Squanto* went a fishing for Eeles, and in an houre he did tread as many out of the O[o]se with his

[1621] feet as he could lift with his hand, not hauing any other instrument.

A iourney to *Pakanoki.*

But that we might know their habitations so well as they ours, *Stephen Hopkins* and *Edward Winslo*[*w*] had *Squantum* for their guide and Interpreter, [and were sent] to *Packanoki*, the habitation of the King of *Massasoyt*, with a red horsemans coat for a present, to entreat him by reason we had not victuall to entertaine them [**234**]as we would, he would defend his people so much from visiting vs; and if hee did send, he should alwaies send with the Messenger a copper Chaine they gaue him, that they might know he came from him, and also giue them some of his Corne for seede.

That night they lodged at *Namascet*, some fifteene miles off: by the way we found ten or twelue women and children that still would pester vs till we were weary of them; perceiuing it is the manner of them, where victuall is to bee gotten with most ease, there they will liue: but on that Riuer of *Namaschet* haue beene many habitations of the Saluages that are dead, and the land lies waste; and the Riuer abounding with great plenty of fish, and hath beene much frequented by the French.

A great courage of two old Saluages.

The next day, trauelling with six or seuen Indians, where we were to wade ouer the Riuer, did dwell onely two old men of that Nation then liuing: that thinking vs enemies, sought the best aduantage they could to fight with vs, with a wonderfull shew of courage; but when they knew vs their friends, they kindly welcommed vs.

How the King vsed them.

After, we came to a towne of the *Massasoits*; but at *Pakanoki* the King was not: towards night he arriued and was very proud, both of our message and presents, making a great oration to all his people.

> Was not he *Massasoit*, Commander of the country about him, was not such a towne his, and the people of it, and 20. townes more he named was his? and should they not bring their skins to vs?

To which they answered, they were his and they would.

Victual they had none, nor any lodging but a poore planke or two, a foot high from the ground, whereon his wife and he lay at the one end, we at the other, but a thin Mat vpon them; two more of his chiefe men pressed by

and vpon vs, so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our iourney. [1621]

Although there is such plenty of fish and fowle and wild beasts, yet are they so lasie they will not take paines to catch it till meere hunger constraine them; for in two or three daies we had scarce a meales meat, whereby we were so faint, we were glad to be at home: besides what for the fleas, and their howling and singing in the night in their houses, and the *Musketas* without doores, our heads were as light for want of sleepe, as our bellies empty for want of meat.

A voyage to *Nawsit*.

The next voiage we made was in a Shallop with ten men to *Nawsit*, sixteene miles from vs, to fetch a Boy [that] was lost in the Woods we heard was there, whom *Aspinet* their King had bedecked like a saluage: but very kindly he brought him to vs, and so returned well to *Patuyet* [*i.e.*, *Patuxet*].

1621. [*p.* 260.]

IMmediatly after the arriuall of the last ship, they sent another of fiue and fifty tuns to supply them; with seuen and thirty persons they set saile in the beginning of Iuly [1621], but being crossed by westernly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimoth*, and arriued in *New-England* at *New-Plimoth*, now so called, the 11. of *Nouember*: where they found all the people they left so ill, lusty and well, for all their pouerties, except six that died.

A moneth they stayed ere they returned to *England*, loaded with Clap-boord, Wainscot and Wallnut, with about three hogs-heads of Beuer skinnes, the 13. of December: and drawing neere our coast was set on by a French man set out by the Marquesse of *Cera*, Gouernour of Ile *D*[*i*]*eu*; where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and company, tooke from them to the value of 500 pound: and after 14. daies sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deuoured by the Marquesse and his hungry seruants.

[*pp.* 732, 747, 754.]

NOw you are to vnderstand this 37. brought nothing, but relied wholly on vs; to make vs more miserable then before: which the *Sachem Couanacus* no sooner vnderstood, but [he] sent to *Tusquantum* our Interpreter, a bundle of new arrowes

[1621] in a Snakes skinne. *Tusquantum* being absent, the Messenger departed: but when we vnderstood it was a direct challenge, we returned the skin full of powder and shot, with an absolute defiance; which caused vs [to] finish our fortification with all expedition. Now betwixt our two Saluages, *Tusquantum* and *Hobbamock*, grew such great emulation, we had much adoe to know which best to trust.

In a iourney we vndertooke, in our way we met a Saluage of *Tusquantums*, that had cut his face [**235**] fresh bleeding, to assure vs *Massasoyt* our supposed friend, had drawne his forces to *Packanokick* to assault vs. *Hobomak* as confidently assured vs it was false, and sent his wife as an espy to see; but when she perceiued all was well, shee told the King *Massasoyt* how *Tusquantum* had abused him. Diuers Saluages also hee had caused to beleeue we would destroy them, but he would doe his best to appease vs; this he did onely to make his Countrymen beleeue what great power hee had with vs to get bribes on both sides, to make peace or warre when he would: and the more to possesse them with feare, he perswaded many, we had buried the plague in our store house; which wee could send when we listed whither wee would.

But at last all his knauery being discouered, *Massasowat* sent his knife with Messengers for his head or him, being his subiect. With much adoe, we appeased the angry King and the rest of the Saluages, and freely forgaue *Tusquantum*; because he speaking our language, we could not well be without him.

A iourney to the Towne of Namaschet, *in defence of the King of* Massasoyt, *against the* Narrohigganses; *and the supposed death of* Squantum.

A Great difference there was betwixt the *Narrohigganses* and the *Massasoytes*, that had alwaies a iealousie; [and] *Coubatant* one of their petty *Sachems* was too conuersant with the *Narrohigganses*. This *Coubatant* liued much at *Namaschet*, and much stormed at our peace with his King and others; also at

Squantum, and *Tokamahamon*, and *Hobomak* our friends, and chiefe occasioners of our peace, for which he sought to mu[r]ther *Hobomak*. Yet *Tokamahamon* went to him, vpon a rumour he had taken *Masasoyt* prisoner, or forced him from his Country; but the other two would not, but in priuat to see if they could heare what was become of their King. [1621]

Lodging at *Namaschet* they were discouered to *Coubatant*, who surprized the house and tooke *Squantum*; saying, if hee were dead the English had lost their tongue: *Hobomak* seeing that, and [that] *Coubatant* held a knife at his brest, being a strong lusty fellow, brake from them; and came to *New-Plimoth*, full of sorrow for *Squantum*, whom he thought was slaine.

The next day, we sent ten men with him armed, to be reuenged on *Coubatant*; who conducted vs neere *Namaschet*, where we rested and refreshed our selues til midnight, and then we beset the house as we had resolued. Those that entred the house demanded for *Coubatant*, but the Saluages were halfe dead with feare: we charged them not to stirre, for we came to hurt none but *Coubatant*, for killing *Squantum*. Some of them seeking to escape was wounded; but at last perceiuing our ends, they told vs *Coubatant* was gone and all his men, and *Squantum* was yet liuing, and in the towne. In this hurly burly we discharged two peeces at randome, which much terrified all the inhabitants except *Squantum* and *Tokamahamon*; who though they knew not the end of our comming, yet assured themselues of our honesties, that we would not hurt them. The women and children hung about *Hobomak*, calling him friend; and when they saw we would hurt no women, the young youths cryed we are women. To be short, we kept them all; and whilest we were searching the house for *Coubatant*, *Hobomak* had got to the top, and called *Squantum* and *Tokamahamon*; which came vnto vs accompanied with others, some armed, others naked. Those that had bowes we tooke them from them, promising them againe when it was day. The house wee tooke for our quarter that night, and discharged the prisoners; and the next morning went to breakfast to *Squantums* house. They surprise the Saluages.

Thither came all them that loued vs to welcome vs, but all *Coubatants* faction was fled. Then we made them plainly know the cause of our comming, and if their King

[1621-2] *Massasoyt* were not well, we would be reuenged vpon the *Narrohiggansets*, or any that should doe iniury to *Hobomak*, *Squantum*, or any of their friends. As for those [that] were wounded we were sorry for it, and offered our Surgion should heale them: of this offer a man and a woman accepted, that went [**236**] home with vs, accompanied with *Squantum*, and many other knowne friends, that offered vs all the kindnesse they could.

[*p.* 261.] FRom the West of *England* there is gone ten or twelue ships to fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow, made seuenteene pound a single share, besides Beuers, Otters, and Martins skinnes: but some of the rest that came to the same ports, that were all ready furnished, so glutted the market, that the price was abated; yet all returned so well contented, that they are a preparing to goe againe.

1622. There is gone from the West Countrey onely to fish, fiue and thirtie ships: and about the last of Aprill [1622] two more from *London*; the one of one hundred tunnes, the other of thirtie, with some sixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation [*i.e.*, *Weston's men, see pp.* 762, 764, 892, 942, 946].

Now though the *Turke* and *French* hath beene somewhat too busie in taking our ships, would all the Christian Princes be truly at vnitie, as his Royall Maiestie our Soueraigne King *Iames* desireth, seuentie Saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his Coasts in the [*p.* 262.] Leuant, and make such a guard in the Straights of *Hellespont*, as would make the great *Turke* himselfe more affraid in *Constantinople*, then the smallest Red-Crosse that crosses the Seas would be, either of any French *Pickaroun*, or the Pirats of *Algere*.

An abstract of diuers Relations sent from the Colony in New England, *Iuly* 16. 1622.

Notes and obseruations. SInce the massacre in *Virginia* [*on 22 Mar.* 1622], though the *Indians* continue their wonted friendship, yet wee are more wary of them then before; for their hands hath beene imbrued in much English bloud, onely by too much confidence, but not by force: and we haue had small supplies of any thing but men.

HEre I must intreat a little your fauours to digresse, they did not kill the English in *Virginia*, because they were Christians: but for their weapons and Copper, which were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their dens, which Lions and Tigers will not admit [of] but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, and discourage any in *Virginia* or *New England:* No, for I haue tried them both, as you may reade at large in the Historie of *Virginia*; notwithstanding since I came from thence, the Honourable Company hath beene humble suiters to his Maiestie, to get vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so the businesse hath beene so abused, that so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were. Yet for all the worst of spight, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now [1622] suiters to goe, then euer hath beene constrained knaues. And it is not vnknowne to most men of vnderstanding, now happy many of those Collumners hath thought themselues that they might be admitted; and yet pay for their passage to goe now to *Virginia*, and I feare mee there goeth too many of those that hath shifted heere till they could no longer; and they will vse that qualitie there till they hazard all. [1622] [*p.* 263.]

To range this Countrey of *New England* in like manner, I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruit conditions, I met many of their silly encounters, and I giue God thankes, without any hurt at all to me, or any with mee. When your West-Countrey men were so wounded and tormented with the Saluages [*p.* 701]: though they had all the Politicke directions that had beene gathered from all the secret informations [that] could be heard of; yet they found little, and returned with nothing. I speak not this out of vaine-glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some who were neuer there may censure me; but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Saluages are, that thus strangely doe murder and betray our Countrymen. But to the purpose. [*p.* 264.] [*pp.* 188, 698, 719.]

THe *Paragon* with thirtie seuen men sent to releeue them, miscarried twice vpon [**237**] our English Coast, whereby they failed of their supplies. It is true, there hath beene taken one thousand [*pp.* 264, 766, 941.]

[1622] Bas[s]es at a draught; and in one night twelue Hogsheads of Herrings: but when they wanted all necessaries both for fishing and sustinance but what they could get with their naked industry, they indured most extreme wants; hauing beene now neere two yeeres without any supply to any purpose, it is a wonder how they should subsist, much lesse so to resist the Saluages, fortifie themselues, plant sixtie acres of Corne, besides their Gardens that were well replenished with many vsuall fruits.

They liued two yeeres without supply.

Westons Plantation. [*pp.* 760, 942.]

BUt in the beginning of Iuly [1622], came in two ships of Master *Westons*; though we much wanted our selues, yet we releeued them what we could: and to requite vs, they destroied our Corne and Fruits then planted, and did what they could to haue done the like to vs. At last they were transported to *Wichaguscusset* at the *Massachusets*, where they abused the Saluages worse then vs. [*p.* 764.]

We hauing neither Trade, nor scarce any thing remaining, God sent in one Master *Ions*, and a ship of *Westons* [that] had beene at *Monahigan* amongst the Fisher-men, that for Beuer skinnes and such Merchandize as wee had, very well refreshed vs, though at deere rates. *Weston* left also his men a small Barke, and much good prouision; and so set saile for *England*. Then wee ioyned with them to trade to the Southward of Cape *Cod*, twice or thrice wee were forced to returne; first by the death of their Gouernor; then the sicknesse of Captaine *Standish*. At last our Gouernor, Master *Bradford*, vndertooke it himselfe to haue found the passage betwixt the Shoules and the Maine. Then *Tusquantum* our Pilot died, so that we returned to the *Massachusets*, where we found the trade spoiled; and nothing but complaints betwixt the Saluages and the English. At *Nawset* we were kindly vsed and had good trade: though we lost our Barge, the Saluages carefully kept both her wracke, and some ten Ho[g]sheads of Corne three moneths; and so we returned some by land, some in the ship.

The death of *Tusquantum*.

Captaine *Standish* being recouered, went to fetch them both, and traded at *Namasket* and *Monomete*, where the

people had the plague, a place much frequented with *Dutch* and *French*. Here the *Sachem* put a man to death for killing his fellow at play; wherein they are so violent, they will play their coats from their backs, and also their wiues, though many miles from them. [1623]

Tusquantum at his death desired the English to pray he might go dwell with the English mens God, for theirs was a good God.

But our prouision decaying, *Standish* is sent to *Mattachist*, where they pretended their wonted loue; yet it plainly appeared they intended to kill him. Escaping thence, wee went to *Monomete*, where we found nothing but bad countenances. Heare one *Wittuwamat* a notable villaine, would boast how many French and English hee had slaine. This Champion presenting a Dagger to the *Sachem Canacum*, he had got from the English, occasioned vs to vnderstand how they had contriued to murder all the English in the Land; but hauing such a faire opportunitie, they would begin heere with vs. Their scornfull vsage made the Captaine so passionate, to appease his anger and choler their intent made many faire excuses for satisfaction. *Scar* a lusty Saluage, alwaies seeming the most to effect vs, bestowed on vs the best presents he had without any recompence, saying; Hee was rich enough to bestow such fauours on his friends: yet had [he] vndertaken to kill the Captaine himselfe, but our vigilencies so preuented the aduantage they expected, we safely returned, little suspecting in him any such treachery.

They contriue to murder all the English.

During this time, a *Dutch* ship was driuen a shore at *Massasowat*, whose King lay very sicke. Now because it is a generall custome then for all their friends to visit them: Master *Winslow*, and Master *Hamden*, with *Habamok* for their guide, were sent with such Cordialls as they had, to salute him. By the way they so oft heard the King was dead, *Habamok* would breake forth in those words.

The sicknesse of King *Massasowat*.

> My louing *Sachem*, my louing *Sachem*, many haue I knowne, but neuer any like thee, nor shall euer see the like amongst the Saluages; for he was no lier, nor bloudy and cruell like other *Indians*; in anger soone reclaimed, he would be ruled by reason, not scorning the aduice of meane men, and gouerned his men better with a few strokes, then others with many: truly louing where he loued, yea he feared wee [**238**] had not a faithfull friend left amongst all his Countrey-men.

Shewing how oft he had restrained their malice, much

[1623] more, with much passion, he spoke to this purpose, till at last we arriued, where we found the *Dutchmen* but newly gone, and the house so full we could hardly get in. By their charmes they distempered vs that were well, much more him that was sicke; women rubbing him to keepe heat in him: but their charmes ended, vnderstanding of vs, though he had lost his sight, his vnderstanding failed not; but taking *Winslow* by the hand, said, Art thou *Winslow*, Oh *Winslow*, I shall neuer see thee againe!

His cure by the English.

Hobamock telling him what restauratiues they had brought, he desired to taste them. With much adoe they got a little Confexion of many comfortable Conserues into his mouth; as it desolued he swallowed it; then desoluing more of it in water, they scraped his tongue, which was al furred and swolne, and washed his mouth, and then gaue him more of it to eat, and in his drinke, that wrought such an alteration in him in two or three houres, his eies opened to our great contents. With this and such brothes as they there prouided for him, it pleased God he recouered: and thus the manner of his sicknesse and cure caused no small admiration amongst them.

The Kings thankfulnesse.

During the time of their stay to see his recouery, they had sent to *New Plimoth* for diuers good things for him; which he tooke so kindly, that he fully reuealed all the former conspiracies against vs, to which he had oft beene moued: and how that all the people of *Powmet*, *Nawset*, *Succonet*, *Mattachist*, *Manamet*, *Augawam*, and *Capawac*, were ioyned to murder vs; therefore as we respected our liues, kill them of *Massachuset* that were the authors; for take away the principals and the plot wil cease.

Thus taking our leaues, and arriuing at our fort, we found our braue liberall friend of *Pa[w]met* drawing *Standish* to their Ambuscados; which being thus discouered, we sent him away, as though he knew nor suspected any thing.

A bad example.

Them [*Weston's Englishmen*, *pp.* 760, 762] at the *Massachusets*, some were so vilde they serued the Saluages for victuall: the rest sent vs word the Saluages were so insolent, they would assault them though against their Commission; so fearefull they were to breake their Commission, so much time was spent in consultations, they all were famished, till *Wassapinewat* againe came and told them the day of their execution was at hand.

[1623]

Then they [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] appointed *Standish* with eight chosen men, vnder colour of Trade, to catch them in their owne trap at *Massachuset*, and acquaint it with the English in the Towne: where arriuing he found none in the Barke, and most of the rest without Armes, or scarce clothes, wandering abroad, all so sencelesly secure, he more then wondered they were not all slaine. With much adoe he got the most of them to their Towne.

Captaine *Standish* sent to suppresse the Saluages.

The Saluages suspecting their plots discouered, *Pecksnot* a great man, and of as great a spirit, came to *Habamak*, who was then amongst them, saying; Tell *Standish* we know he is come to kill vs, but let him begin when he dare. Not long after many would come to the Fort and whet their Kniues before him, with many brauing speeches. One amongst the rest was by *Wittawamat* bragging he had a Knife, that on the handle had the picture of a womans face; but at home I haue one [that] hath killed both French and English, and that hath a mans face on it; and by and by these two must marrie: but this here, by and by shall see, and by and by eat, but not speake. Also *Pecksnot* being of a greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine he was but a little man; and I though no *Sachem*, yet I am of great strength and courage.

Two desperate Saluages slaine.

These things *Standish* bare patiently for the present; but the next day seeing he could not get many of them together, but these two Roarers and two more; being in a conuenient roome, and his company about him, *Standish* seased on *Pecksnots* Knife then hanging about his necke, wherewith he slew him, and the rest slew *Wittuwamat* and the other Saluage: but the youth they tooke, who being Brother to *Wittuwamat*, and as villanous as himselfe, was hanged. It is incredible how many wounds they indured, catching at their weapons without any feare or bruit, till the last gasp.

Habamack stood by all this time very silent, but all ended, he said, Yesterday *Pecksnot* bragged of his strength and stature, but I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. [**239**]

The Saluages ouercommed.

The Towne he left to the guard of *Westons* people: three Saluages more were slaine; vpon which rumour they all fled from their houses.

The next day, they met with a file of Saluages that let fly their Arrowes, shot for shot, till *Hobamack* shewed

[1623] himselfe, and then they fled. For all this, a Saluage Boy to shew his innocency, came boldly vnto vs and told vs: Had the English Fugitiues [*Weston's men*] but finished the three Canowes they were a making, to haue taken the ship, they would haue done as much to all the English; which was onely the cause they had forborne so long.

But now consulting and considering their estates, those that [chose] went in the Pinnace to *Barty* Iles to get passage for *England*; the rest to *New Plimoth*, where they were kindly entertained. The *Sachem Obtakeest*, and *Powas*, and diuers other [that] were guilty, the three fugitiues in their fury there slew: but not long after so distracted were those poore scattered people, they left their habitations, liuing in swamps; where with cold and infinite diseases they endured much mortalitie, suing for peace, and crying the God of *England* is angry with them. Thus you see where God pleases, as some flourish, others perish.

1623. An extreme drought. [*p.* 942.] Now on all hands they prepare their ground, and about the middest of Aprill [1623], in a faire season they begin to plant till the latter end of May; but so God pleased, that in six weekes after the latter setting there scarce fell any raine; so that the stalke [that] was first set, began to eare ere it came to halfe growth, and the last not like[ly] to yeeld anything at all. Our Beanes also seemed so withered, we iudged all vtterly dead, that now all our hopes were ouerthrowne, and our ioy turned into mourning. And more to our sorrow, we heard of the twice returne of the *Paragon*, that now the third time was sent vs three moneths agoe, but no newes of her: onely the signes of a wracke we saw on the Coast, which wee iudged [to be] her. This caused not [only] euery of vs to enter into a priuate consideration betwixt God and our consciences; but most solemnly to humble our selues before the Lord by fasting and praying, to releeue our deiected spirits by the comforts of his mercy. In the morning when wee assembled all together, the skies were as cleere, and the drought as like to continue as euer; yet our exercise continued eight or nine houres. Before our departure, the skies were all ouer-cast, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, moderate showers, continuing foureteene daies, mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say, whether our withered

[*pp.* 264, 761, 947.]

A wonderfull blessing and signe of God's loue.

Corne, or drooping affections were most quickned and reuiued; such was the bounty and mercy of God. [1623]

Of this the *Indians* by the meanes of *Hobamock* tooke notice, who seeing vs vse this exercise in the midst of the weeke, said; It was but three daies since Sunday, and desired to know the reason: which when hee vnderstood, he and all of them admired the goodnesse of God towards vs, shewing the difference betwixt their coniurations and our praiers, and what stormes and dangers they oft receiue thereby.

To expresse our thankfulnesse, we assembled together another day, as before; and either the next morning, or not long after, came in two ships to supply vs; and all their Passengers well except one, and he presently recouered. For vs, notwithstanding all these wants, there was not a sicke person amongst vs.

The greater ship we returned fraught; the other wee sent to the Southward, to trade vnder the command of Captaine *Altom*. So that God be thanked, we desire nothing but what we will returne Commodities to the value.

Thus all men finde our great God he,
That neuer wanted nature,
To teach his truth, that onely he
Of euery thing is Author.

For this yeere [1623], from *England* is gone about fortie saile of ships, only to fish; and, as I am informed, haue made a farre better voyage then euer. Forty saile sent to fish.

Now some new great obseruers will haue this [to be] an Iland, because I haue writ it is [**240**] the Continent: others report, that the people are so bruit, they haue no religion, wherein surely they are deceiued; for my part, I neuer heard of any Nation in the world which had not a Religion, deare, bowes and arrowes. They beleeue as doe the *Virginians*, of many diuine powers, yet of one aboue all the rest, as the Southerne *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa* [*p.* 321], and that wee now inhabit *Oke* [*p.* 75], but both, their Kings, *Werowance*. The *Massachusets* call their great God *Kiehtan*, and their Kings there abouts *Sachems:* The *Penobscotes*, their greatest power *Tantum*, and their Kings *Sagomos*. [*p.* 933.] Their Religion. [*p.* 939.]

[1623] Those where is this Plantation [*New Plymouth*], say *Kiehtan* made all the other Gods: also one man and one woman, and of them all mankinde, but how they became so dispersed they know not. They say, at first there was no King but *Kiehtan* that dwelleth farre westerly aboue the heauens, whither all good men goe when they die, and haue plentie of all things. The bad men goe thither also and knocke at the doore; but he bids them goe wander in endlesse want and miserie, for they shall not stay there. They neuer saw *Kiehtan*, but they hold it a great charge and dutie, that one age teach another; and to him they make feasts, and cry and sing for plentie and victorie, or any thing [that] is good.

They haue another Power they call *Hobamock*, which wee conceiue the Deuill, and vpon him they call to cure their wounds and diseases: when they are curable he perswades them he sent them, because they haue displeased him; but if they be mortall, then he saith, *Kiehtan* sent them, which makes them neuer call on him in their sicknesse. They say this *Hobamock* appeares to them somtimes like a Man, a Deere, or an Eagle, but most commonly like a Snake; not to all, but only to their *Powahs* to cure diseases, and *Vndeses*, which is one of the chiefe next the King, and so bold in the warres, that they thinke no weapon can kill them: and those are such as coniure in *Virginia*, and cause the people to doe what they list.

Their Gouernment. For their Gouernment: euery *Sachem* is not a King, but their great *Sachems* haue diuers *Sachems* vnder their protection, paying them tribute, and [who] dare make no warres without his knowledge; but euery *Sachem* taketh care for the Widowes, Orphans, the aged and maimed, nor will they take any to first wife, but them in birth equall to themselues (although they haue many inferior Wiues and Concubins that attend on the principall), from whom he neuer parteth, but any of the rest when they list. They inherit by succession, and euery one knowes their owne bounds. To his men, hee giueth them land, also bounded: and what Deere they kill in that circuit, he hath the fore-part; but if in the water, onely the skin. But they account none a man, till hee hath done some notable exploit: the men are most imploied in hunting,

the women in slauery; the younger obey the elders: their names are variable: they haue harlots and honest women; the harlots neuer marrie, or else are widowes. They vse diuorcement, and the King commonly punisheth all offenders himselfe: when a maid is maried, she cutteth her haire, and keepes her head couered till it be growne againe. Their arts, games, musicke, attire, burials, and such like, differ very little from the *Virginians*, onely for their Chronicles they make holes in the ground, as the others set vp great stones. [1623]

Out of the Relations of Master *Edward Winslow.*

NOw I know the common question is, For all those miseries, where is the wealth they haue got, or the Gold or Siluer Mines? To such greedy vnworthy minds I say once againe: The Sea is better then the richest Mine knowne, and of all the fishing ships that went well prouided, there is no complaint of losse nor misery, but rather an admiration of wealth, profit, and health. As for the land were it neuer so good, in two yeeres [1621–1623] so few, of such small experience, liuing without supplies so well, and in health, it was an extraordinary blessing from God. But that with such small meanes they should subsist, and doe so much, to any vnderstanding judgement is a wonder. Notwithstanding, the vaine expectation of present gaine in some; ambition in others, that to be great would haue all else slaues; and the carelesnesse in prouiding supplies, hath caused those defailements in all those Plantations: and how euer some bad conditions will extoll the [**241**] actions of any Nation but their owne; yet if we may giue credit to the *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and *French* writings, they indured as many miseries, and yet not in twenty yeeres effected so much, nay scarce in fortie.

An answer to Obiections.

[*pp.* 926, 942.]

Thus you may see plainly the yeerely successe from *New England* by *Virginia*, which hath beene so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me; which either to see

[*p.* 265.]

[1622-4] perish, or but bleed; Pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to haue beene sufficiently able to fore-see their miseries, and had neither power nor meanes to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I call them my children; for they haue beene my Wife, my Hawks, Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall, my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand [is] to my right. And notwithstanding, all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not an Englishman remaining (as God be thanked notwithstanding the massacre there are some thousands), I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at first; not that I haue any secret encouragement (I protest) more then lamentable experience: for all their discoueries I haue yet heard of, are but Pigs of my owne Sow, nor more strange to me, then to heare one tell me hee hath gone from *Billingsgate* and discouered *Grauesend*, *Tilbury*, *Quinborow*, *Lee*, and *Margit*, which to those [that] did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might bee made some rare secrets and great Countries vnknowne; except some few Relations of Master *Dirmer*

[By "some few Relations," is intended *T. Dermer's* letter from *Virginia*, dated 27 Dec. 1619, to Rev. *S. Purchas*; which will be found in his *Pilgrims*, iv. *p.* 1778, *Ed.* 1625.]

[*pp.* 217, 258, 265, 542, 732, 747, 770.]

The ordinary voyage to goe to *Virginia* or *New-England.*

In *England*, some are held great trauellers that haue seene *Venice*, and *Rome*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Siuill*, *Algere*, *Prague*, or *Ragonsa*, *Constantinople*, or *Ierusalem*, and the Piramides of *Egypt*; that thinke it nothing to goe to *Summer Iles*, or *Virginia*, which is as far as any of them; and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney: as for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to goe thither; and therefore I hope all good men will better apprehend it, and not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and oft hath preserued.

[*p.* 266.]

What here I haue writ by Relation, if it be not right I humbly intreat your pardons; but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue beene actors, or sharers in those voyages. In some particulars they might deceiue mee, but in the substance they could not: for few could tell me anything, except where they fished. But seeing all those [that] haue liued there, doe confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies with these new begun examples of Plantation,

will moue both Citie and Country, freely to aduenture with me more then promises. [1622-4]

But because some Fortune-tellers say, I am vnfortunate; had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleeue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad an account of their actions; and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those obiecters, that thinke it strange, if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, rest so long without imploiment, nor haue no more reward nor preferment. To which I say; The obiections against me.

I thinke it more strange they should tax me, before they haue tried as much as I haue, both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Affrica*, as *Europe* and *America*; where my Commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed [to] bee importunate, [n]or could I euer learne to beg. What there I got, I haue spent; yet in *Virginia* I staied, till I left fiue hundred behinde me better prouided then euer I was; from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Summer Iles*. My answer. [*p.* 243.]

This Virgins Sister, now called *New England*, at my humble sute, by our most gracious Prince *Charles*, hath beene neere as chargeable to me and my friends: for all which, although I neuer got shilling but it cost mee a pound, yet I would thinke my selfe happy could I see their prosperities. [*p.* 267.] [*p.* 232.]

But if it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what thinke you I vndertooke when nothing was knowne but that there was a vast land? I [**242**] neuer had power and meanes to doe any thing, though more hath beene spent in formall delaies then would haue done the businesse; but in such a penurious and miserable manner, as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuersitie: where had men beene as forward to aduenture their purses, and performe the conditions they promised mee, as to crop the fruits of my labours, thousands ere this had beene bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of desire and the bridle of reason, I am neere ridden to death in a ring of despaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I intreat you [to] ease me, and those that thinke I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause and know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warn- Considerations.

[1622-4] ing enough not to be so forward againe at euery motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carie newes; for now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first would not aduenture a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas: which makes me remember and say with Master *Hackluit*; Oh incredulitie the wit of fooles, that slouingly doe spit at all things faire, a sluggards Cradle, a Cowards Castle, how easie it is to be an Infidell. But to the matter.

By this all men may perceiue, the ordinary performance of this voyage in fiue or six moneths, the plentie of fish is most certainly approued; and it is certaine, from *Cannada* and *New England*, within these six yeeres [1615–1620] hath come neere twenty thousand Beuer skinnes. Now had each of these ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruits, Plants, and Seeds, as I proiected; by this time their increase might haue beene sufficient for more then one thousand men: But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that
[*pp.* 244, 268.] it is hard to effect any publike good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order; vnlesse both honesty, as well as authoritie and money, assist experience. But your home-bred ingrossing Proiectors will at last finde, there is a great difference betwixt saying and doing, or those that thinks their directions can be as soone and easily performed, as they can conceit them; or that their conceits are the fittest things to bee put in practise, or [that] their countenances maintaine Plantations.

But to conclude, the fishing will goe forward whether you plant it or no; whereby a Colony may be then transported with no great charge, that in short time might prouide such fraughts, to buy on vs their dwelling, as I would hope no ship should goe or come emptie from *New England*.

The charge. The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Kniues, Irish-rugges, course cloth, Beads, Glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Saluages, besides our owne necessarie prouisions; whose endeuours would quickly defray all this charge, and the Saluages did
[*p.* 732.] intreat me to inhabit where I would.

Now all those ships till these last two yeeres [*i.e.*, till 1621], [1615-23] haue beene fishing within a square of two or three leagues, and scarce any one yet will goe any further in the Port they fish in, where questionlesse fiue hundred may haue their fraught as well as elsewhere, and be in the market ere others can haue the fish in their ships: because *New Englands* fishing begins in February, in *Newfoundland* not till the midst of May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and *Summer Iles*, whose empty ships may take in their fraughts there; and would be also in time of need a good friend to the Inhabitants of *Newfoundland*.

The returnes made by the Westerne men, are commonly diuided in three parts; one for the owner of the ship; another for the Master and his Company; the third for the victualers: which course being still permitted, will be no hinderance to the Plantation as yet goe there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yeerely for little or nothing, which otherwise wil cost many hundreds of pounds. The order of the westerne men. [*p.* 801.]

If a ship can gaine twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred; nay three hundred for one hundred in seuen or ten moneths; as you see they haue done, spending twice so much time in comming and going as in staying there: were I there planted, seeing the variety of the fishings serue the most part of the yeere, and with a little labour we might make all the Salt we need vse, as is formerly said, and can [**243**] conceiue no reason to distrust of good successe by Gods assistance; besides for the building of ships, no place hath more conuenient Harbours, ebbe nor floud, nor better timber; and no Commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood. The gaines. [*pp.* 245, 269.]

Master Dee *his opinion for the building of ships.*

MAster *Dee* recordeth in his Brittish Monarchy, that King *Edgar* had a Nauy of foure thousand saile, with which he yeerely made his progresse, about this famous Monarchy of *Great Britaine*, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon hee proiected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleet of sixty Saile, he called a little Nauy The effects of shipping

[1620-4] Royall: imitating that admired *Pericles* Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captaine of the Sea.

At this none need wonder, for who knowes not her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men, notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*; yet all the world by Sea and Land, both feared or loued, and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successor, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *Iames*, this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his Kingdomes consideration.

That if the tenths of the earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea. The Kings high waies are common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing. So *Englands* Coasts are free to passe but not to fish, but by his Maiesties Prerogatiue.

The Popes order for the East and West Indies.

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order, for the East and West Indies but by his permission, or at their perils; if all that world be so iustly theirs, it is [*pp.* 246,270.] no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her owne shores as strangers doe, that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of, whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their Teritories: which small tribute would maintaine this little Nauy Royall, and not cost his Maiesty a peny, and yet maintaine peace with all Forrainers, and allow them more courtesie then any Nation in the world affords to *England*.

It were ashame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishing as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndressed Cloth, notwithstanding all their warres and troublesome disorders.

How to get money to build this little Nauy.

To get money to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the one hundreth penny of his rents, and the fiue hundreth penny of his goods; each seruant that taketh forty shillings wages, foure pence; and euery forrainer of seuen yeeres of age foure pence, for seuen yeeres; not any

of these but they will spend three times so much in pride, [1620-4]
wantonnesse, or some superfluitie. And doe any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not bee humble su[i]ters to his Maiesty to doe this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but the one halfe of this (or some such other course as I haue pro[po]unded to diuers of the Companies) free from any constraint, tax, lottery, or imposition; so it may be as honestly and truly imploied, as it is proiected, the poorest Mechanicke in this Kingdom would gaine by it.

THen you might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, fiue times cheaper then you can doe here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne Land, to the aduancement of Gods glory, his Church and Gospel; and the strengthning and releefe of a great part of Christendome without hurt to any; to the terror of Pirats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing [of] Merchants, [*p.* 247.]
and so much increase of Nauigation, to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any Nations in the world: besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subiects, and would cause thousands yet vnborne to blesse [*p.* 271.]
the time, and all them that first put it in practise. [**244**]

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath beene to priuat ends, or so weakely vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulity, that strangers may possesse it whilest we contend for *New-Englands* goods, but not *Englands* good; I haue presented it [*i.e.*, New-Englands *trials*] as I haue said, [*pp.* 247, 266, 748. 941.]
to the Prince and Nobility, the Gentry and Commonalty, hoping at last it will moue the whole land to know it and consider of it; since I can finde them wood and halfe victuall, with the foresaid aduantages: were this Country planted, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauy Royall, both with honour, profit and content, and inhabit as good a Country as any in the world within that paralell: which with my life and what I haue, I will endeuour to effect, if God please and you permit.

Contention for *New-Englands* goods, not her good.

But no man will goe from hence to haue lesse freedome there then here, nor aduenture all they haue to prepare the way for them will scarce thanke them for it; and it is too

[1620-4] well knowne there haue beene so many vndertakers of Patents, and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performance; in the *Interim*, you see the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in *Virginia*, or any of his Maiesties subiects, should not haue as free liberty as they. To conclude, were it not for Master *Cherley* and a few priuate aduenturers with them, what haue we there, for all these inducements?

The necessity of martiall power.

As for them whom pride or couetousnesse lulleth asleepe in a Cradle of slothfull carelesnesse, would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue beene brought to confusion, or but remember the late lamentable experiences of *Constantinople*, and how many Cities, Townes and Prouinces in the faire rich Kingdoms of *Hungaria*, *Transiluania*, *Wallachia* and *Moldauia*, and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Merchants, and others haue in one day lost goods, liues and honours, or sold for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children and seruants slaine, or wandring they knew not [*p.* 272.] whither, dying or liuing in all extremities of extreme miseries and calamities: surely they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue to enioy peace and liberty at home, or but aduenture their persons abroad to preuent the conclusions of a conquering Foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plenty most armed with ignorance and security.

Though the true condition of warre is onely to suppresse the proud and defend the innocent, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus*, Prince of those Countries, against them whom vnder the colour of iustice and piety, to maintaine their superfluity of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice; and vndoe them, or keepe them from ability to doe any thing, that would not admire and adore their honours, fortunes, couetousnesse, falshood, bribery, cruelty, extortion, and ingratitude: which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all manner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesse.

Iohn Smith *writ this with his owne hand.*

[*The Observations &c. of Captaine* Richard Whitbourne.]

HEre follow certaine notes and obseruations of Captaine *Charles* [*or rather Richard*] *Whitbourne* concerning *New-found land*: which although euery master trained vp in fishing, can make their proportions of necessaries according to their custome, yet it is not much amisse here to insert them, that euery one which desires the good of those actions [may] know them also. [1622]

Besides in his Booke intituled, *A discouery of New-found land, and the commodities thereof*, you shall finde many excellent good aduertisements for a Plantation; and how that most yeeres this Coast hath beene frequented with 250. saile of his Maiesties subiects, which supposing but 60. tunnes a peece, one with another, they amount to 15000. tunnes; and allowing 25. men and boies to euery Barke, they will make 5000. persons, whose labours returne yeerely to about 135000. pound sterling: besides the great numbers of Brewers, Bakers, Coupers, Ship-Carpenters, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Hooke-makers, and the most of all other mec[h]anicall trades in *England*. [**245**]

The charge of setting forth a ship of 100. tuns with 40. persons, both to make a fishing voyage, and increase the Plantation.

[1622]

	l.	s.	d.
IN primis, 10000. [or rather 11000] *weight of Bisket at* 15. *s. a* 100. *weight* [*i.e.*, 112lbs.]	82.	10.	
26 *Tun of Beere and Sider at* 53. *s.* 4. *d. a Tun.*	69.	7.	
2 *Hogsheads of English Beefe.*	10.		
2 *Hogsheads of Irish Beefe.*	5.		
10 *Fat Hogs salted with Salt, and Caske.*	10.	10.	
30 *Bushels of Pease.*	6.		
2 *Ferkins of Butter.*	3.		
200 *Waight* [= 224lbs.] *of Cheese.*	2.	10.	
1 *Bushell of Mustard-seed.*		6.	
1 *Hogshead of Vinegar.*	1.	5.	
Wood to dresse meat withall.	1.		
1 *Great Copper Kettle.*	2.		
2 *Small Kettles.*	2.		
2 *Frying-Pans.*		3.	4.
Platters, Ladles and Cans.	1.		
a paire of Bellowes for the Cooke.		2.	6.
Taps, Boriers and Funnels.		2.	
Locks for the Bread roomes.		2.	6.
100 *weight* [= 112lbs.] *of Candles.*	2.	10.	
130 *quarters of Salt at* 2. *s. the Bushell*	104.		
Mats and dinnage to lie vnder it.	2.	10.	
Salt Shouels.		10.	
Particulars for the 40. *persons to keepe* 8. *fishing boats at Sea, with* 3. *men in euery boat, imploies* 24.; *and* 500. *foot of Elme boords of an inch thicke,* 8. *s. each one.*	2.		
2000 *Nailes for the* 8. *Boats, at* 13. *s.* 4*d. a* 1000.	1.	6.	8.
4000 *Nailes at* 6. *s.* 8. *d.* [*a*] 1000.	1.	6.	8.
2000 *Nailes at* 5. *d.* [*a*] 100.		8.	
500 *weight* [= 560lbs.] *of pitch at* 8. *s.* 100.	2.		
2000 *of good orlop nailes.*	2.	5.	
More for other small necessaries.	3.		

[This is not an accurate reprint of *R. Whitbourne's* specification.]

	l.	s.	d.	[1622]
A barrell of Tar.		10.		
200 *weight* [=224lbs.] *of black Ocome.*	1.			
Thrums for pitch Maps.		1.	6.	
Bolls, Buckets and Pumps.	1.			
2 *brazen Crocks.*	2.			
Canuas to make Boat sailes and small ropes, at 25. *s. for each saile,*	12.	10.		
10 *rode Ropes which containe* 600. *weight* [=672lbs.] *at* 30. *s. the* 100.	10.			
12 *dozen of fishing lines.*	6.			
24 *dozen of fishing hookes.*	2.			
for Squid line.		3.		
For Pots and liuer maunds.		18.		
Ironworks for the boats ruthers.	2.			
10 *Kipnet Irons*		10.		
Twine to make kipnets and gagging hooks.		6.		
10 *good Nets at* 26. *s. a net.*	13.			
2 *Saynes, a great and a lesse.*	12.			
200 *weight* [=224lbs.] *of Sow-lead.*	1.			
2 *couple of ropes for the Saynes.*	1.			
Dry-fats to keepe them in.		6.		
Twine for store.		5.		
Flaskets and bread Baskets.		15.		
For haire cloth.	10.			
3. *Tuns of vinegar caske, for water.*	1.	6.	8.	
1 *douzen of Deale Bourds.*		10.		
2 *Barrels of Oatmeale.*	1.	6.		
100 *weight* [=112 lbs.] *of Spikes.*	2.	5.		
2 *good Axes,* 4. *hand Hatchets,* 4 *Drawers,* 2. *drawing Irons.*		16.		
3 *yards of wollen cloth for cuffs.*		10.		
8 *yards of good Canuasse.*		10.		
A Grind-stone or two.		6.		
2000 *of poore Iohn to spend* [*i.e.* in eating] *in going*	6.	10.		
1 *Hogshead of Aquauitæ.*	4.			
4 *arme Sawes,* 4. *Handsawes,* 4. *thwart Sawes,* 3. *Augers,* 2. *Crowes of Iron,* 3. *Sledges,* 4. *shod Shouels,* 2. *Picaxes,* 4. *Matocks, and* 4. *Hammers.*	5.			
The totall summe is	420.	11.	0.	

[1622] All these prouisions the Master or Purser is to be accountable what is spent, and what is left with those which shall continue there to plant: and of the 40. thus prouided for the voyage, ten may well be spared to leaue behind them, with 500. weight of Bisket, 5. hogsheads of Sider or beere, halfe a hogshead of Beefe, 4 sides of dry Bakon, 4. bushell of Pease, halfe a ferkin of Butter, halfe 100. weight of Cheese, a pecke of Mustard-seed, a barrell of Vinegar, 12. pound of Candles, 2. pecks of Oatmeale, halfe a hogshead of Aquauitæ, 2. copper Kettles, 1. brasse Crock, 1. Frying-pan, a Grindstone, and all the Hatchets, Wood-hooks, Sawes, Augers, &c. and all other iron tooles, with the 8. Boats and their implements, [**246**] and spare salt; and what else they vse not in a readinesse from yeere to yeere, and in the meane time serued them to helpe to build their houses, cleanse land, and further their fishing whilst the ships are wanting [*absent*].

By his estimation and calculation, these 8. Boats with 22 [*or rather* 24]. men in a Summer doe vsually kill 25000. fish for euery Boat, which may amount to 200000. allowing 120. fishes to the 100: sometimes they haue taken aboue 35000. for a Boat, so that they load not onely their owne ship, but prouide great quantities for Sacks or other spare ships, which come thither onely to buy the ouerplus. If such ships come not, they giue ouer taking any more, when sometimes there hath beene great abundance; because there is no fit houses to lay them in till another yeere.

[*Sacks*, the English name for victualling &c., ships trafficking for cod with the fishers off Newfound-land, as the Dutch *fagers* did for herrings, off the English coast.]

Now most of those Sacks goeth empty thither, which might as well transport mens prouision and cattle at an easie rate as nothing, either to *New-England* or *New-found land*: but either to transport them for nothing, or pay any great matter for their liberty to fish, will hardly effect so much as freedome as yet; nor can this be put in practice as before I said, till there be a power there well planted and setled to entertaine and defend them, assist and releeue them as occasion shall require: otherwaies those small diuisions will effect little, but such miserable conclusions as both the French and we too long haue tried to our costs.

Now commonly 200000. fish will load a ship of 100. tunnes in *New-found land*, but halfe so many will neere doe it in *New England*: which carried to *Toloune* or *Mersclus*

[*Marseilles*], where the custome [*import duty*] is small, and the Kintall lesse then 90. English pounds weight, and the prise when least, 12. shillings the Kintall, which at that rate amounts to 1320. *l.* starling: and the ship may either there be discharged, or imployed as hath beene said to refraught for *England*; so that the next yeere she may be ready to goe her fishing voyage againe, at a farre cheaper rate then before. [1622–4] [*pp.*202,716.]

To this adde but 12. tuns of traine oile, which deliuered in *New-found land*, is 10. *l.* the tun, makes 120. *l.*

Then it is hard if there be not 10000. of Cor-fish, which also sold there at 5. *l.* the 1000. makes 50. *l.*: which brought to *England*, in some places yeelds neere halfe so much more; but if at *Merselus* it be sold for 16. *s.* the Kentall, as commonly it is, and much dearer, it amounts to 1760. *l.*

And if the Boats follow the fishing till the 15. of October, they may take 80000. more, which with their traine in *New-found land* at 4. *l.* the 1000. will amount to 320. *l.*: which added to 1320. *l.* with 120. *l.* for Oile, and 10000. of Corfish 50. *l.* and the ouerplus at *Merselus*, which will be 440. *l.* make the totall 2250. *l.*; which diuided in three parts according to their custome, the Victualer hath for the former particulars (amounting to 420. *l.*), 751. *l.*, so all the charge defraied, hee gaines 331. *l.* 11. *s.*; then for the fraught of the ship there is 751. *l.*; and so much for the Master and his company; which comparing with the voiages [that] hath beene made to *New-England*, you may easily finde which is the better, though both bee good. [*pp.*244,268, 801.]

The facility of the fishing lately obserued.

But now experience hath taught them at *New-Plimoth*, that in Aprill there is a fish much like a Herring that comes vp into the small Brookes to spawne, and where the water is not knee deepe, they will presse vp through your hands, yea though you beat at them with Cudgels, and in such abundance as is incredible: which they take with that facility, they manure their land with them when they haue occasion. After those, the Cod also presseth in such plenty, euen into the very Harbours, they haue caught some in their armes, and hooke them so fast [that], three men oft loadeth a Boat of two tuns in two houres, where before they vsed most[ly] to fish in deepe water. [247]

1624.

The present estate of New-Plimoth.

[1624] The present estate of the plantation at *New-Plimoth.*

AT *New-Plimoth* there is [1624] about 180 persons, some cattell and goats, but many swine and poultry; 32 dwelling houses, whereof 7 were burnt the last winter [1623], and the value of fiue hundred pounds in other goods; the Towne is impailed about halfe a mile [in] compasse. In the towne vpon a high Mount they haue a Fort well built with wood, lome, and stone, where is planted their Ordnance: Also a faire Watch-tower, partly framed, for the Sentinell. The place it seemes is healthfull, for in these last three yeeres [1621–4], notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, there hath not one died of the first planters. They haue made a saltworke, and with that salt preserue the fish they take; and this yeare [1624] hath fraughted a ship of 180. tunnes.

The Gouernour is one Master *William Bradford*; their Captaine *Miles Standish*, a bred Souldier in *Holland*; the chiefe men for their assistance is Master *Isaak Alderton*, and diuers others as occasion serueth; their Preachers are Master *William Bruster* and Master *Iohn Layford.*

Their order of gouernment.

The most of them liue together as one family or household, yet euery man followeth his trade and profession both by sea and land, and all for a generall stocke: out of which they haue all their maintenance, vntill there be a diuident betwixt the Planters and the Aduenturers.

Those Planters are not seruants to the Aduenturers here, but haue onely councells of directions from them, but no iniunctions or command; and all the masters of families are partners in land or whatsoeuer, setting their labours

against the stocke, till certaine yeeres be expired for the diuision: they haue young men and boies for their Apprentises and seruants, and some of them speciall families, as Ship-carpenters, Salt-makers, Fish-masters, yet as seruants vpon great wages. [1624]

The Aduenturers which raised the stocke to begin and supply this Plantation were about 70.: some Gentlemen, some Merchants, some handy-crafts men, some aduenturing great summes, some small, as their estates and affection serued. The generall stocke already imploied is about 7000. *l.*; by reason of which charge and many crosses, many of them would aduenture no more: but others that knowes so great a designe cannot bee effected without both charge, losse and crosses, are resolued to goe forward with it to their powers; which deserue no small commendations and encouragement. These [*the Adventurers generally*] dwell most[ly] about *London*. They are not a corporation, but [are] knit together by a voluntary combination in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to doe good and to plant Religion; they haue a President and Treasurer, euery yeere newly chosen by the most voices, who ordereth the affaires of their Courts and meetings, and with the assent of the most of them, vndertaketh all ordinary businesses: but in more weighty affaires, the assent of the whole Company is required. [*p.* 943.]

There hath beene a fishing this yeere [1624] vpon the Coast about 50. English ships: and by Cape *Anne*, there is a Plantation a beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of *New-Plimoth*, who also by them haue set vp a fishing worke: some talke there is some other pretended Plantations, all whose good proceedings the eternal God protect and preserue. [*pp.* 892, 946]

And these haue beene the true proceedings and accidents in those Plantations.

Now to make a particular relation of all the acts and orders in the Courts belonging vnto them, of the anihilating old Patents and procuring new; with the charge, paines and arguments, the reasons

[1624] of such changes, all the treaties, consultations, orations, and dissentions about the sharing and diuiding those large territories, confirming of Counsailers, electing all sorts of Officers, directions, Letters of aduice, and their answers, disputations about the Magazines and Impositions, su[i]ters for Patents, positions for Freedomes, and confirmations with complaints of iniuries here, and also the mutinies, examinations, arraignements, executions, and the cause of the so oft reuolt of the Saluages at large, as many [**248**] would haue had, and it may be some doe expect it would make more quarrels then any of them would willingly answer, and such a volume as would tire any wise man but to read the contents.

For my owne part I rather feare the vnpartiall Reader will thinke this rather more tedious then necessary: but he that would be a practitioner in those affaires, I hope will allow them not only needfull but expedient: but how euer, if you please to beare with those errors I haue committed, if God please I liue, my care and paines shall endeuour to be thankfull: if I die, accept my good will.

[*pp.* 248, 272.] If any desire to be further satisfied, what defect is found in this, they shall finde supplied in me; that thus freely haue throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stirre vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Columbus* could giue the Spaniards any such certainties for his designe, when Queene *Isabel* of *Spaine* set him forth with 15. saile: and though I promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike Hollanders let vs imitate but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasury gotten by fishing; and *New-England* hath yeelded already [*up to* 1624] by generall computation one hundred thousand pounds at the least. Therefore honourable and worthy Country men, let not the meannesse of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the Mines of *Guiana* or *Potassie*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility.

I. S.

FINIS.

AN

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OR

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Jonas Man
Beniamin ffisher

Entred for their Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor WORRALL and both the wardens A booke Called *An Accidence or pathwaye to experience necessarye for all young sea men &c.* by Captaine JOHN SMITH. . . . . vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 169, 1877.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see *p.* cxxxi.]

TO ALL THE RIGHT HONourable and most Generous Lords in *Englana*, and Others: Especially of his Majesties Priuy Councell, and Councell of Warre.

RIGHT HONORABLE:

In regard of the Present occasion, for the Arte of Navigation, and many young Gentlemen and Valiant spirits of all sorts, do desire to try their Fortunes at sea: I haue beene perswaded [*pp.* 809, 970] to Print this discourse, being a subject I never see writ before. Not as an instruction to Marriners nor Sailors, whom I intreate rather amend it, then condemne it, confessing it might be a taske for a most excellent Sea-man; But as an intraduction for such as wants experience, and are desirous to learne what belongs to a Seaman. For the advansing of that incomparable faculty, seeing you are in place, both of power and Authoritie; I most humblie present it to Your Honors Considerations. No more but sacring all my best abilities to the exquisite Iudgement of *your* renowned Vertues, I ever rest [1626]

Your Worships ever most humbly deuoted,

IOHN SMITH.

TO THE READER; AND ALL

Generous and Noble Adventurers by Sea; and Well-Wishers to Nauigation.

Especially the Masters, Wardens, and Assistance of the TRINITY-HOUSE.

Worthy Readers:

[1626] *HOW ever your perfections may censure my imperfections, I know not: my greatest error in this is but a desire to do good; which disease hath ever haunted mee since my child-hood; and all the miseries and ingratitudes I haue indured, cannot yet diuert me from that resolution.*

As both Europe, Asia, Affrica *and* America *can partly witnesse, if all their extremities hath taught me any thing, I haue not kept it for my owne particuler. I know well I am blamed for not concealing that, that time and occasion hath taught mee to reueale; as at large you may read in the life of* Sigismundus Bathor *Prince of* Transiluania, *writ by his Secretary* Francisco Fernezsa, *New* Englands *Trialls, With the Generall History of* Virginia, *New* England, *and the Summer Isles.*

That the most of those faire plantations did spring from the fruites of my aduenters and discoueries is euident, although their returnes as yet doth not answere the worlds expectation, nor my desire: yet how they haue proceeded euery yeare since their first originall to this present; by the Maps therein, you may plainly see the Descriptions of the Countries; by the Story, what they are, what good they might be to this Kingdome, how they haue bin vsed and abused, how the defects might be amended, the Planters made happy, God and the King well pleased and serued, and all the Honorable and worthy Aduenturers contented: whatsoeuer malice or ignorance can feigne to the contrary.

For this small Pamphlet, if I find you kindly and friendly accept it, I meane ere long, more largely to explaine the particulers: So I rest,

To Christ and my Country a true Souldier,
and faithfull Servant,

John Smith.

AN ACCIDENCE FOR YOUNG SEA-MEN:

OR

Their Path-way to Experience.

THE *Captaines* charge is to commaund all, and tell the Maister to what Port he will go, or to what height [*latitude*]. In a fight he is to giue direction for the managing thereof, and the Maister is to see to the cunning [of] the Ship, and trimming [**2**] the sailes. [1626]

The Captains charge.

The *Maister* and his *Mate* is to direct the course, commaund all the Saylors, for steering, trimming, and sayling the Ship: his Mates are onely his Seconds, allowed sometimes for the two Midships men, that ought to take charge of the first prize.

The Maister and his Mates.

The *Pilot* when they make land, doth take the charge of the Ship till he bring her to Harbour.

The Pilot.

The *Cape-merchant* and *Purser* hath the charge of all the Caragasoune or Merchandize, and the *Purser* doth keepe an Account of all that is receiued and deliuered: but a Man of Warre hath onely a *Purser*.

The Cape-merchant and Purser.

The Maister *Gunner* hath the charge of the Ordinances, Shot, Powder, Match, Ladles, Spunges, Cartrages, Armes, and Fire-workes; and the rest euery one to receiue his charge from him according to directions, and to giue an account of his store. [**3**]

The Gunner with his Mate, and quarter Gunner.

The *Carpenter* and his *Mate* is to haue the Nayles, Clinches, roue and clinch-nailes, spikes, plates, rudder-

The Carpenter and his Mate.

[1626] irons called pintels and gudgions, pumpe-nailes, skupper-nailes, and leather, sawes, files, hatchets, and such like: and [be] euer ready for calking, breaming, stopping leakes, fishing or spliceing the Masts or Yards; as occasion requireth, and to giue an account of his store.

The Bote-swaine and his Mate.

The *Boteswaine* is to haue the charge of all the Cordage, tackling, sailes, fids, and marling spikes, needles, twine, and saile-cloth, and rigging [of] the shippe: his Mate the command of the long boate, for the setting forth of Anchors, waying and fetching home an Anchor, warping, towing, and moreing, and to giue an account of his store.

The Chyrur-gion and his Mate.

The *Chirurgion* is exempted from all duty but to attend the sicke, and cure the wounded: and good care would be [**4**] had, [that] he haue a certificate from the *Barber-surgions* Hall of his sufficiency; and also that his Chest bee well furnished both for *Physicke*, and *Chyurgery*, and so neere as may be proper for that clime you goe for, which neglect hath beene the losse of many a mans life.

The Marshall.

The *Marshall* is to punish offendors, and to see *Iustice* executed according to directions, as ducking at Yards arme, hawling vnder the Keele, bound to the Capsterne or maine Mast with a basket of shot about his necke, setting in the bilbowes, and to pay the Cobty or the Morryoune. But the Boyes, the *Boteswaine* is to see euery Munday at the chist to say their Compasse; which done, they are to haue a quarter can [? *of beer*], and a basket of bread.

The Corporall.

The *Corporall* is to see the setting and releeuing the watch: and see all the souldiers and saylors keepe their Armes cleane, neate and yare; and teach them their vse. [**5**]

The Steward and his Mate.

The *Steward* is to deliuer out the victuall, according to the Captaines directions; and messe them 4, 5, or 6, a there is occasion.

The quarter Maisters.

The *quarter Maisters* hath the charge of the hold for stowage, rommageing, and trimming the shippe; and of their squadrons for their Watch. A Sayne, a Fisgigg, a Harping iron, Fish-hookes, for Porgos, Bonetos, or Dora-dos, &c. and rayling lines for Mackerell.

The Cowper and his Mate.

The *Cowper* is to looke to the caske, hoopes and twig-ges, to staue or repaire the buckets, Baricoes, Cans, steepetubs, runlets, hogsheads, pipes, buts, &c. for wine, beere, syder, beuerage, fresh water, or any liquor.

[1626]

The *Coxswaine* is to haue a choyce gang to attend the Skiffe, to go to and againe as occasion commandeth. The Coxe-swaine and his Mate.

The *Cooke* is to dresse and deliuer out the Victuall. He hath his store of quarter cans, small cannes, platters, spoones, lanthornes, &c. and is to giue [6] his account of the remainder. The Cooke and his Mate.

The *Swabber* is to wash and keepe cleane the ship and maps. The Swabber.

The *Lyer* is to holde his place but for a weeke; and hee that is first taken with a lye, euery Monday is so proclaimed at the maine Mast by a generall cry, *A lyer, a lyer, a lyer*. He is vnder the *Swabber*, and onely to keepe cleane the beake head and chaines. The Lyer.

The *Saylers* are the antient men for hoysing the sailes, getting the tackes aboord, hawling the Bow-lines, and steering the ship. The Saylers.

The *Younkers* are the yong men called *Fore-mast men*, to take in the Topsayles, or Top and yeard; Furle, and Sling the maine Saile; Bousing or Trysing; and take their turne at Helme. The Yonkers.

The *Lieutenant* is to associate[with] the Captaine, and in his absence to execute his place. He is to see the Marshall and Corporall doe their duties, and assist them in instructing the Souldiers: and [7] in a fight the Forecastle is his place, to make good; as the Captaine doth the halfe decke; and the quarter Maisters the midships. But in the *States* men of Warre he is allowed as necessary as a Lieuetenant on shore. The Lieuet-enant.

When you set sayle and put to sea, the Captaine is to call vp the company; and the one halfe is to goe to the Starreboord, the other to the Larboord, as they are chosen: the Maister chusing first one, then his Mate another, and so forward till they bee diuided in two parts. Then each man is to chuse his Mate, Consort, or Comrado. Then diuide them into squadrons according to your numbers and burthen of your ship; but care would be had, that there be not two *Comorados* vpon one watch, because they may haue the more roome in the Cabons to rest. How to diuide the Company.

To giue a true *Arithmeticall* and *Geometricall* proportion

[1626] for the building of ships; were they all built after one [8] mould, as also of their Yeards, Masts, Cables, Cordage and Sayles were all the stuffe of like goodnesse, a methodicall rule might bee Proiected: but it would bee too curious for this Discourse, and as much too troublesome either for the Reader or Author; but the principall names of the timbers about the building of a ship, according to his vnderstanding followeth, and how, being framed, they are fixed.

The Principall names of the timbers about the building a ship.

First lay the Keele, the Stemme, and Starne in a dry docke, or vppon the stockes, and binde them with good knees; then lay all the Flore timbers, and cut your Limber holes aboue the keele, to bring the water to the well for the pumpe. Next your Nauell timbers, and bind them all with sixe foote Skarfe at the least. The Garbell strake is the outside plancke next the keele. Be sure you haue a good sufficient Kelson: and then plancke your outside and inside vp, with your Top timbers; but the [9] lengths, breadthes, depthes, rakes, and burdens are so variable and different that nothing but experience can possibly teach it.

Notes of a Couenant betweene the Carpenter and the Owner.

A Shippe of 400. Tunnes requires a planke of foure inches; 300. Tunnes, three inch; small Ships, two inch: but none lesse. For clamps, middle bands and sleepers, they be all of 6. inch planke for binding within. The rest for the sparring vp of the workes of square 3. inch planke.

Lay the beames of the Orlope, if she be 400. Tunnes at ten foote deepe in howle, and all the beames to be bound with two knees at each ende, and a stardard knee at euery beames end vpon the Orlope: all the Orlope to be layd with square three inch plancke, and all the planckes to be treenailed to the beames.

Sixe foote would bee betweene the beames of the Decke and Orlope, and ten ports on each side vpon the lower Orlope: all the binding betweene them [10] should be with three inch, or two inch plancke, and the vpper Decke should be layd with so many beames as are fitting with knees to bind them; laying that Decke with spruce deale of 30. foot long, the sap cut off, and two inches thicke, for it is better then any other.

Then for the *Captaines* Cabben or great Cabben, the stearage, the halfe Decke, the round house, the Fore-

castle, and to binde an ende with a Capsterne and all things fitting for the Sea (the *Smiths* worke, the caruing, ioyning, and painting excepted) are the principall things I remember to be obserued. [1626]

For a *Charter-party* betwixt the *Merchant*, the *Maister*, and the *Owner*, you haue Presidents of all sorts in most *Scriueners* shops.

General sea terms belonging to ships.

A dry Docke, the stockes, the keele, the steme, the sterne, the starne-port, the flowre, the sleepers, rising timbers, garble strake, her rake, the fore reach, plankes, bindings, knees, boults, trunions, [**11**] brasers, riders, the Orlope, the ports, the bend, the bowe, the hawse, the hawses, the decke, the partners, a flush decke, fore and aft, the ram heads, the Knights, a halfe decke, a quarter decke, the bulke, the bulkes-head, the skuttle, the hatches, the hatches way, the holes in the commings, pitch, tarre, rosen, okum, calking. In the stearage roome, the whip, the bittakell, the trauas boord, the Compasse, the Fly, the needle, the lanthorne, the socket. About the Gun-roome, the Tiller, the rudder, the pintels, the gudgions, the bread-roome, the ships runne. The powder-roome, the Stewards roome, the cooke roome, the great cabbon, the gallery, a cabben, a hanging cabben, a Hamacke, the lockers, the round-house, the counter, the wayst, the wayst-boords, the gunwayle, stations for the nettings, a chaine through the stations, or brest-ropes.

What belongs to the Pumpe.

The Pumpe, the pumpes-well, the [**12**] pumpes brake, the pumpes can, the pumpes chaine, the spindle, the boxe, the clap. The pumpe is choaked, the pumpe suckes, the ship is stanche.

What belongs to the fore castle.

The forecastle, or prow, the beake head, the bits, the fish-hooke, a loufe-hooke, and the blocke at the *Dauids* ende, the Cat, Cats head and Cats holes, the ships draught.

The Masts, Caps, and Yeards.

The boule spret, the pillow, the sturrop, the spret sayle, the spret sayle yeard, the spret sayle top mast, the spret sayle top sayle yard: the fore mast, the fore yard, the fore top, the fore top mast, the fore top sayle yard, the fore top gallant mast, the fore top gallant sayle yeard. Coates and wouldings for all masts and yeards, grummets, and staples for all yeards.

[1626] The trussell trees or crosse trees, the maine mast, the step in the kelson where it puts its heele, as doth also the fore mast; the maine yard, the maine top, the main top mast, the maine top sayle yeard, the top gallant [**13**] mast, the maine top gallant sayle yeard, the trucke or flagge staffe.

The misen, the misen yeard, the misen top mast, the misen top sayle yeard. In great ships they haue two misens, the latter is called the *boneauentuer* misen. Then the poope, Lanthorne, and flagge staffe. When a mast is borne by the boord, they make a Iury-mast; which is made with yards, rouftrees, or what they can, splised or fished together.

The capsterne and other generall phrases.

The Capsterne, the pawle, the whelps, the capsterne bars. A Ieare capsterne is only in great ships to hoyse their sayles. The canhookes, slings, and parbunkels, ports and ringbolts and hooks, the skuppers, the skupper holes, the chaines, the steepe tubs, an entring ladder or cleats, a boy, a can boy. A ship cranke sided, Iron sicke, spewes her okum, a leak[i]e ship. The sheathing, furring, carrying, washing, and breaming, lanching, caruing, guilding, and painting a ship. Ballast, kintlage, canting [**14**] coynes, standing coynes, roufe trees, a grating, netting or false decke for your close fights.

The ropes names in a ship.

The entring rope, the boate rope, the bucket rope, the boy rope, guest rope, the cat rope, the port ropes, the heele rope, the rudder rope, the top ropes, the bolt ropes. The brest ropes are now out of vse, the water line is [*i.e.*, *in use*].

Concerning the tackling and rigging [of] a ship.

The tacklings are the fore stay, the maine stay. The tackles, the mison stay, the collers, the maine shrouds and chaines, the maine top shroudes, the fore shroud, the fore top shroud, the swifters, the mison shroudes, the mison top shroudes and their ratlings, and the parels to all masts. The maine hallyards, the maine top sayle hallyards, the top gallant saile hal[l]yards, the fore hallyards, the fore top sayle hallyard, the misen hallyard, and the spret sayle hallyeard, the horse, the maine sheats, the maine top sayle sheats, the maine braces, the maine top sayle [**15**] braces, the maine bowling and bridles, the maine top sayle bowlin[e], the bunt lines, the trusses, the lifts, the earring, the cat harpings, a Ieare, leatch lines; the Robins, garnit, Clew garnits, tyes, martlits. The most of all these are also belonging to the fore mast, misen and bowlespret,

and hath the same denomination after their masts; onely the boulespret hath no bow lines, and the misen sheats, are called the starne sheats. They haue all of them pullies, blockes, shiuers and dead mens eyes, Lanyeards, caskets, and crowes feete. A snap blocke is seldom vsed but in heauing of goods and ordnances. [1626]

There is also diuerse other small cordage, as head lines, the knaulings, gassits or furling lines, marlines, rop[e] yearne, Caburne, Sinnet, paunches, and such like.

The Cables, hawsers or streame cables, are most vsed in the water by the Anchors. When they are too short, [**16**] they shoote one into another. When they are galled or breake, they splice them. When that way vnseruiceable, they serue for Iunkes, fendors and braded plackets for brests of defence; and then, as the rest of the ouerworne tackling, for rope yarne, caburne, sinnit, an[d] okum. Sheeps feet is a stay in setling a top mast, and a guie in staying the tackles when they are charged with goods.

Tearmes for Anchors.

The Anchor hath a stocke, a ring, a shanke, a flouke. The greatest in euery ship is called the sheat Anchor, the rest Anchors. The streame Anchor, graplings or kedgers. Bend your cables to your Anchors.

The names of the sailes.

The maine saile, the fore sayle called sometimes the fore course; the maine course or a paire of courses, each of them hath a bonnet and a drabler; the maine top sayle, the top gallant sayle, and in a faire gaile your studding sayles; then your mison, your misen [**17**] top sayle, your spret sayle, and spret sayle top sayle, a drift sayle, a crosiack, a netting sayle. Twyne, a munke seame, a round seame, a suit of sayles, a shift of sayles, top Armours, wayst clothes, pendants and colours.

The tearmes for the harbor.

A channell, a bay, a rode, a sound, an offen, a cone, a crike, a riuer; cleere ground, very fast ground or good anchoring; foule ground, osie ground, sandy ground, clay ground; a headland, a furland, a reatch, a land marke.

For the winds.

A calme, a brese, a fresh gaile, a pleasant gayle, a stiffe gayle. It ouerblowes. A gust, a storme, a spoute, a loume gaile, an eddy wind, a flake of wind, a Turnado, a mounthsoune, a Herycano.

Tearmes for the sea.

A calme sea, becalmed, a rough sea, an ouergrowne sea,

[1626] the rut of the sea, the roaring of the sea. It flowes quarter floud, high water, or a still water. A full sea, a spring tide, ebbe, a quarter ebbe, halfe ebbe, three quarters ebbe, a lowe water, a dead low water, a nepe tide, a [**18**] shoule, a ledge of rockes, a breach, a shallow water, deepe water, soundings, fadome by the marke, 3 o*d* and a shaftment left. 4 o*d*. Disimboage, a gulph, the froth of the sea.

Tearmes for stearing.

Starbord is the right hand, Larbord is the left. Starboord the helme, right your helme a loufe, keepe your loufe, come no neere, keepe full, stidy, so you goe well, port, warre, no more; beare vp the helme, goe roumy, be yare at the helme, a fresh man at the helme.

Tearmes of Warre.

A sayle, how stands she, to windward or leyward, set him by the Compasse, he stands right a-head; or on the weather bow, or ley bow: out with all your sayles, a stydy man to the helme, sit close to keep her stydie. Giue chase or fetch him vp, he holds his owne, nowe[we] gather on him, out goeth his flag and pendance or streames, also his Colours, his wast-clothes and top armings, he furles and slings his maine saile, in goes his spret sayle and misen, he makes ready [**19**] his close fights fore and after. Well, we shall reach him by and bye.

What is all ready? Yea, yea. Euery man to his charge, Dowse your top sayle, salute him for the sea; Ha[i]le him: whence your ship? Of *Spayne*, whence is yours? Of *England*. Are you Merchants or Men of Warre. We are of the Sea. He wayses vs to leyward for the King of *Spaine*, and keeps his loufe. Giue him a chase peece, a broad side, and runne ahead, make ready to tacke about, giue him your sterne peeces, be yare at helme, ha[i]le him with a noyse of Trumpets.

We are shot through and through, and betweene winde and water, trye the pumpe. Maister let vs breathe and refreshe a little. Sling a man ouerboord to stop the leake. Done, done. Is all ready againe, Yea, yea: beare vp close with him, with all your great and small shot charge him. Boord him on his weather quarter, lash fast your graplins and sheare off, then run stemlins the [**24**] mid ships. Boord and boord, or thwart the hawse, we are foule on each other.

The ships on fire. Cut any thing to get cleere, and smother the fire with wet clothes. We are cleere, and the fire is out, God be thanked. [1626]

The day is spent, let vs consult. Surgion looke to the wounded. Wind vp the slaine, with each a waight or bullet at his head and feete, giue three peeces for their funerals. Swabber make cleane the shippe. Purser record their names. Watch bee vigilant to keepe your berth to windward: and that wee loose him not in the night. Gunners spunge your Ordinances. Souldiers skower your peeces. Carpenters about your leakes. Boteson and the rest, repaire the sayles and shrouds. Cooke see you obserue your directions against the morning watch.

Boy. Holla Maister. Holla, Is the kettle boyled? Yea, yea.

Boteswaine call vp the men to Prayer and Breakfast. [**25**]

Boy fetch my celler of Bottles. A health to you all fore and afte, courage my hearts for a fresh charge: Maister lay him a bord loufe for loufe; Midships men see the tops and yeards well maned with stones and brasse bals, to enter them in the shrouds, and every squadron else at their best aduantage. Sound Drums and Trumpets, and St. *George* for *England*.

They hang out a flag of truse, stand in with him, ha[i]le him a mayne, [to] abase or take in his flagge, strike their sayles and come aboard, with the Captaine, Purser, and Gunner, with your Commission, Cocket, or bills of loading.

Out goes their Boate, they are lanched from the Ship side. Entertayne them with a generall cry, God saue the Captayne, and all the Company, with the Trumpets sounding. Examine them in particuler; and then conclude your conditions with feasting, freedome, or punishment, as you finde occasion. [**26**]

Other wayes if you surprize him or enter perforce; you may stow the men, rifle, pillage, or sacke, and crye a prize.

To call a Councell in a Fleete: there is the Councell of Warre, and the common Councell, which hangs their flags out in the mayne shrouds, and the misen.

Now, betweene two Navies they use often, especially in a Harbour or rode, where they are at anchor, to fill olde

[1626] Barkes with pitch, tar, trayne oyle, linsed oyle, brimstone, rosen, reedes, and dry wood, and such combustable things sometimes they linke three or foure together, towed together in the night, and put a drift as they finde occasion.

To passe a Fort, some will make both shippe and sayles all blacke: but if the Fort keepe but a fire on the other side, and all their peeces poynt blanke with fire, if they discharge, what is betwixt them and the fire the shot will [**27**] hit, if the rule be truely obserued.

To conclude, there is as many stratagims, advantages, and inventions to be vsed, as you finde occasions; and therefore experiences must be the best Tutor.

Concerning sayling or working of a Ship.

Bend your passerado to the mayne-sayle, git the sailes to the yeards, about your geare on all hands, hoyse your sayles halfe mast high, make ready to set sayle, crosse your yeards, bring your Cable to the Capsterne. Boatswaine fetch an Anchor aboord, break ground or way Anchor, heaue a head, men into the tops, men vpon the yeards. Come is the Anchor a pike, heaue out your topsayles, hawle your sheates. What's the Anchor away: Yea, yea. Let fall your fore sayle, whose at the helme there, coyle your cable in small slakes, hawle the cat, a bitter, belay, loufe, fast your Anchor with your shanke painter, stow the boate. Let falle your maine saile, on with your bonnets and drablers, steare study before the wind. [**28**]

The wind veares, git your star-boord tacks aboord, hawle off your ley sheats, ouerhawle the ley bowlin, ease your mayne brases, out with your spret-saile, flat the fore sheat, pike vp the misen or brade it. The ship will not wayer, loure the maine top saile, veare a fadome of your sheat. A flown sheate, a faire winde and a boune voyage, the wind shrinks, get your tacks close aboord, make ready your loufe howks and ley fagnes, to take off your bonnits and drablers, hawle close your maine bowline.

It ouercasts, we shall haue winde, sattle your top sailes, take in the spret sayle, in with your topsayles, lower your maine sayles, tallow vnder the parrels, in with your maine sayle, lower the fore sayle. The sayle is split, brade vp close all your sayles, lash sure the Ordinances, strike your top masts to the cap, make them sure with

your sheepes feete. A storme, hull, lash sure the helme a ley, lye to try out drift. How capes the ship? cun the ship [**29**] spoune before the winde, she lusts, she lyes vnder the Sea, trie her with a crose jacke, bowse it vp with the out-looker. She will founder in the Sea, runne on shore, split or billage on a Rocke, a wracke, put out a goose-winge, or a hullocke of a sayle. [1626]

Faire weather, set your fore sayle. Out with all your sailes, get your Larboard tackes aboord, hawle off your Starboord sheats, goe large, laske, ware yawning, the ships at stayes, at backe-stayes, ouer-set the ship, flat about, handle your Sayles, or trim your sayles, let rise your tacks, hawle of your sheats. Rocke-weede, adrift, or flotes. One to the top to looke out for Land. A ships wake, the water way, the weather bow, weather coyle, lay the ship by the Ley, and heaue the lead, try the dipsie line, bring the ship to rights, fetch the log-line to try what way shee makes, turne vp the minute glasse, obserue the hight. Land, to make Land, how beares it, set it by the Compasse [**30**] cleare your leach-lines, beare in, beare off, or stand off, or sheare off, beare vp.

Outward bound, homeward bound, shorten your Sailes, take in your Sailes, come to an Anchor vnder the Ley of the weather shore, the Ley shore, nealed too, looke to your stoppers, your Anchor comes home, the ships a drift, vere out more Cable, let fall your sheat Anchor, land locked, mo[o]re the ship. A good Voyage, Armes, arme a skiffe, a frigot, a pinnace, a ship, a squadron, a fleete. When you ride amongst many ships, pike your yards.

The tearmes of the boate.

To the boate or skiffe belongs oares, a mast, a saile, a stay, a halyard, sheats, a boat-hook, thoughts, thoules, rudder, irons, bailes, a trar-pawling or yawning, carlings, carling-knees, for the *Dauid*, the boates-wayles, a dridge. To row a spell, hold-water, trim the boate, *vea*, *vea*, *vea*, *vea*, *vea*, who saies Amen, one and all, for a dram of the bottle. [**31**]

The names of all sorts of great Ordinance and peeces, and their appurtenances.

A Basillisco, double Cannon, Cannon Pedrea, demy Cannon, Culvering, Sakar, Minion, Falcon, Falconet, Rabbenet, Murderers, slings, Chambers, Curriors, Hargabusacrock, Musquets, bastard Musquets, Coliners, Carbines, Crabuts, long Pistols, short Pistols, Charges, Cartrages,

[1626] Match, Spunges, Ladles, Rammers, Rammers heads, tomkins, a worme, a bore, a barrell, taper bore, hunicomed, lint stockes, carrages, trukes, linch-pins, trunions, axell-trees, beds, coynings. The peeces in the prow, the chase peeces in the sterne, the quarter peeces, the mid-ships; the vpper tyre, the middle tyre, their fids and leads to keepe dry the touch hole. Travers a peece, dispeart a peece. Compasse Calipers, a gunners quadrant, a hand spike, a crow of iron, to mount a peece, to dismount a peece, a darke Lanthorne, a budge barrell, a horne, a priming iron. Wyer, round shot, crosse-[**32**]-barre-shot, chayne-shot, langrill-shot, a case, case-shot, lead, melting ladles, moulds, bullet bagges, Musquet shot, Colyuer shot, quartred shot, Pistol shot, poysoned bullets, brasse bals, iron bals, granadoes, trunkes of wilde fire, pikes of wild fire, arrowes of wild fire, pots of wild fire or dragouns. To cloye a peece: To loade a peece: To poyson a peece. Hookes for gunners or tacklings.

Concerning the shooting of great Ordinance.

Concerning the particuler theor[e]mes, or tearmes, for great Ordnances, as the concaue, trunke, cylinder, the soule or bore of a peece: To know whether she be equally bored, camber, taper, or belbored; the severall names of her mettle, the thinnesse and thicknesse, her carnooze or base ring at her britch, her shaft or chase, her trunnions, mousell rings at her mouth, to dispart her, know her leuell poynt blanke and best at randome, her fortification, the differences of powder, be it serpentine or corned powder; if she be well mounted, [**33**] vpon a leuell plotforme or no: besides there are so many vncertaine accidents, both in the peece, shot, and powder, the ground the ayre and differences in proportion, they can no certaine artificiall rules be proscribed.

Those proportions following are neere the matter, but for your better satisfaction, read Master *Digs* his *Pantrymetria*, Master *Smith*, or Master *Burnes* Arte of gun[ne]ry, or Master *Robert Nortons* expositions vpon maister *Digs*: any of these will shew you the Theoricke; but to be a good Gunner, you must learn it by practise.

The Gunners scale is made in brasse at Tower Hill, with prospectiue glasses, and many other instruments by Master *Bates*. [**34**]

A Table of Proportions for the vse of great Ordinance. [1626]

[Names.]	The weight of the Peeces in pounds.	The weight of the shot in pounds.	The Circumference of the shot in pounds.	The height of the shot in inches.	The length of the Ladle in inches.	The bredth of the Ladle in inches.	The weight of the powder in pounds.	Skores of paces at poynt blanke.
A Cannon... ...	8000	63	$24\frac{5}{4}$	$7\frac{3}{4}$	23	15	46	26
Demy Cannon ...	6000	32	$18\frac{1}{6}$	6	$22\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	24	30
A Culuering ...	5500	18	$15\frac{5}{7}$	5	22	9	14	33
Demy Culuering	4500	9	$12\frac{4}{7}$	4	20	8	9	39
A Sacar	3500	$5\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{3}{14}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$16\frac{1}{6}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$	26
A Minion... ...	1500	4	$9\frac{3}{7}$	3	15	6	4	25
A Falcon	1100	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{6}{7}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	5	$2\frac{1}{4}$	14
A Falconet ...	500	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{2}{7}$	2	10	4	$1\frac{1}{4}$	8

Note that seldome in any Ships they vse any Ordinance greater then a demy Cannon. [**35**]

How they devide their shares in a Man of Warre.

The Ship hath one third part; the Victualler the other third; the other third part is for the Company, and this is subdivided thus.

		Shares
The Captaine	*hath ... ...*	9.
The Master	*hath ... ...*	7.
The Mates	*hath ... ...*	5.
The Gunners	*hath ... ...*	5.
The Carpenter	*hath ... ...*	5.
The Boatswaine	*hath ... ...*	4.

[1626].

				Shares.
The Marshall	*hath*	...	...	4.
The Corporal	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Chyrugion	*hath*	...	...	3.
The quarter Masters	*hath*	...	...	4.
The Steward	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Cooke	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Coxon	*hath*	...	...	3.
The Trumpeter	*hath*	...	...	4.

The Sailers, two or one and a halfe.
The Boyes a single share.
The Lieuetenant what the Captaine will giue him, or as they can agree. [**36**]

They vse to appoint a certaine reward extraordinary to him that first discries a Sayle if they take her, and to him that first enters her.

For to learne to obserue the Altitude, Latitude, Longitude, Amplitude, the variation of the Compasse, the Sunnes Azimuth and Almicanter, to shift the Sunne and Moone, and to know the tydes, your roomes, pricke your card, and say your Compasse, get some of those bookes: but practise is the best.

Master [E.] Wrights *errors of Nauigation.*
Master [J.] Taps *Sea-mans Kallender.*
[M. Cortes.] *The Art of Nauigation.*
[W. Bourne.] *The Sea Regiment.*
[J. Davis.] *The Sea-mans Secrets.*
Wagganour [*i.e.*, J. S. Waghenaer's *The Marinours Mirrour*, translated by A. Ashley. 1588.]
Master [E.] Gunters *workes.*
The Sea-mans glasse for skale.
The new attracter for variation.
Master Wright *for the vse of the Globe.*
Master Hewes *for the same.* [**37**]
Good Sea Cards [*i.e.*, *Charts.*]
Two paire of Compasees.
An Astralobe quadrant.
A Crosse staffe.
A backe staffe.
An Astrolobe.
An Nocturnall.

If you haue a Diuine, his pay is most commonly both from the Aduenturers and the Saylors; so also is the Chyrurgion.

[1626]

Advertisements for yong Commanders, Captaines and Officers.

Young Gentlemen that desires commaund ought well to consider, the condition of his ship, victuall, and Company; for if there be more learners then Saylers, how sleightly soeuer many esteeme Saylers, all the worke to saue Ship, goods, and liues, must lye vpon them, especially in foule weather, the labour, hazard, wet and cold is so incredible I cannot expresse it. It is not then the number of them that here will say at home, what I cannot [**38**] doe, I can quickly learne, and what a great matter it is to sayle a Ship, or goe to Sea. Surely those for a good time will doe most trouble then good. I confesse it is more necessary such should go, but not too many in one ship; for if the labour of sixty should lye vpon thirty, as many times it doth; they are so ouer-charged with labour, bru[i]ses, and ouer-strayning themselues: (for there is no dallying nor excuses with stormes, gusts, overgrowne seas, and ley shores), they fall sicke of one disease or other, and then if their Victuals be putrified, it indangers all.

Men of all other professions, in lightning, thunder, stormes and tempests, with raine and snow, may shelter themselues in dry houses, by good fires, and good cheere; but those are the chief times, that Sea-men must stand to their tackelings, and attend with all diligence their greatest labour vpon the Deckes. Many supposeth any thing is good enough [**39**] to serue men at sea, and yet nothing sufficient for them a shore, either for their healthes, for their ease, or estates, or state. A Commaunder at Sea should do well to thinke the contrary, and prouide for himselfe and company in like manner; also seriously to consider what will be his charge, to furnish himselfe at sea, with bedding, linnen, armes, and apparell; how to keepe his table aboord, his expences on shore, and his Petty Tally, which is a competent proportion according to your number, of these particulars following.

Fine wheat flower, close and well packed, *Rise, Currands, Sugar, Prunes, Cinamon, Ginger, Pepper, Cloues, Greene-ginger, Oyle, Butter, Olde Cheese, or Holland, Wine, vinegar, Canary Sacke, Aqua vitæ, the best Wines, the best Waters, the iuyce of Lemons* for the Scurvey, *white Bisket, Oate meale, Gammons of Bacon, dried neates tongues, Rosted Beefe* packed vp in vineger. [**40**] *Legges of Mutton* minced

[1626] and stewed, and close packed vp with butter in earthen pots. To entertaine strangers, *Marmelet, Suckets, Almonds, Comfits,* and such like.

Some it may bee will say, I would haue men rather to feast then fight. But I say the want of those necessaries, occasions the losse of more men, then in any English fleet hath bin slaine in any fight since [15]88: for when a man is ill sicke, or at the poynt of death, I would know whether a dish of buttered Rice, with a little Cinamon and Sugar, a little minced meate, or roast beefe, a few stewed Prunes, a race of greene-ginger, a flap Iacke, a can of fresh water brued with a little Cinamon, Ginger, and Sugar, be not better then a little poore *Iohn*, or salt fish, with oyle and mustard, or bisket, butter, cheese or oatemeale pottage on fish dayes, salt beefe, porke and pease, and sixe shillings beere. This is your ordinary ships allowance, and good for [**41**] them are well, if well conditioned; which is not alwayes, as sea-men can too well witnesse: and after a storme, when poore men are all wet, and some not so much a cloth to shift him, shaking with cold, few of those but will tell you, a little Sacke or Aquvitæ, is much better to keepe them in health, then a little small beere or cold water, although it be sweete. Now that euery one should prouide those things for himselfe, few of them haue either that prouidence or meanes. And there is neither Alehouse, Tauerne, nor Inne to burne a faggot in; neither Grocer, Poulterie, Apothocary, nor Butchers shop: and therefore the vse of this petty tally is necessary, and thus to be imployed as there is occasion, to entertaine strangers, as they are in quality, euery Commander should shewe himselfe as like himselfe as he can, as well for the credit of the ship and his settors forth as himselfe. But in that heerein euery one [**42**] may moderate themselues, according to their owne pleasures, therefore I leaue it to their owne discretions. And this breefe Discourse, and my selfe, to their friendly construction and good opinion.

IOHN SMITH *Writ this with his owne Hand.*

FINIS.

THE
TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTVRES, AND OBSERVATIONS
OF

Captaine IOHN SMITH,

In *Europe*, *Asia*, *Affrica*, and *America*, from *Anno Domini* 1593 to 1629.

His Accidents and Sea-fights in the Straights; his Service and Stratagems of warre in *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, against the *Turks*, and *Tartars*; his three single combats betwixt the *Christian* Armie and the *Turkes*.

After how he was taken prisoner by the *Turks*, sold for a Slave, sent into *Tartaria*; his description of the *Tartars*, their strange manners and customes of Religions, Diets, Buildings, Warres, Feasts, Ceremonies, and Living; how hee slew the Bashaw of *Nalbrits* in *Cambia*, and escaped from the *Turkes* and *Tartars*.

Together with a continuation of his generall History of *Virginia*, *Summer-Iles*, *New England*, and their proceedings, since 1624. to this present 1629; as also of the new Plantations of the great River of the *Amazons*, the Iles of St. *Christopher*, *Mevis*, and *Barbados* in the *West Indies*.

All written by actuall Authours, whose names you shall finde along the History.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. H.* for *Thomas Slater*, and are to bee sold at the Blew Bible in *Greene Arbour*. 1630

[On the 18th April 1884, we personally inspected, at the College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C., Sir WILLIAM SEGAR's registration of the Coat of Arms on the opposite page ; see *p.* xxiv.

It may be well to repeat what we have already said at *p.* xxiii, that most of what is here recorded by SMITH of his doings in Hungary, Transylvania, &c., in Chapters iv.–x., *pp.* 829–850, is but a *reprint* of PURCHAS's translated *Extracts* from the Italian History or Biography of FRANCISCO FARNESE, the Secretary to Prince SIGISMUNDUS BÁTORI, *pp.* 788, 852 : and is therefore *not* SMITH's own account of his own doings, but chiefly the narrative of a foreigner with no possible motive for his laudation.

This Work was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, London :

29 August 1629.

Thomas Slaughter Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor JEFFERAY and master **Purfoote** Warden *The true travells aduentures and observacions of Captaine JOHN SMITH in Europe Asia &c. from Anno Domini* 1593 *to* 1629. . . . vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 *A.D.*, Ed. by E. ARBER, iv. 218, 1877.

The *Travels*, however, come no later than 1604, see *p.* 880 : the *Observations* comprise the carrying on of the story of our colonizing efforts from 1624, where the *General History* left off at *p.* 784, down to the year 1629.

There seems to have been some delay in the publication of this book, for though registered in August 1629, it came out with the date 1630.

For the bibliography of this Work see *p.* cxxxi.]

Vincere est Viuere
Accordamus

To the Right Honourable
WILLIAM, Earle of PEMBROKE,
Lord Steward of his Majesties most
Honourable Houshold.

ROBERT, Earle of LINDSEY,
Great Chamberlaine of
ENGLAND.

HENRIE, Lord HUNSDON,
Vicount ROCHFORD, Earle of DOVER.

And all your Honourable Friends
and Well-willers.

My Lords:

[1629] SIR *Robert Cotton,* that most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie, having by perusall of my Generall Historie, and others [*i.e., his other earlier publications*], found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by it selfe: whose noble desire I could not but in part satisfie; the

rather, because they have acted my fatall Tragedies upon the Stage, and racked my Relations at their pleasure. To prevent therefore all future misprisons, I have compiled this true discourse. Envie hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little: but that such should know, how little I esteeme them, I have writ this; more for the satisfaction of my friends, and all generous and well disposed Readers. [1629]

To speake only of my selfe were intolerable ingratitude; because, having had so many co-partners with me; I cannot make a Monument for my selfe, and leave them unburied in the fields, whose lives begot me the title of a Souldier; for as they were companions with me in my dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this Tombe.

For my *Sea Grammar* (caused to bee printed by my worthy friend, Sir *Samuel Saltonstall* [*p.* 787]) hath found such good entertainment abroad, that I have beene importuned by many noble persons, to let this also passe the Presse.

Many of the most eminent Warriers, and others; what their swords did, their penns writ. Though I bee never so much their inferiour, yet I hold it no great errour, to follow good examples; nor repine at them, [who] will doe the like.

And now my most Honourable good Lords, I know not to whom I may better present it, than to your Lordships, whose friendships, as I conceive,

[1629] are as much to each others, as my duty is to you all: and because you are acquainted both with my endevours, and writings, I doubt not, but your honours will as well accept of this, as of the rest; and Patronize it under the shadow of your most noble vertues, which I am ever bound in all duty to reverence, and under which I hope to have shelter, against all stormes that dare threaten.

Your Honours to be commanded,

IOHN SMITH.

The Contents of the severall Chapters.

CHAP. 1. *His birth; apprentiship; going into* France; *his beginning with ten shillings and three-pence, his service in* Netherlands; *his bad passage into* Scotland; *his returne to* Willoughby; *and how he lived in the woods.* ... ... page 1. [*p.* 821]

2. *The notable villany of foure* French *Gallants, and his revenge;* Smith *throwne over-boord, Captaine* La Roche *of Saint* Malo *releeves him.* ... ... 3. [*p.* 823]

3. *A desperate Sea-fight in the Straights; his passage to* Rome, Naples, *and the view of* Italy. ... ... 5. [*p.* 826]

4. *The Siege of* Olumpagh; *an excellent stratagem by* Smith; *another not much worse.* ... ... 6. [*p.* 829]

5. *The siege of* Stowlle-Wesenburg; *the effects of* Smiths *Fire-workes; a worthy exploit of the Earle* Rosworme; *Earle* Meldritch *takes the* Bashaw *prisoner.* 8. [*p.* 831]

6. *A brave encounter of the* Turks *armie with the* Christians; *Duke* Mercury *overthroweth* Assan Bashaw; *He divides the* Christian *armie; his noblenesse and death.* ... ... 9. [*p.* 833]

CHAP. 7. *The unhappy siege of* Caniza; *Earle* Meldritch *serveth Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses *besiegeth* Regall; Smiths *three single combats.* ... ... 11. [*p.* 836]

8. Georgio Busca *an* Albane *his ingratitude to Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses *his Lieutenant, is overthrowne by* Busca, *Generall for the Emperour* Rodulphus; Smiths *Patent from* Sigismundus, *and reward.* ... ... 14. [*p.* 840]

9. Sigismundus *sends Ambassadours unto the Emperour; the conditions re-assured; he yieldeth up all to* Busca, *and returneth to* Prague.... ... ... 18. [*p.* 845]

10. *The Battell of* Rottenton; *a pretty stratagem of fire-workes by* Smith. ... ... 20. [*p.* 848]

11. *The names of the* English *that were slaine in the battle of* Rottenton; *and how Captaine* Smith *was taken prisoner; and sold for a slave....* ... ... 21. [*p.* 851]

12. *How Captaine* Smith *was sent prisoner thorow the* Blacke *and* Dissabacca *Sea in* Tartaria; *the description of those Seas, and his usage.* ... ... 23. [*p.* 853]

13. *The* Turks *diet; the Slaves diet; the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of Warres and Religions,* &c. ... ... 24. [*p.* 855]

14. *The description of the* Crym-Tartars; *their houses and carts; their idolatry in their lodgings.* ... ... 26. [*p.* 857]

15. *Their feasts; common diet; Princes estate; buildings; lawes; slaves; entertainment of Ambassadours.* ... ... 27. [*p.* 859]

16. *How he levieth an Armie; their Armes and Provision; how he divideth the spoile; and his service to the Great* Turke. ... ... 29. [*p.* 862]

CHAP. 17. *How Captaine* Smith *escaped his captivity; slew the* Bashaw *of* Nalbrits *in* Cambia; *his passage to* Russia, Transilvania, *and the middest of* Europe *to* Affrica. ... ... 31. [*p.* 866]

18. *The observations of Captaine* Smith; *Master* Henry Archer, *and others in* Barbary. ... ... 34. [*p.* 869]

19. *The strange discoveries and observations of the* Portugals *in* Affrica. ... ... 37. [*p.* 874]

20. *A brave Sea-fight betwixt two* Spanish *men of warre, and Captaine* Merham, *with* Smith. ... ... 39. [*p.* 878]

21. *The continuation of the generall History of* Virginia; *the* Summer Iles; *and* New England; *with their present estate from* 1624. *to this present* 1629. ... ... 41. [*p.* 883]

22. *The proceedings and present estate of the* Summer Iles, *from* An. Dom. 1624. *to this present* 1629. ... ... 45. [*p.* 889]

23. *The proceedings and present estate of* New England, *since* 1624. *to this present* 1629. ... ... 46. [*p.* 891]

24. *A briefe discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly Country of* Guiana, *and the great River of the* Amazons; *relating also the present Plantation there.* ... 48. [*p.* 895]

25. *The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of* St. Christopher *by Captaine* Warner. ... ... 51. [*p.* 900]

26. *The first planting of the* Barbados. ... 55. [*p.* 906]

27. *The first plantation of the Ile of* Mevis. 56. [*p.* 909]

28. *The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrats; and how they taught the* Turks *and* Moores *to become men of warre.* 58. [*p.* 913]

To my worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629] *TWo greatest Shires of* England *did thee beare,*
Renowned Yorkshire, *Gaunt-stild* Lancashire;
But what's all this? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabigzanda, Callamata's *love,*
Deare Pocahontas, *Madam* Shanoi's *too,*
Who did what love with modesty could doe:
Record thy worth, thy birth, which as I live,
Even in thy reading such choice solace give,
As I could wish (*such wishes would doe well*)
Many such Smiths *in this our* Israel.

R. BRATHWAIT.

To my noble brother and friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

THou hast a course so full of honour runne,
Envy may snarle, as dogges against the Sunne
May barke, not bite: for what deservedly
With thy lifes danger, valour, pollicy,
Quaint warlike stratagems, abillity
And judgement, thou hast got, fame sets so high
Detraction cannot reach: thy worth shall stand
A patterne to succeeding ages, and
Cloth'd in thy owne lines, ever shall adde grace,
Vnto thy native Country and thy race;
And when dissolv'd, laid in thy mothers wombe,
These, Cæsar-*like,* Smiths *Epitaph and tombe.*

ANTHONY FEREBY.

To his valiant and deserving friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

MOngst Frenchmen, Spanyards, Hungars, Tartars, Turks, [1629]
And wilde Virginians *too, this tells thy works:*
Now some will aske, what benefit? what gaine?
Is added to thy store for all this paine?
Th'art then content to say, content is all,
Th'ast got content for perils, paine and thrall;
Tis lost to looke for more: for few men now
Regard Wit, Learning, Valour; but allow
The quintessence of praise to him that can
Number his owne got gold, and riches, than
Th'art Valiant, Learned, Wise; Pauls *counsell will,*
Admire thy merits, magnifie thy skill.
The last of thine to which I set my hand
Was a Sea Grammar; *this by Sea and Land,*
Serves us for imitation: I know none,
That like thy selfe hast come, and runne, and gone,
To such praise-worthy actions: bee't approued,
Th'ast well deserv'd of best men to be loued:
If France, *or* Spaine, *or any forren soile*
Could claime thee theirs, for these thy paines and toile,
Th'adst got reward and honour: now adayes,
What our owne natives doe, we seldom praise.

Good men will yeeld thee praise; then sleight the rest;
Tis best praise-worthy to have pleased the best.

Tuissimus ED. IORDEN.

To my worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629]

DEare noble Captaine, who by Sea and Land,
To act the earnest of thy name hast hand
And heart; who canst with skill designe the Fort,
The Leaguer, Harbour, City, Shore, and Port:
Whose sword and pen in bold, ruffe, Martiall wise,
Put forth to try and beare away the prize,
From Cæsar *and* Blaize Monluc: *Can it be,*
That Men alone in Gonnels *fortune see*
Thy worth advanc'd? no wonder since our age,
Is now at large a Bedlem or a Stage.

RICH. IAMES.

To his worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

THou that hast had a spirit to flie like thunder,
Without thy Countries charge through those strange dangers,
Doth make my muse amazed, and more to wonder
That thy deserts should shared be by strangers,
And thou neglected; (ah miracle!) most lamented,
At thy great patience thus to rest contented.

For none can truly say thou didst deceive, [1629]
Thy Souldiers, Sailers, Merchants, nor thy friends,
But all from thee a true account receive,
Yet nought to thee all these thy vertues brings;
Is none so noble to advance thy merit,
If any be, let him thy praise inherit.

MA. HAWKINS.

To my worthy friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

TO combate with three Turks in single du'le,
Before two Armies, who the like hath done?
Slaine thy great Iailor; found a common weale
In faire America *where; thou hast wonne*
No lesse renowne amongst their Savage Kings,
Than Turkish warres, that thus thy honour sings.

Could not those tyrants daunt thy matchlesse spirit,
Nor all the cruelty of envies spight:
Will not thy Country yet reward thy merit,
Nor in thy acts and writings take delight?
Which here in so few sheets doth more expresse
Than volumes great, this is thy happinesse.

RICHARD MEADE.

To my well deserving friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629] *THou hast no need to covet new applause,*
Nor doe I thinke vaine-glory moves thee to it;
But since it is thy will (though without cause)
To move a needlesse thing, yet will I doe it:
Doe it in briefe I will, or else I doe the[e] wrong,
And say, rend or'e Captaine Smiths *former song;*
His first then will invite thee to his latter:
Reader 'tis true; *I am not brib'd to flatter.*

EDW. INGHAM.

To his approved friend, the Authour; Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[*i.e.*, Bard.] *THe old* Greeke Beard,* *counts him the onely man,*
Who knowes strange Countries, like his Ithacan,
And wise, as valiant, by his observation,
Can tell the severall customes of each Nation:
All these are met in thee, who will not then
Repute thee in the ranke of worthiest men?

To th'Westerne world to former times unknowne,
Thy active spirit hath thy valour showne:
The Turks *and* Tartars *both can testifie,*
Thee t'have deserv'd a Captaines dignity;
But verse thou need'st not to expresse thy worth,
Thy acts, this booke doe plainly set it forth.

M. CARTNER.

To the *Valourous* and truly-*vertuous* souldier, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629]

NO* Faith in Campe? *tis false*: *see pious* Smith
Hath brought stragling Astræa *backe, and with*
An all outdaring spirit made Valour *stand*
Vpheld by Vertue *in bold* Mars *his land*:
If Valourous, *be praise*; *how great's his Name*?
Whose Valour *joynd with* Vertue *laud's his Fame.*
T'was Homers *boast of wise* Laertes *sonne,*
†Well-read in men and Cities: *than thou none*
(*Great* Smith) *of these can more true tales rehearse*;
What want thy praises then, but Homers *verse*?

* Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.

† πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω Hom. Odyss. a.

In Smithum Distichon.

Quisque suæ sortis*Faber: an Faber exstitit unquam
Te (Smithe) fortunæ verior usque suæ?

* Appius

I. C.
C. P.

To his noble friend, Captaine IOHN SMITH.

TO *see bright honour sparkled all in gore,*
Would steele a spirit that ne're fought before:
And that's the height of Fame, when our best bloud,
Is nobly spilt in actions great and good:
So thou hast taught the world to purchase Fame,
Rearing thy story on a glorious frame,
And such foundation doth thy merits make it,
As all detractions rage shall never shake it;
Thy actions crowne themselves, and thy owne pen,
Gives them the best and truest Epiphonem.

BRIAN O ROVRKE.

To his truly deserving friend Captaine IOHN SMITH.

[1629]

CAn one please all? there's none from Censure *free,*
To looke for'it then it were absurd in thee;
It's easie worke to censure sweetest Layes,
Where Ignorance *is* Iudge *thou'd have no praise:*
Wisdome *I know will mildly* judge *of all,*
Envious hearts, tongues, pennes, are dippt in Gall.
Proud malignant times will you now bring forth
Monsters *at least to snarle at others worth;*
O doe not so, but wisely looke on him
That wrought such Honours *for his* Countries King*:*
Of Turks *and* Tartars *thou hast wonne the field,*
The great Bashaw *his* Courage *thou hast quel'd;*
In the Hungarian warre *thou'st shewd thy* Arts,
Proued thy Selfe *a* Souldier *true in all parts:*
Thy Armes *are deckt with that thy* Sword *hath wonne,*
Which mallice can't out-weare till day be done:
For three proud Turks *in single fight thou'st slue,*
Their Heads adorne *thy* Armes, *for witnesse true;*
Let Mars *and* Neptune *both with* Pregnant *wit,*
Extoll thy due deserts, Ile pray for it.

SALO. TANNER

IOHN SMITH
others extracted out of the HISTORY
The Siege of REGALL
How hee relee… OLVMPAGH by a stratagem of Lights
S. Maries Ile
Nice
His three single Combats Chap. 7
His Encounter with TVRBASHAW Chap. 7
His Combat with GRVALGO. Capt of threehundred horsmen. Chap. 7
How he slew BONNY MVLGRO Chap. 7
Capt SMITH led Captiue to the BASHAW of NALBRITS in TARTARIA. Chap. 12.
Smith
Drub man
Basham
Three TVRKS heads in a banner giuen him for Armes. Chap.
P Moyses
How he was presented to Prince SIGISMVNDVS. Chap. 5
Capt SMITH Killeth the BASHAW of Nalbrits and on his horse escapeth Chap. 17
London Printed by Iames Reeue

THE TRVE TRAVELS, ADVENTVRES, AND OBSERVATIONS OF CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africke*, and *America*:
beginning about the yeere 1593. and
continued to this present
1629.

CHAPTER I.

His birth; *Apprentiship*; *Going into France*; *His beginning with ten shillings and three pence*; *His Service in* Netherlands; *His bad passage into* Scotland; *His returne to* Willoughby; *And how he lived in the Woods.*

HE was borne [1580] in *Willoughby* in *Lincolne-shire*, and a Scholler in the two Free-schooles of *Alford* and *Louth*. His father anciently descended from the ancient *Smiths* of *Crudley* in *Lancashire*; his mother from the *Rickands* at great *Heck* in *York-shire*. [1580] 36]

His parents dying [1596] when he was about thirteene yeeres of age, left him a competent meanes, which hee not being capable to manage, little regarded;

[1596-9] his minde being even then set upon brave adventures, [he] sould his Satchell, bookes, and all he had, intending secretly to [2] get to Sea, but that his fathers death [*Apr.* 1596] stayed him.

But now the Guardians of his estate more regarding it than him, he had libertie enough, though no meanes, to get beyond the Sea.

About the age of fifteene yeeres [1595] hee was bound an Apprentice to Master *Thomas Sendall* of *Linne*, the greatest Merchant of all those parts; but because hee would not presently send him to Sea, he never saw his master in eight yeeres after [1596–1604].

At last, he found meanes to attend Master *Perigrine Barty* into *France*, second sonne to the Right Honourable *Perigrine*, that generous Lord *Willoughby* and famous Souldier; where comming to his brother *Robert*, then at *Orleans*, now Earle of *Linsey*, and Lord great Chamberlaine of *England*; being then but little youths under Tutorage: his service being needlesse, within a moneth or six weeks they sent him backe againe to his friends. Who when he came from *London*, they liberally gave him (but out of his owne estate) ten shillings to be rid of him; such oft is the share of fatherlesse children: but those two Honourable Brethren gave him sufficient to returne for *England*.

But it was the least thought of his determination, for now being freely at libertie in *Paris*, growing acquainted with one Master *David Hume*; who making some use of his purse, gave him Letters to his friends in *Scotland* to preferre him to King *Iames*. Arriving at *Roane*, he better bethinkes himselfe, seeing his money neere spent, downe the River he went to *Haver de grace*, where he first began to learne the life of a souldier.

Peace being concluded in *France* [1596], he went with Captaine *Ioseph Duxbury* into the Low-countries, under whose Colours having served three or foure yeeres [1596–9], he tooke his journey for *Scotland*, to deliver his Letters.

At *Ancusan* he imbarked himselfe for *Lethe*, but as much danger as shipwracke and sicknesse could endure, hee had at the holy Ile in *Northumberland* neere Barwicke: (being recovered) into *Scotland* he went to deliver his Letters.

After much kinde usage amongst those honest *Scots* at *Ripweth* and *Broxmoth*, but neither money nor meanes to make him a Courtier; he returned to *Willoughby* in *Lincoln-shire*. [1600]

Where within a short time being glutted with too much company, wherein he took small delight; he retired himselfe into a little wooddie pasture, a good way from any towne, invironed with many hundred Acres of other woods: Here by a faire brook he built a Pavillion of boughes, where only in his cloaths he lay. His studie was *Machiavills* Art of warre, and *Marcus Aurelius*; his exercise a good horse, with his lance and Ring; his food was thought to be more of venison than any thing else; what he wanted, his man brought him.

The countrey wondering at such an Hermite; His friends perswaded one *Seignior Theadora Polaloga*, Rider to *Henry* Earle of *Lincolne*, an excellent Horse-man, and a noble *Italian* Gentleman, to insinuate into his wooddish acquaintances; whose Languages and good discourse, and exercise of riding, drew him to stay with him at *Tattersall*.

Long these pleasures could not content him, but hee returned againe to the Low-Countreyes. [3]

CHAPTER II.

The notable villany of foure French *Gallants, and his revenge*; Smith *throwne over-board*; *Captaine* La Roche *of Saint* Malo *releeves him.*

THus when *France* and *Netherlands* had taught him to ride a Horse and use his Armes, with such rudiments of warre as his tender yeeres [*æt.* 16–20] in those martiall Schooles could attaine unto; he was desirous to see more of the world, and trie his fortune against the *Turkes*: both lamenting and repenting to have seene so many *Christians* slaughter one another.

A notable villany of foure *French* Gallants

Opportunitie casting him [*in the Low Countries*] into the company of foure *French* Gallants well attended, faining to him the one to be a great Lord, the rest his Gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way; over-perswaded him to

[1600] goe with them into *France*, to the Dutchesse of *Mercury* [*de Mercœur*], from whom they should not only have meanes, but also Letters of favour to her noble Duke, then Generall [*since Sept.* 1598] for the Emperour *Rodolphus* in *Hungary*: which he did, with such ill weather as winter affordeth.

In the darke night, they arrived in the broad shallow In-let of Saint *Valleries sur Some* in *Picardie*; his French Lord knowing he had good apparell, and [was] better furnished with money than themselves, so plotted with the Master of the ship to set his and their owne trunckes a shore, leaving *Smith* aboard till the boat could returne, which was the next day after towards evening: the reason hee alleaged was the sea went so high hee could come no sooner, and that his Lord was gone to *Amiens* where they would stay his comming. Which treacherous villany, when divers other souldiers and passengers understood, they had like to have slaine the Master; and had they knowne how, would have runne away with the ship.

A *Carralue* is in value a penny.

Comming on shore hee had but one *Carralue*, [and] was forced to sell his cloake to pay for his passage. One of the souldiers, called *Curzianvere*, compassionating his injury, assured him this great Lord *Depreau* was only the sonne of a Lawyer of *Mortaigne* in base *Britany*; and his Attendants *Cursell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, three young citizens, as arrant cheats as himselfe: but if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their friends; but in the *interim* [he] supplied his wants.

Thus travelling by *Deepe*, *Codebeck*, *Humphla*, *Pountdemer* in *Normandie*, they came to *Cane* in base *Normandie*: where both this noble *Curzianvere*, and the great Prior of the great Abbey of *S. Steven* (where is the ruinous Tombe of *William* the Conquerour,) and many other of his friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to *Mortaigne*; where hee found *Depreau* and the rest, but to small purpose.

For Master *Curzianvere* was a banished man, and durst not be seene, but to his friends: yet the bruit of their cosenage occasioned the Lady *Collumber*, the Baron *Larshan*, the Lord *Shasghe*, and divers other honourable persons, to supply his wants; and with them to recreate himselfe so long as hee would: but such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poore estate, and his restlesse spirit,

that could neuer finde content, to receiue such noble favours, as he could neither deserve nor requite. [4] [1600]

But wandring from Port to Port to finde some man of war, [he] spent that he had; and in a Forest, neere dead with griefe and cold, a rich Farmer found him by a faire Fountaine under a tree. This kinde Pesant releeved him againe to his content, to follow his intent.

Not long after, as he passed thorow a great grove of trees, betweene *Pounterson* and *Dina* in *Britaine*, it was his chance to meet *Cursell*, more miserable than himselfe. His piercing injuries had so small patience, as without any word they both drew, and in a short time *Cursell* fell to the ground; where from an old ruinated Tower the inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard *Cursell* confesse what had formerly passed; and that how in the dividing that they had stolne from him, they fell by the ears amongst themselves, that were actors in it: but for his part, he excused himselfe to be innocent as well of the one, as of the other. Here he incountred one of the theeves.

In regard of his hurt, *Smith* was glad to be so rid of him, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earle of *Ployer*; who during the warre in *France* [1590–6], with his two brethren, Viscount *Poomory*, and Baron *d'Mercy*, who had beene brought up in *England*: by him he was better refurnished than ever. When they had shewed him Saint *Malo* Mount, Saint *Michael*, *Lambal*, *Simbreack*, *Lanion*, and their owne faire Castle of *Tuncadeck*, *Gingan*, and divers other places in *Britanny* (and their *Brittish Cornwaile*), taking his leave, he tooke his way to *Raynes*, the *Britaines* chiefe Citie, and so to *Nantes*, *Poyters*, *Rochell*, and *Burdeaux*. The noblenesse of the Earle of *Ployer*.

The rumour of the strength of *Bayon* in *Biskay*, caused him to see it; and from thence [he] tooke his way from *Leskar* in *Biearne*, and *Paw* in the kingdom of *Navar* to *Tolouza* in *Gascoigne*, *Bezers* and *Carcassone*, *Narbone*, *Montpellier*, *Nimes* in *Languedock*, and thorow the Country of *Avignion*, by *Arles* to *Marcellos* in *Province*.

There imbarking himselfe for *Italy*, the ship was enforced to *Tolonne*; and putting againe to sea, ill weather so grew upon them, they anchored close aboard the shore, under the little Isle of *S. Mary*, against *Neice* in *Savoy*.

[1600-1] An inhumane act of the Provincialls in casting him over-board.

Here the inhumane Provincialls, with a rabble of Pilgrimes of divers Nations going to *Rome*, hourely cursing him, not only for a *Hugonoit*, but his Nation they swore were all Pyrats, and so vildly railed on his dread Soveraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, and that they never should have faire weather so long as hee was aboard them; their disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him over-board: yet God brought him to that little Isle, where was no inhabitants, but a few kine and goats.

The next morning, he espied two ships more riding by them, put in by the storme; that fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him, that he was well contented to trie the rest of his fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former discourse, what for pitie, and the love of the Honourable Earle of *Ployer*, this noble Britaine his neighbour, Captaine *la Roche* of Saint *Malo*, regarded and entertained him for his well respected friend.

Captaine *La Roche* releeves him.

With the next faire wind they sailed along by the Coast of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*; and crossing the gulfe of *Tunis*, passed by *Cape Bona* to the Isle of *Lampadosa*, leaving the coast of *Barbary* till they came at *Cape Rosata*, and so along the *African* shore, for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*.

There delivering their fraught, they went to *Scandaroone*; rather to view what ships was in the Roade, than any thing else: keeping their [**5**] course by *Cypres* and the coast of *Asia*, sayling by *Rhodes*, the *Archipellagans*, *Candia*, and the coast of *Gretia*, and the Isle of *Zaffalonia*.

They lay to and againe a few days betwixt the Isle of *Corfue* and the *Cape* of *Otranto* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, in the Entrance of the *Adriatike* sea.

CHAPTER III.

A desperate Sea-fight in the Straights; His passage to Rome, Naples, *and the view of* Italy.

A desperate sea-fight.

BEtwixt the two *Capes* [*at the entrance of the Adriatic*] they meet with an *Argosie* of *Venice*. It seemed the Captaine desired to speake with them, whose untoward answer was such,

as slew them a man; whereupon the *Britaine* presently gave them the broad-side, then his Sterne, and his other broad-side also, and continued the chase, with his chase peeces, till he gave them so many broad-sides one after another, that the *Argosies* sayles and tackling was so torne, she stood to her defence, and made shot for shot. [1600-1]

Twice in one houre and a halfe the *Britaine* boarded her, yet they cleared themselves: but clapping her aboard againe, the Argosie fired him, which, with much danger to them both, was presently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britaines* rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himselfe againe, [he] shot her so oft betweene wind and water, shee was readie to sinke; then they yeelded; the *Britaine* lost fifteene men, she twentie, besides divers were hurt. The rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the prisoners that were chained, the rest to rifle her. The Silkes, Velvets, Cloth of gold and Tissue, Pyasters Chicqueenes and Sultanies, which is gold and silver, they unloaded in foure and twentie houres, was wonderfull: whereof having sufficient, and tired with toile, they cast her off with her company, with as much good merchandize as would haue fraughted such another *Britaine*, that was but two hundred Tunnes, she foure or five hundred.

To repaire his defects, hee stood for the coast of *Calabria*, but hearing there was six or seven Galleyes at *Mesina*, hee departed thence for *Malta*: but the wind comming faire, he kept his course along the coast of the Kingdome of *Sicilia* by *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, till he came to the Road of *Antibo* [*Antibes*] in *Peamon* [*Piedmont*], where he set *Smith* on shore with fiue hundred chicqueenes [=*about* £225], and a little box God sent him worth neere as much more.

Here he left this noble *Britaine*, and embarked himselfe for *Lygorne*, being glad to have such opportunitie and meanes to better his experience by the view of *Italy*; and having passed *Tuskany*, and the Countrey of *Sieana* (where hee found his deare friends, the two Honourable Brethren, the Lord *Willoughby* and his Brother cruelly wounded, in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honour), then to *Viterbo* and many other Cities, he came to *Rome*: where it was his chance to see Pope *Clement* the eight, with many

[1601] Cardinalls, creepe up the holy Stayres, which they say are those our Saviour Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*, where bloud falling from his head, being pricked with his crowne of thornes, the drops [**6**] are marked with nailes of steele. Upon them none dare goe but in that manner, saying so many *Ave-Maries* and *Paternosters*, as is their devotion, and to kisse the nailes of steele. But on each side is a paire of such like staires, up which you may goe, stand, or kneele; but divided from the holy Staires by two walls: right against them is a Chappell, where hangs a great silver Lampe, which burneth continually, yet they say the oyle neither increaseth nor diminisheth.

The Popes holy Staires brought from *Ierusalem*, whereon (they say) Christ went up to *Pontius Pilate*.

A little distant is the ancient Church of Saint *Iohn de Laterane*, where he saw him [*Pope Clement VIII.*] say Masse, which commonly he doth upon some Friday once a moneth.

Having saluted Father *Parsons*, that famous *English* Iesuite, and satisfied himselfe with the rarities of *Rome*, he went downe the River of *Tiber* to *Civita Vechia*; where he embarked himselfe to satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of *Naples*, and her Kingdomes nobilitie.

Returning by *Capua*, *Rome* and *Seana*, he passed by that admired Citie of *Florence*, the Cities and Countries of *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Padua*, and *Venice*, whose Gulfe he passed from *Malamoco* and the *Adriatike* Sea for *Ragouza*, spending some time to see that barren broken coast of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, to *Capo de Istria*, travelling the maine [*i.e.*, *mainland*] of poore *Slavonia* by *Lubbiano*, till he came to *Grates* in *Steria*, the Seat of *Ferdinando* Arch-duke of *Austria*, now [1629] Emperour of *Almania* [*from* 1619 *to* 1637]: where he met an *English* man, and an *Irish* Iesuite; who acquainted him [*made him acquainted*] with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie, especially with the Lord *Ebersbaught*.

With whom trying such conclusions, as he projected to undertake; [he] preferred him to Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Artillery; and he to a worthy Collonell, [*Henry Volda*] the Earle of *Meldritch*: with whom going to *Vienne* in *Austria*, under whose Regiment, in what service, and how he spent his time, this ensuing Discourse will declare.

CHAPTER IV.

The Siege of Olumpagh; *An excellent Stratagem by* Smith; *Another not much worse.*

AFter the losse of *Caniza*, the *Turkes* with twentie thousand besieged the strong Towne of *Olumpagh* so straightly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour; till *Iohn Smith*, this *English* Gentleman, acquainted Baron *Kisell*, Generall of the Archdukes Artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy friend, such a Rule, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his answer, would they bring him but to some place where he might make the flame of a Torch seene to the Towne. [1601] The siege of *Olumpagh*.

Kisell inflamed with this strange invention; *Smith* made it so plaine, that forthwith hee gave him guides, who in the darke night brought him to a mountaine, where he shewed three Torches equidistant from other, which plainly appearing to the Towne; the Governour presently apprehended, and answered againe with three other fires in like manner; each knowing the others being and intent; *Smith*, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words: On Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the [7] Alarum, salley you.

Ebersbaught answered he would: and thus it was done.

First he writ his message as briefe, you see, as could be, then divided the Alphabet in two parts thus;

A.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*	*g.*	*h.*	*i.*	*k.*	*l.*
1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.

m.	*n.*	*o.*	*p.*	*q.*	*r.*	*s.*	*t.*	*v.*	*w.*	*x.*
2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.

y.	*z.*
2.	2.

The first part from *A.* to *L.* is signified by shewing and hiding one linke, so oft as there is letters from *A.* to that letter you meane; the other part from *M.* to *Z.* is men- An excellent Stratagem.

[1601] tioned by two lights in like manner. The end of a word is signified by shewing of three lights: ever staying your light at that letter you meane, till the other may write it in a paper, and answer by his signall, which is one light, it is done; beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time from *A.* to *M*: by this meanes also the other returned his answer, whereby each did understand other.

The Guides all this time having well viewed the Campe, returned to *Kisell*, who, doubting of his power being but ten thousand, was animated by the Guides, how the Turkes were so divided by the River in two parts, they could not easily second each other. To which *Smith* added this conclusion; that two or three thousand pieces of match fastened to divers small lines of an hundred fathome in length being armed with powder, might all be fired and stretched at an instant before the Alarum, upon the Plaine of *Hysnaburg*, supported by two staves, at each lines end, in that manner would seeme like so many Musketteers; which was put in practice: and being discovered by the *Turkes*, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had beene some great Armie: whilest *Kisell* with his ten thousand being entred the *Turks* quarter, who ranne up and downe as men amazed.

Another Stratagem.

It was not long ere *Ebersbaught* was pell-mell with them in their Trenches; in which distracted confusion, a third part of the *Turkes*, that besieged that side towards *Knousbruck*, were slaine; many of the rest drowned: but all fled. The other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that *Kisell* before the morning put two thousand good souldiers in the Towne, and with small losse was retired. The Garrison was well releeved with that they found in the *Turkes* quarter, which caused the *Turkes* to raise their siege and returne to *Caniza*: and *Kisell* with much honour was received at *Kerment*; and occasioned the Author a good reward and preferment, to be Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Horse-men, under the Conduct of Colonell *Voldo*, Earle of *Meldritch*. [8]

CHAPTER V.

The siege of Stowlle-wesenburg; *The effects of* Smiths *Fireworkes; A worthy exploit of Earle* Rosworme; *Earle* Meldritch *takes the* Bashaw *prisoner.*

A Generall rumour of a generall peace, now spred it selfe over all the face of those tormented Countries: but the Turke intended no such matter, but levied souldiers from all parts he could. The Emperour also, by the assistance of the *Christian* Princes, provided three Armies: the one led by the Arch-duke *Mathias*, the Emperours brother, and his Lieutenant Duke *Mercury* [*i.e.*, *Philippe Emmanuel de Lorraine, Duke de Mercœur*] to defend Low *Hungary*; the second, by *Ferdinando* the Arch-duke of *Steria*, and the Duke of *Mantua* his Lieutenant to regaine *Caniza*; the third by *Gonzago*, Governour of High *Hungary*, to joyne with *Georgia Busca*, to make an absolute conquest of *Transilvania*. [1601]

The siege of *Alba Regalis.*

Duke *Mercury* with an Armie of thirtie thousand, whereof neere ten thousand were *French*, besieged *Stowlle-wesenburg*, otherwise called *Alba Regalis*; a place so strong by Art and Nature, that it was thought impregnable.

At his first comming, the Turkes sallied upon the *Germane* quarter, slew neere five hundred, and returned before they were thought on.

The next night, in like manner they did neere as much to the *Bemers*, and *Hungarians*; of which fortune still presuming, thinking to have found the *French* quarter as carelesse, eight or nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken prisoners. In this encounter Monsieur *Grandvile*, a brave *French* Colonell, received seven or eight cruell wounds, yet followed the enemie to the Ports; he came off alive, but within three or foure dayes died.

Earle *Meldritch*, by the information of three or foure *Christians* (escaped out of the Towne), [of] upon every Alarum, where there was greatest assemblies and throng of

[1601] people, caused Captaine *Smith* to put in practice his fiery Dragons, [which] hee had demonstrated unto him, and the Earle *Von Sulch* at *Comora*: which hee thus performed.

The effect of good fire-works.

Having prepared fortie or fiftie round-bellied earthen pots, and filled them with hand Gunpowder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimstone and Turpentine; and quartering as many Musket-bullets, that hung together but only at the Center of the division, stucke them round in the mixture about the pots, and covered them againe with the same mixture; over that a strong Searcloth, then over all a good thicknesse of Towze-match well tempered with oyle of Lin-seed, Campheer, and powder of Brimstone: these he fitly placed in Slings, graduated so neere as they could, to the places of these Assemblies.

At midnight upon the Alarum, it was a fearfull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the aire: but presently after their fall, the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered *Turkes* was most wonderfull to heare. Besides, they had fired that Suburbe at the Port of *Buda*, in two or three places; which so troubled the *Turkes* to quench, that had there beene any meanes to have assaulted [**9**] them, they could hardly have resisted the fire, and their enemies.

A worthy exploit of Earle *Roswo rme.*

The Earle *Rosworme*, contrary to the opinion of all men, would needs undertake to finde meanes to surprize the Segeth and Suburbe of the Citie, strongly defended by a muddie Lake, which was thought unpassable.

The Duke [*de Mercœur*] having planted his Ordnance, battered the other side, whilest *Rosworme*, in the darke night, with every man a bundle of sedge and bavins still throwne before them, so laded up the Lake, as they surprized that unregarded Suburbe before they were discovered: upon which unexpected Alarum, the *Turkes* fled into the Citie; and the other Suburbe not knowing the matter, got into the Citie also, leaving their Suburbe for the Duke, who with no great resistance, tooke it, with many peeces of Ordnance.

The Citie, being of no such strength as the Suburbs, with their owne Ordnance was so battered, that it was taken perforce, with such a mercilesse execution, as was most pitifull to behold.

The *Bashaw* notwithstanding drew together a partie of five hundred before his owne Pallace, where he intended to die; but seeing most of his men slaine before him, by the valiant Captaine Earl *Meldritch*, who tooke him prisoner with his owne hands; and with the hazard of himselfe saved him from the fury of other troopes, that did pull downe his Pallace, and would have rent him in peeces, had he not beene thus preserved. [1601

Earle *Meldritch* takes the *Bashaw* prisoner.

The Duke thought his victory much honoured with such a Prisoner; tooke order hee should bee used like a Prince: and with all expedition gave charge presently to repaire the breaches, and the ruines of this famous Citie, that had beene in the possession of the *Turkes* neere threescore yeares.

CHAPTER VI.

A brave encounter of the Turkes *Armie with the* Christians; *Duke* Mercury *overthroweth* Assan Bashaw; *Hee divides the* Christian *Armie*; *His noblenesse and death.*

MAHOMET, the great Turke, during the siege, had raised an Armie of sixtie thousand men to have releeved it; but hearing it was lost, he sent *Assan Bashaw* Generall of his Armie, the *Bashaw* of *Buda Bashaw Amaroz*, to see if it were possible to regaine it; The Duke understanding there could be no great experience in such a new levied Armie as *Assan* had; having put a strong Garrison into it: and with the brave Colonell *Rosworme*, *Culnits*, *Meldritch*, the *Rhine-Grave*, *Vahan* and many others; [and] with twenty thousand good souldiers, set forward to meet the *Turke* in the Plaines of *Girke*.

Those two Armies encountred as they marched, where began a hot and bloudy Skirmish betwixt them, Regiment against Regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them. Here Earle *Meldritch* was so invironed

A brave encounter of the *Turkes* Armie with the *Christians*.

[1601] amongst those halfe circuler Regiments of *Turkes*, they supposed him their Prisoner, and his Regiment lost; but his two most couragious friends, *Vahan* and *Culnits*, [**10**] made such a passage amongst them, that it was a terror to see how horse and man lay sprawling and tumbling, some one way, some another on the ground. The Earle there at that time made his valour shine more bright than his armour, which seemed then painted with *Turkish* bloud. He slew the brave *Zanzack Bugola*, and made his passage to his friends; but neere halfe his Regiment was slaine.

Captain *Smith* [*who was a Captain in this Cavalry Regiment*] had his horse slaine under him, and himselfe [was] sore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horses that wanted masters.

The *Turke* thinking the victory sure against the Duke, whose Armie, by the Siege, and the Garrison he had left behind him, was much weakened, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and lest the Duke should returne to *Alba Regalis*, he sent that night twenty thousand to besiege the Citie, assuring them he would keepe the Duke or any other from releeving them.

Duke *Mercury* overthroweth *Assan Bassa.*

Two or three dayes they lay each by other, entrenching themselves; the *Turkes* daring the Duke daily to a sett battell, who at length drew out his Army, led by the *Rhine-Grave*, *Culnits* and *Meldritch*: who upon their first encounter, charged with that resolute and valiant courage, as disordered not only the formost squadrons of the *Turkes*, but enforced all the whole Armie to retire to the Campe, with the losse of five or six thousand, with the *Bashaw* of *Buda*, and foure or five *Zanzacks*, with divers other great Commanders, two hundred Prisoners, and nine peeces of Ordnance.

At that instant appeared, as it were, another Armie comming out of a valley over a plaine hill, that caused the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his Trenches; which gave time to *Assan* to reorder his disordered squadrons.

Here they lay nine or ten dayes, and more supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a sett battell; but the souldiers on both parties, by reason of

their great wants and [the] approach of winter, grew so discontented, that they were ready of themselves to breake up the Leager: the Bashaw retiring himselfe to *Buda*, had some of the Reare Troopes cut off. [1601-2]

Amaroz Bashaw hearing of this, found such bad welcome at *Alba Regalis*, and the Towne so strongly repaired, with so brave a Garrison, [that he] raised his siege and retired to *Zigetum*.

The Duke [*de Mercœur*] understanding that the Arch-duke *Ferdinando* had so resolutely besieged *Caniza*, as what by the losse of *Alba Regalis*, and the *Turks* retreat to *Buda*, being void of hope of any reliefe, [he] doubted not but it would become againe the *Christians*. To the furtherance whereof, the Duke divided his Armie into three parts. The Earle of *Rosworme* went with seven thousand to *Caniza*; the Earle of *Meldritch* with six thousand he sent to assist *Georgio Busca* against the *Transilvanians*; the rest went with himselfe to the Garrisons of *Strigonium* and *Komara*: having thus worthily behaved himselfe, he arrived at *Vienne*, where the Arch-dukes and the Nobilitie with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all *Hungaria*; his very Picture they esteemed would make them fortunate, which thousands kept as curiously as a precious relique.

Duke *Mercury* divideth his Armie.

To requite this honour, preparing himselfe to returne into *France*, to raise new Forces against the next yeare, with the two Arch-dukes *Mathias* and *Maximilian* and divers others of the Nobilitie, [he] was with great magnificence [11] conducted to *Nurenburg*, there by them royally feasted: (how it chanced is not knowne;) but the next morning [19 *Feb.* 1602] he was found dead, and his brother in law died two dayes after; whose hearts, after this great triumph, with much sorrow were carried into *France*.

Duke *Mercury* and his brother in law die suddenly.

CHAPTER VII.

The unhappie Siege of Caniza; *Earle* Meldritch *serveth Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses *besiegeth* Regall; Smiths *three single combats*; *His Patent from* Sigismundus, *and reward.*

[1601-2] The unhappie siege of *Caniza.*

THe worthy Lord *Rosworme* had not a worse journey to the miserable Seige of *Caniza*, (where by the extremitie of an extraordinary continuing tempest of haile, wind, frost and snow, in so much that the *Christians* were forced to leave their Tents and Artillery, and what they had; it being so cold that three or foure hundred of them were frozen to death in a night, and two or three thousand lost in that miserable flight in the snowie tempest, though they did know no enemie at all to follow them:) than the noble Earle of *Meldritch* had to *Transilvania*: where hearing of the death of *Michael* [*Vayvode of* Wallachia, *see p.* 847] and the brave Duke *Mercury*, and knowing the policie of *Busca*, and the Prince his Roialtie, being now beyond all beleefe of men, in possession of the best part of *Transilvania*; perswaded his troopes, in so honest a cause, to assist the Prince [*Sigismundus*] against the *Turke*, rather than *Busca* against the Prince.

Earle *Meldritch* serveth Prince *Sigismundus.*

The souldiers being worne out with those hard payes and travells, upon hope to have free libertie to make bootie upon what they could get possession of from the *Turkes*, was easily perswaded to follow him whithersoever. Now this noble Earle [*Meldritch*] was a *Transilvanian* borne, and his fathers Countrey [was] yet inhabited by the *Turkes*; for *Transilvania* was yet in three divisions, though the Prince had the hearts both of Country and people; yet the Frontiers had a Garrison amongst the unpassable mountaines, some for the Emperour, some for the Prince, and some for the *Turke*: to regaine which small estate, hee desired leave of the Prince [*Sigismundus Bátori*] to trie his fortunes, and to make use of that experience, the time of twentie yeares

[1582–1602] had taught him in the Emperours service, promising to spend the rest of his dayes for his countries defence in his Excellencies service. [1602]

The Prince glad of so brave a Commander, and so many expert and ancient souldiers, made him Campe-master of his Armie, gave him all necessary releefe for his troopes, and what freedome they desired to plunder the *Turkes*.

Earle *Meldritch* maketh incursions to discover *Regall*.

The Earle having made many incursions into the Land of *Zarkam* among those rockie mountains, where were some *Turks*, some *Tartars*, but most *Banditoes*, *Rennegadoes*, and such like; which sometimes hee forced into the Plaines of *Regall*: where is a Citie not only of men and fortifications, strong of it selfe; but so environed with mountaines, that made the passages so difficult, that in all these warres no attempt had beene made upon it to any purpose.

Having satisfied himselfe with the Situation, [12] and the most convenient passages to bring his Armie unto it: The earth no sooner put on her greene habit, than the Earle overspread her with his armed troopes. To possesse himselfe first of the most convenient passage, which was a narrow valley betwixt two high mountaines; he sent Colonell *Veltus* with his Regiment, dispersed in companies to lye in *Ambuscado*, as he had directed them; and in the morning to driue all the cattell they could finde before a Fort in that passage, whom he supposed would sally, seeing but some small partie, to recover their prey: which tooke such good successe, that the Garrison was cut off by the *Ambuscado*, and *Veltus* seized on the Skonces, which was abandoned.

Meldritch glad of so fortunate a beginning, it was six dayes ere he could with six thousand Pioners make a passage for his Ordnance. The *Turkes* having such warning, strengthned the Towne so with men and provision, that they made a scorne of so small a number as *Meldritch* brought with him before the Citie, which was but eight thousand.

Before they had pitched their Tents, the *Turkes* sallied in such abundance, as for an houre they had rather a bloudy battell than a skirmish; but with the losse of neere fifteene hundred on both sides. The *Turkes* were chased till the Cities Ordnance caused the Earle to retire.

[1602] *Moyses* besiegeth *Regall.*

The next day *Zachel Moyses*, Generall of the Armie, pitched also his tents with nine thousand foot and horse, and six and twenty peeces of Ordnance; but in regard of the situation of this strong Fortresse, they did neither feare them nor hurt them: being upon the point of a faire promontory, environed on the one side within halfe a mile with an un-usefull mountaine; and on the other side with a faire Plaine, where the *Christians* encamped, but so commanded by their Ordnance, [that] they spent neere a month in entrenching themselves, and raising their mounts to plant their batteries.

Which slow proceedings the *Turkes* oft derided, that the Ordnance were at pawne, and how they grew fat for want of exercise; and fearing lest they should depart ere they could assault their Citie, sent this Challenge to any Captaine in the Armie.

That to delight the Ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord *Turbashaw* did defie any Captaine, that had the command of a Company, who durst combate with him for his head.

The matter being discussed, it was accepted; but so many questions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by lots: which fell upon Captaine *Smith*, before spoken of.

Three single Combates.

1.

Truce being made for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the *Christians* in *Battalio*; *Turbashaw* with a noise of Howboyes entred the fields well mounted and armed; on his shoulders were fixed a paire of great wings, compacted of Eagles feathers within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones; a *Ianizary* before him, bearing his Lance; on each side, another leading his horse: where long hee stayed not, ere *Smith* with a noise of Trumpets, only a Page bearing his Lance, passing by him with a courteous salute, tooke his ground with such good successe, that at the sound of the charge, he passed the *Turke* throw the sight of his Beaver, face, head, and all, that he fell dead to the ground; where alighting and unbracing [**13**] his Helmet, [he] cut off his head, and the Turkes tooke his body; and so returned without any hurt at all.

The head hee presented to the Lord *Moses*, the Generall,

who kindly accepted it; and with joy to the whole armie he was generally welcomed. [1602]

2. The death of this Captaine so swelled in the heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed friend, as, rather inraged with madnesse than choller, he directed a particular challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friends head, or lose his owne, with his horse and Armour for advantage: which according to his desire, was the next day undertaken.

As before, upon the sound of the Trumpets, their Lances flew in peeces upon a cleare passage; but the *Turke* was neere unhorsed. Their Pistolls was the next, which marked *Smith* upon the placard; but the next shot the *Turke* was so wounded in the left arme, that being not able to rule his horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground; and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him; with his horse and Armour: but his body and his rich apparell was sent backe to the Towne.

Every day the *Turkes* made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they endure to any purpose. Our workes and approaches being not yet advanced to that height and effect which was of necessitie to be performed; to delude time, *Smith*, with so many incontradictible perswading reasons, obtained leave that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants heads, but if any *Turke* of their ranke would come to the place of combate to redeeme them, [he] should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could winne it.

3. The challenge presently was accepted by *Bonny Mulgro*.

The next day both the Champions entring the field as before, each discharging their Pistoll (having no Lances, but such martiall weapons as the defendant appointed), no hurt was done; their Battle-axes was the next, whose piercing bils made sometime the one, sometime the other to have scarce sense to keepe their saddles: specially the *Christian* received such a blow that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it; whereat the supposing conquering *Turk*, had a great shout from the Rampiers. The *Turk* prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power; yet the other, what by the readinesse of his horse, and his judgement and dexterity in such a businesse, beyond all mens expectation, by

[1602] Gods assistance, not onely avoided the *Turkes* violence, but having drawne his Faulchion, pierced the *Turke* so under the Culets thorow backe and body, that although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done. [14]

CHAPTER VIII.

Georgio Busca *an* Albane *his ingratitude to Prince* Sigismundus; *Prince* Moyses, *his Lieutenant, is overthrowne by* Busca, *Generall for the Emperour* Rodolphus; Sigismundus *yeeldeth his Countrey to* Rodolphus; Busca *assisteth Prince* Rodoll *in* Wallachia.

THis good successe gave such great encouragement to the whole Armie, that with a guard of six thousand, three spare horses, before each a *Turkes* head upon a Lance, he was conducted to the Generalls Pavillion with his Presents. *Moyses* received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, embracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse richly furnished, a Semitere and belt worth three hundred ducats; and *Meldritch* made him Sergeant major [=*our modern Major*] of his Regiment.

But now to the siege. Having mounted six and twenty peeces of Ordnance fifty or sixty foot above the Plaine, made them so plainly tell his meaning, that within fifteene dayes two breaches were made, which the Turkes as valiantly defended as men could.

That day was made a darksome night, but by the light that proceeded from the murdering Muskets, and peacemaking Canon; whilest their slothfull Governour lay in a Castle on the top of a high mountaine, and like a valiant Prince asketh what's the matter, when horrour and death

stood amazed each at other, to see who should prevaile to make him victorious. [1602]

Moyses commanding a generall assault upon the sloping front of the high Promontory, where the Barons of *Budendorfe* and *Oberwin* lost neere halfe their Regiments, by logs, bags of powder, and such like, tumbling downe the hill they were to mount ere they could come to the breach; notwithstanding with an incredible courage they advanced to the push of the Pike with the defendants, that with the like courage repulsed, till the Earle *Meldritch*, *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with their fresh Regiments seconded them with that fury, that the *Turks* retired and fled into the Castle, from whence by a flag of truce they desired composition. *Regall* assaulted and taken.

The Earle [*Meldri*] remembring his fathers death, battered it with all the Ordnance in the Towne, and the next day tooke it; all he found [that] could beare Armes he put to the sword, and set their heads upon stakes round about the walles, in the same manner they had used the *Christians*, when they tooke it.

Moyses having repaired the Rampiers, and throwne downe the worke in his Campe, he put in it a strong Garrison, though the pillage he had gotten in the Towne was much, having beene for a long time an impregnable den of theeves: yet the losse of the Armie so intermingled the sowre with the sweet, as forced *Moyses* to seek a further revenge, that he sacked *Veratio*, *Solmos*, and *Kupronka*, and with two thousand prisoners, most[ly] women and children, came to *Esenberg*, not farre from the Princes Palace, where he there Encamped.

Sigismundus comming to view his Armie, was presented with the Prisoners [**15**], and six and thirtie Ensignes; where celebrating thankes to Almightie God in triumph of those victories, hee was made acquainted with the service *Smith* had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stowle-Wesenburg* and *Regall*: for which with great honour hee gave him three *Turkes* heads in a Shield for his Armes, by Patent, under his hand and Seale, with an Oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his Picture [*i.e.*, *Sigismund's portrait*] in Gould, and three hundred Ducats, yearely for a Pension.

[1603]
The Patent.

SIGISMVNDVS BATHORI, *Dei gratia Dux* Transilvaniæ, Wallachiæ, *et* Vandalorum; *Comes* Anchard, Salford, Growenda; *Cunctis his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem* Iohanni Smith, *natione* Anglo *Generoso*, 250. *militum Capitaneo sub Illustrissimi et Gravissimi* Henrici Volda, *Comitis de* Meldri, Salmariæ, *et* Peldoiæ *primario, et* 1000 *equitibus et* 1500. *peditibus bello* Vngarico *conductione in Provincias suprascriptas sub Authoritate nostra: cui servituti omni laude, perpetuaque memoria dignum præbuit sese erga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnantem pro aris et focis decet. Quare è favore nostro militario ipsum ordine condonavimus, et in Sigillum illius tria* Turcia *Capita designare et deprimere concessimus, quæ ipse gladio suo ad Vrbem* Regalem *in singulari prœlio vicit, mactavit, atque decollavit in* Transilvaniæ *Provincia.*

[Variations in VINCENT'S *Collectanea*, in the Heralds College, see *p.* xxiv.]

Sed fortuna cum variabilis ancepsque sit idem forte fortuito in Wallachia *Provincia, Anno Domini* 1602. *die Mensis Novembris* 18.* *cum multis aliis etiam Nobilibus et aliis quibusdam militibus captus est à Domino* Bascha *electo ex* Cambia *regionis* Tartariæ, *cujus severitate adductus salutem quantam potuit quesivit, tantumque effecit, Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberavit se, et ad suos Commilitones revertit; ex quibus ipsum liberavimus, et hæc nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus esset, jam tendet in patriam suam dulcissimam.*

* *Augusti* 8vo.

Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confinitimos, Duces, [1603-25]
Principes, Comites, Barones, Gubernatores [**16**] *Vrbium et Navium in eadem Regione et cæterarum Provinciarum in quibus ille residere conatus fuerit ut idem permittatur Capitaneus libere sine obstaculo omni versari. Hæc facientes pergraium nobis feceritis.*

Signatum Lesprizia *in* Misnia *die Mensis Decembris* 9. *Anno Domini* 1603.

Cum Privilegio propriæ Majestatis.

SIGISMVNDVS BATHORI.

VNIVERSIS, *et singulis, cujuscunque loci, status, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit,* Guilielmus Segar *Eques auratus alias dictus** *Garterus Principalis Rex Armorum* Anglicorum, *Salutem.*

* *dominus*

Sciatis, *quod Ego prædictus Garterus, notum, testatumque facio, quod Patentem suprascriptum*†, *cum manu propria prædicti Ducis* Transilvaniæ *subsignatum, et Sigillo suo affixum, Vidi: et Copiam veram ejusdem (in perpetuam rei memoriam) transcripsi, et recordavi in Archivis, et Registris Officii Armorum.*

† *superaddem*

Datum Londini 19. *die Augusti, Anno Domini* 1625. *Annoque Regni Domini nostri* CAROLI *Dei gratia Magnæ* Britanniæ, Franciæ, *et* Hiberniæ *Regis, Fidei Defensoris,* &c. *Primo.*

GVILIELMVS SEGAR, Garterus.

[1603] The same in *English.*

SIGISMVNDVS BATHOR, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Transilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, Earle of *Anchard*, *Salford* and *Growenda*; to whom this Writing may come or appeare. Know that We have given leave and licence to *Iohn Smith* an *English* Gentleman, Captaine of 250. Souldiers, under the most Generous and Honourable *Henry* [17] *Volda*, Earle of *Meldritch*, *Salmaria*, and *Peldoia*, Colonell of a thousand horse, and fifteene hundred foot, in the warres of *Hungary* and in the Provinces aforesaid under our authority; whose service doth deserve all praise and perpetuall memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his Country overcome his enemies: Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Armes, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Armes, the figure and description of three *Turks* heads, which with his sword, before the towne of *Regall*, in single combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of *Transilvania*.

But fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the Province of *Wallachia*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1602. the 18. day of November, [when he] with many others, as well Noble men, as also divers other Souldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord *Bashaw* of *Cambia*, a Country of *Tartaria*: whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the helpe and power of Almighty God, that hee delivered himselfe, and returned againe to his company and fellow souldiers; of whom We doe discharge him, and this hee hath in witnesse thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to returne to his owne sweet Country.

We desire therefore all our loving and kinde kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earles, Barons, Governours of Townes, Cities, or Ships, in this Kingdome, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let passe this the aforesaid Captaine, without any hinderance or molestation: and this doing, with all kindnesse we are alwayes ready to doe the like for you.

Sealed at *Lipswick* in *Misenland*, the ninth of December, [1603-25] in the yeare of our Lord, 1603.

SIGISMVNDVS
BATHOR.

With the proper privilege of his Majestie.

TO all and singular, in what place, state, degree, order, or condition whatsoever, to whom this present writing shall come: I *William Segar* Knight, otherwise Garter, and principall King of Armes of *England*, with health. Know that I the aforesaid Garter, do witnesse and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seene, signed and sealed under the proper hand [18] and Seale Manual of the said Duke of *Transilvania*; and a true coppy of the same, as a thing for perpetuall memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the Register and office of the Heralds of Armes.

Dated at London the nineteenth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1625. and in the first yeare of our Soueraigne Lord *Charles* by the grace of God, King of great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR.

CHAPTER IX.

Sigismundus *sends Ambassadours vnto the Emperour*; *the conditions re-assured, He yeeldeth up all to* Busca, *and returneth to* Prague.

BVsca having all this time beene raising new forces, was commanded from the Emperour againe to invade *Transilvania*, which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those parts, was now rather a desart, or the very spectacle of desolation; their fruits and fields overgrowne with weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces and best

[1602] buildings, as for feare, hid with Mosse and Ivy: being the very Bulwarke and Rampire of a great part of *Europe*, most fit by all Christians to have beene supplyed and maintained, was thus brought to ruine by them it most concerned to support it.

But alas, what is it, when the power of Majestie pampered in all delights of pleasant vanity, neither knowing nor considering the labour of the Ploughman, the hazard of the Merchant, the oppression of Statesmen; nor feeling the piercing torments of broken limbes, and inveterated wounds, the toilsome marches, the bad lodging, the hungry diet, and the extreme misery that Souldiers endure to secure all those estates, and yet by the spight of malicious detraction, starves for want of their reward and recompences; whilst the politique Courtier, that commonly aimes more at his owne honors and ends than his Countries good, or his Princes glory, honour, or security, as this worthy Prince too well could testifie.

But the Emperor being certified how weak and desperate his estate was, sent *Busca* againe with a great Army, to trie his fortune once more in *Transilvania*.

ThePrince considering how his Country and subjects were consumed; the small means he had any longer to defend his estate, both against the cruelty of the *Turke*, and the power of the Emperor, and the small care the *Polanders* had in supplying him, as they had promised; sent to *Busca* to have truce, till messengers might be sent to the Emperour for some better agreement: wherewith *Busca* was contented. The Ambassadours so prevailed, that the Emperour re-assured vnto them the conditions he had promised the Prince at their confederacie, for the lands in *Silesia*, with 60000. ducats presently in hand, and 50000. ducats yearely as a pension.

Busca in *Transilvania* overthroweth *Moyses*.

When this conclusion was [19] knowne to *Moyses* his Lieftenant then in the field with the Army, that would doe anything rather than come in subjection to the *Germans*; he encouraged his Souldiers, and without any more adoe marched to encounter *Busca*, whom he found much better provided than he expected: so that betwixt them in six or seven houres, more than five or six thousand on both sides lay dead in the field. *Moyses* thus

overthrowne, fled to the *Turks* at *Temesware*; and his scattered troopes some one way, some another. [1602]

The Prince vnderstanding of this so sudden and unexpected accident, onely accompanied with an hundred of his Gentry and Nobility, went into the campe to *Busca*, to let him know how ignorant he was of his Lieftenants errour, that had done it without his direction or knowledge, freely offering to performe what was concluded by his Ambassadours with the Emperour; and so causing all his Garrisons to come out of their strong holds, he delivered all to *Busca* for the Emperour, and so went to *Prague*: where he was honourably receiued, and established in his possessions, as his Emperiall Majestie had promised.

Sigismundus yeeldeth his country to *Busca*.

Busca assembling all the Nobility, tooke their oaths of allegeance and fidelity; and thus their Prince being gone, *Transilvania* became againe subject to the Emperour.

Now after the death of *Michael*, Vavoyd of *Wallachia* [*p.* 836], the *Turke* sent one *Ieremie* to be their Vavoyd or Prince; whose insulting tyranny caused the people to take Armes against him, so that he was forced to flie into the confines of *Moldavia*; and *Busca* in the behalfe of the Emperour, proclaimed the Lord *Rodoll* in his stead.

Busca assisteth *Rodoll* in *Wallachia*.

But *Ieremy* having assembled an Army of forty thousand *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moldavians*, returned into *Wallachia*.

Rodoll not yet able to raise such a power, fled into *Transilvania* to *Busca*, his ancient friend; who considering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his owne security to have *Wallachia* subject to the Emperour, or at least such an employment for the remainders of the old Regiments of *Sigismundus*, (of whose greatnesse and true affection hee was very suspitious,) sent them with *Rodoll* to recover *Wallachia*, conducted by the valiant Captaines, the Earle *Meldritch*, Earle *Veltus*, Earle *Nederspolt*, Earle *Zarvana*, the Lord *Bechlefield*, the Lord *Budendorfe*, with their Regiments, and divers others of great ranke and quality, the greatest friends and alliances the Prince had; who with thirty thousand, marched along by the river *Altus*, to the streights [*pass*] of *Rebrinke*, where they entred *Wallachia*, encamping at *Raza*

[1602] *Ieremie* lying at *Argish*, drew his Army into his old campe, in the plaines of *Peteske*, and with his best diligence fortified it; intending to defend himselfe till more power came to him from the *Crym-Tartar*.

Many small parties that came to his campe, *Rodoll* cut off; and in the nights would cause their heads to be throwne vp and downe before the trenches. Seven of their Porters were taken, whom *Ieremie* commanded to be flayed quicke; and after hung their skinnes vpon poles, and their caikasses and heads on stakes by them. [**20**]

CHAPTER X.

The battell of Rotenton; *a pretty stratagem of fire-works by* Smith.

Rodoll not knowing how to draw the enemie to battell, raised his Armie, burning and spoyling all where he came, and returned againe towards *Rebrinke* in the night, as if he had fled vpon the generall rumour of the *Crym-Tartars* comming; which so inflamed the *Turkes* of a happy victory, they vrged *Ieremy* against his will to follow them.

A battell betwixt *Rodoll* and *Ieremie*.

Rodoll seeing his plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the streights, he put his Army in order, that had beene neere two dayes pursued, with continuall skirmishes in his Reare, which now making head against the enemie, that followed with their whole Armie in the best manner they could, was furiously charged with six thousand *Hydukes*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavians*, led by three Colonells, *Oversall*, *Dubras*, and *Calab*, to entertaine the time till the rest came up. *Veltus* and *Nederspolt* with their Regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the Zanzacke *Hamesbeg*, with six thousand more, came with a fresh charge: which *Meldritch* and *Budendorfe*, rather like enraged lions than men, so bravely encountred, as if in them only had consisted the

victory; *Meldritchs* horse being slaine vnder him. The *Turks* pressed what they could to have taken him prisoner; but being remounted, it was thought with his owne hand he slew the valiant *Zanzache*: whereupon his troopes retyring, the two proud *Bashawes*, *Aladin* and *Zizimmus*, brought up the front of the body of their battell. [1602]

Veltus and *Nederspolt* having breathed, and joyning their troopes with *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with such an incredible courage charged the left flancke of *Zizimmus*, as put them all in disorder; where *Zizimmus* the *Bashaw* was taken prisoner, but died presently upon his wounds.

Ieremie seeing now the maine battell of *Rodoll* advance, being thus constrained, like a valiant Prince in his front of the Vantgard, by his example so brauely encouraged his souldiers, that *Rodoll* found no great assurance of the victorie.

Thus being joyned in this bloudy massacre, that there was scarce ground to stand upon, but upon the dead carkasses; which in lesse than an hower were so mingled, as if each Regiment had singled out [the] other.

The admired *Aladin* that day did leave behinde him a glorious name for his valour; whose death many of his enemies did lament after the victory, which at that instant fell to *Rodoll*.

It was reported *Ieremie* was also slaine, but it was not so; but [he] fled with the remainder of his Armie to *Moldavia*, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the field, of both Armies.

And thus *Rodoll* was seated againe in his Soueraignty, and *Wallachia* became subject to the Emperour. *Wallachia* subjected to the Emperour

But long he rested not to settle his new estate, but there came newes, that certaine Regiments of stragling *Tartars*, were forraging those parts towards *Moldavia*.

Meldritch with thirteene thousand men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the *Crym-Tartar* and his two [**21**] sonnes, with an Armie of thirty thousand; and [that] *Ieremie*, that had escaped with fourteene or fifteene thousand, lay in ambush for them about *Langanaw*; he retired towards *Rottenton*, a strong garrison for *Rodoll*: but they were so invironed with these hellish numbers,

[1602] they could make no great haste, for skirmishing with their scouts, forragers, and small parties that still encountred them. But one night amongst the rest, having made a passage through a wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting trees thwart each other to hinder their passage, in a thicke fogge early in the morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with pillage, and two or three hundred horse and cattell; the most of them were slaine and taken prisoners, who told them where *Ieremie* lay in the passage, expecting the *Crym-Tartar* that was not farre from him.

Meldritch intending to make his passage perforce, was advised of a pretty stratagem by the English *Smith*, which presently he thus accomplished; for having accommodated two or three hundred truncks with wilde fire, vpon the heads of lances, and charging the enemie in the night, gave fire to the truncks, which blazed forth such flames and sparkles, that it so amazed not onely their horses, but their foot also; that by the meanes of this flaming encounter, their owne horses turned tailes with such fury, as by their violence overthrew *Ieremy* and his Army, without any losse at all to speak of to *Meldritch*.

But of this victory long they triumphed not; for being within three leagues of *Rottenton*, the *Tartar* with neere forty thousand so beset them, that they must either fight, or be cut in peeces flying.

Here *Busca* and the Emperour had their desire; for the Sunne no sooner displayed his beames, than the *Tartar* his colours; where at midday he stayed a while, to see the passage of a tyrannicall and treacherous imposture, till the earth did blush with the bloud of honesty, that the Sunne for shame did hide himselfe from so monstrous sight of a cowardly calamity. It was a most brave sight to see the banners and ensignes streaming in the aire, the glittering of Armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the forrests of lances, and the thicknesse of shorter weapons, till the silent expedition of the bloudy blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as felt by the aymed at object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

CHAPTER XI.

The names of the English *that were slaine in the battell of* Rottenton ; *and how Captaine* Smith *is taken prisoner* ; *and sold for a slave.*

IN the valley of *Veristhorne*, betwixt the riuer of *Altus*, and the mountaine of *Rottenton*, was this bloudy encounter, where the most of the dearest friends of the noble Prince *Sigismundus* perished [*on* 18 *Nov.* 1602, *see p.* 842]. [1602] The battell of *Rottenton.*

Meldritch having ordered his eleuen thousand in the best manner he could: at the foot of the mountaine upon his flancks, and before his front, he had pitched [**22**] sharpe stakes, their heads hardned in the fire, and bent against the enemie, as three battalion of Pikes; amongst the which also there was digged many small holes. Amongst those stakes was ranged his footmen, that upon the charge was to retire, as there was occasion.

The *Tartar* having ordered his 40000. for his best advantage, appointed *Mustapha Bashaw* to beginne the battell, with a generall shout, all their Ensignes displaying, Drummes beating, Trumpets and Howboyes sounding.

Nederspolt and *Mavazo* with their Regiments of horse most valiantly encountred, and forced them to retire. The *Tartar Begolgi* with his Squadrons, darkening the skies with their flights of numberless arrowes, who was as bravely encountred by *Veltus* and *Oberwin*; which bloudie slaughter continued more than an houre, till the matchlesse multitude of the *Tartars* so increased, that they retired within their Squadrons of stakes, as was directed.

The bloudy *Tartar*, as scorning he should stay so long for the victorie, with his massie troopes prosecuted the charge: but it was a wonder to see how horse and man came to the ground among the stakes, whose disordered troopes were there so mangled, that the *Christians* with a loud shout cryed *Victoria*; and with five or six field peeces, planted vpon the rising of the mountaine, did much hurt to the enemy that still continued the battell with that furie, that *Meldritch*

[1602] seeing there was no possibilitie long to preuaile, ioyned his small troopes in one body, resolued directly to make his passage or die in the conclusion; and thus in grosse gaue a generall charge, and for more than halfe an houre made his way plaine before him, till the maine battel of the *Crym-Tartar* with two Regiments of *Turkes* and *Ianizaries* so overmatched them, that they were overthrowen.

The night approaching, the Earle with some thirteene or [*pp.* 842, 869.] foureteene hundred horse, swamme the River; some were drowned, all the rest slaine or taken prisoners.

And thus in this bloudy field, neere 30000. lay; some headlesse, armlesse, and leglesse, all cut and mangled: where breathing their last, they gaue this knowledge to the world, that for the liues of so few, the *Crym-Tartar* neuer paid dearer.

Extracted out of a Booke intituled, The warres of *Hungary*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, written by *Francisco Ferneza*, a learned Italian, the Princes Secretarie, and translated by Master *Purchas*.

But now the Countreyes of *Transilvania* and *Wallachia*, (subjected to the Emperour) and *Sigismundus* that brave Prince his Subject and Pensioner, the most of his Nobilitie, brave Captaines and Souldiers, became a prey to the cruell devouring *Turke:* where[as] had the Emperor been as ready to have assisted him, and those three Armies led by three such worthy Captaines, as *Michael*, *Busca*, and Himselfe; and had those three Armies joyned together against the *Turke*, let all men judge, how happie it might have beene for all Christendome: and have either regained *Bulgaria*; or at least have beat him out of *Hungaria*, where hee hath taken much more from the Emperour, than hath the Emperour from *Transilvania*.

The English men in this Battell.

In this dismall battell, where *Nederspolt*, *Veltus*, *Zarvana*, *Mavazo*, *Bavell*, and many other Earles, Barons, Colonels, Captaines, brave Gentlemen and Souldiers were slaine, Give mee leave to remember the names of our owne Country-men with him in those exploits, that as resolutely as the best, in the defence of *Christ* and his Gospell, ended their dayes, as *Baskerfield*, *Hardwicke*, *Thomas Milemer*, *Robert Mullineux*, [**23**] *Thomas Bishop*, *Francis Compton*, *George Davison*, *Nicholas Williams*, and one *John* a Scot, did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their bodies, in testimonie of their mindes; only Ensigne *Carleton* [*pp.* 231, 692], and Sergeant *Robinson* [*pp.* 230, 691] escaped.

But *Smith* among the slaughtered dead bodies, and many a gasping soule, with toile and wounds lay groaning among the rest, till being found by the Pillagers hee was able to live; and perceiving by his armor and habit, his ransome might be better to them than his death, they led him prisoner with many others. [1602-3]

Well they used him till his wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all sold for slaves, like beasts in a market-place; where everie Merchant, viewing their limbs and wounds, caused other slaves to struggle with them, to trie their strength.

Hee fell to the share of *Bashaw Bogall*, who sent him forthwith to *Adri[a]nopolis*, so for *Constantinople* to his faire Mistresse for a slave.

By twentie and twentie chained by the neckes, they marched in file to this great Citie; where they were delivered to their severall Masters, and he to the young *Charatza Tragabigzanda* [*pp.* 204, 206, 232, 276, 720, 855, 866].

CHAPTER XII.

How Captaine Smith *was sent prisoner thorow the* Blacke *and* Dissabacca *Sea in Tartaria; the description of those Seas, and his usage.*

THis Noble Gentlewoman tooke sometime occasion to shew him to some friends; or rather to speake with him; because shee could speake Italian, would feigne her selfe sick when she should goe to the *Banians*, or weepe over the graves, to know how *Bogall* tooke him prisoner; and if he were, as the *Bashaw* writ to her, a *Bohemian* Lord conquered by his hand, as hee had many others; which ere long hee would present her, whose ransomes should adorne her with the glorie of his conquests.

But when she heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor ever saw *Bogall* till he bought him at *Axopolis*; and that hee was an *English-man*, onely by his adventures made a Captaine in those Countreyes. To trie the truth,

[1603] shee found means to finde out many [who] could speake English, French, Dutch, and Italian, to whom relating most part of these former passages [as] he thought necessarie, which they so honestly reported to her, she tooke (as it seemed) much compassion on him; but having no use for him, lest her mother should sell him, she sent him to her brother, the *Tymor Bashaw* of *Nalbrits*, in the Countrey of *Cambia*, a Province in *Tartaria*.

How he was sent into *Tartaria*.

Here now let us remember his passing in this speculative course from *Constantinople* by *Sander*, *Screwe*, *Panassa*, *Musa*, *Lastilla*, to *Varna*, an ancient Citie upon the Blacke Sea. In all which journey, having little more libertie than his eyes judgement since his captivitie, he might see the Townes with their short Towers, and a most plaine, fertile, and delicate [**24**] Countrey, especially that most admired place of *Greece*, now called *Romania*; but from *Varna* nothing but the Blacke Sea water, till he came to the two Capes of *Taur* and *Pergilos*, where hee passed the Straight of *Niger*, which (as he conjectured) is some ten leagues long, and three broad, betwixt two low lands. The Channell is deepe, but at the entrance of the Sea *Dissabacca*, their are many great Osie-shoulds, and many great blacke rockes: which the *Turkes* said were trees, weeds, and mud, throwen from the in-land Countryes, by the inundations and violence of the Current; and cast there by the Eddy. They sayled by many low Iles, and saw many more of those muddy rockes, and nothing else but salt water, till they came betwixt *Susax* and *Curuske*, only two white townes at the entrance of the river *Bruapo* appeared.

The description of the *Dissabacca* Sea.

In six or seven dayes saile, he saw foure or five seeming strong castles of stone, with flat tops and battlements about them; but arriving at *Cambia*, he was (according to their custome) well used. The river was there more than halfe a mile broad. The Castle was of a large circumference, foureteene or fifteene foot thicke, in the foundation some six foot from the wall, is a Paliizado, and then a Ditch of about fortie foot broad full of water. On the west side of it, is a Towne all of low flat houses; which as he conceived could bee of no great strength, yet it keepes all them barbarous Countreyes about it in admiration and subjection.

After he had stayed there three dayes; it was two dayes more before his guides brought him to *Nalbrits*, where the *Tymor* then was resident, in a great vast stonie Castle with many great Courts about it, invironed with high stone wals, where was quartered their Armes, when they first subjected those Countreyes: which onely live to labour for those tyrannicall *Turkes*. [1603]

To her unkinde brother, this kinde Ladie writ so much for his good usage, that hee halfe suspected, as much as she intended; for shee told him, he should there but sojourne to learne the language, and what it was to be a *Turke*, till time made her Master of her selfe. *Smith* his usage in *Tartaria*. [*pp.*204, 206, 232, 276, 720, 853, 866.]

But the *Tymor*, her brother, diverted all this to the worst of crueltie, for within an houre after his arrivall, he caused his *Drub-man* to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand: a great ring of iron, with a long stalke bowed like a sickle, [was] rivetted about his necke, and a coat [put on him] made of Vlgries haire, guarded about with a peece of an undrest skinne.

There were many more Christian slaves, and neere an hundred *Forsados* of *Turkes* and *Moores*; and he [*i.e.*, *Smith*] being the last, was slave of slaves to them all. Among these slavish fortunes there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure: and yet for all their paines and labours [they were] no more regarded than a beast.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Turkes *diet*; *the Slaves diet*; *the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of Warres and Religions, &c.*

THe *Tymor* and his friends fed upon Pillaw, which is boiled Rice and Garnances, with little bits of mutton or Buckones (which is rosted [25] peeces of Horse, Bull, Vlgrie, or any beasts). *Samboyses* and *Muselbits* are great dainties, and yet but round The *Tymors* diet of *Cambia* is as the *Turkes*.

[1603] pies, full of all sorts of flesh they can get chopped with varietie of herbs. Their best drinke is *Coffa*, of a graine they call *Coava*, boiled with water; and *Sherbecke* which is only honey and water: Mares milke, or the milke of any beast, they hold restorative; but all the Comminaltie drinke pure water. Their bread is made of this *Coava*, which is a kinde of blacke wheat, and *Cuskus* a small white seed like *Millya* in *Biskay*: but our common victuall, [was] the entrailes of Horse and Vlgries. Of this, cut in small peeces, they will fill a great Cauldron, and being boiled with *Cuskus*, and put in great bowles in the forme of chaffing-dishes; they sit round about it on the ground, after they haue raked it thorow so oft as they please with their foule fists: the remainder was for the *Christian* slaves. Some of this broth they would temper with *Cuskus* pounded, and putting the fire off from the hearth, powre there a bowle full, then cover it with coales till it be baked; which stewed with the remainder of the broth, and some small peeces of flesh, was an extraordinarie daintie.

The Slaves diet.

The Attire of those *Tartars*.

The better sort are attired like *Turkes*, but the plaine *Tartar* hath a blacke sheepe skinne over his backe, and two of the legs tied about his necke; the other two about his middle, with another over his belly, and the legs tied in the like manner behinde him: then two more made like a paire of bases, serveth him for breeches; with a little close cap to his skull, of blacke felt; and they use exceeding much of this felt, for carpets, for bedding, for Coats, and Idols.

Their houses are much worse than your *Irish*, but the In-land Countreyes have none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Countrey to Countrey, as they see occasion: driving with them infinite troopes of blacke sheepe, Cattell and Vlgries, eating all vp before them as they goe.

The *Tartars* of *Nagi* and their manners.

For the *Tartars* of *Nagi*, they have neither Towne, nor house, corne, nor drinke; but flesh and milke. The milke they keepe in great skinnes like *Burracho's*; which though it be never so sower, it agreeth well with their strong stomackes. They live all in *Hordias*, as doth the *Crim-Tartars*, three or foure hundred in a company, in great Carts fifteene or sixteene foot broad; which is covered with

small rods, wattled together in the forme of a birds nest turned upwards: and with the ashes of bones tempered with oile, Camels haire, and a clay [that] they have; they lome them so well, that no weather will pierce them, and yet [they are] verie light. [1603]

Each *Hordia* hath a *Murse*, which they obey as their King. Their Gods are infinite. One or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawen with Camels, Deere, Buls, and Vlgries, they bring round in a ring, where they pitch their Campe; and the *Murse*, with his chiefe alliances, are placed in the midst.

They doe much hurt when they can get any *Stroggs*, which are great boats used upon the river *Volga*, (which they call *Edle*) to them that dwell in the Countrey of *Perolog*; and would doe much more, were it not for the *Muscovites* Garrisons that there inhabit. [**26**]

CHAPTER XIIII.

The description of the Crym-Tartars; *their houses and carts*; *their Idolatry in their lodgings.*

The description of the *Crym-Tartars* Court

NOw you are to understand, *Tartary* and *Scythia* are all one; but so large and spacious, few or none could ever perfectly describe it; nor all the severall kinds of those most barbarous people that inhabit it. Those we call the *Crym-Tartars*, [which] border upon *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, *Lituania*, and *Russia*, are much more regular than the interior parts of *Scthia*.

This great *Tartarian* Prince, that hath so troubled all his neighbours, they always call *Chan*, which signifieth Emperour; but we, the *Crym-Tartar*. He liveth for most part in the best champion plaines of many Provinces; and his removing Court is like a great Citie of houses and tents, drawne on Carts, all so orderly placed East and West, on the right and left hand of the Prince his house, which is alwayes in the midst towards the South: before which none may pitch their houses, every one knowing their order and quarter, as in an Armie. The Princes

[1603] His houses and carts. houses are very artificially wrought, both the foundation, sides, and roofe of wickers, ascending round to the top like a Dove-coat; this they cover with white felt, or white earth tempered with the powder of bones, that it may shine the whiter; sometimes with blacke felt, curiously painted with vines, trees, birds, and beasts. The breadth of the Carts are eighteene or twenty foot, but the house stretcheth foure or five foot over each side, and is drawne with ten or twelve, or for more state, twenty Camels and Oxen. Baskets. They have also great baskets, made of smaller wickers like great chests, with a covering of the same, all covered over with blacke felt, rubbed over with tallow and sheeps milke to keepe out the raine; prettily bedecked with painting or feathers: in those they put their household stuffe and treasure, drawne upon other carts for that purpose.

When they take downe their houses, they set the doore alwayes towards the South; and their carts thirtie or fortie foot distant on each side, East and West, as if they were two walls: the women also have most curious carts; every one of his wives hath a great one for herselfe, and so many other for her attendants, that they seeme as many Courts, as he hath wives. One great *Tartar* or Nobleman, will have for his particular, more than an hundred of those houses and carts, for his severall offices and uses; but set so farre from each other, they will seeme like a great village.

Their idolatrie in their lodgings. Having taken their houses from the carts, they place the Master alwayes towards the North; over whose head is alwayes an Image like a Puppet, made of felt, which they call his brother; the women on his left hand, and over the chiefe Mistris her head, such another brother; and betweene them a little one, which is the keeper of the house; at the good wives beds-feet is a kids skinne, stuffed with wooll, and neere it a Puppet looking towards the Maids; next the doore another, with a dried cowes udder, for the women that milke the kine, because only the men milke mares.

Cossmos is Mares milke. Every morning, those [**27**] Images in their orders they besprinkle with that they drinke, bee it Cossmos, or whatsoever; but all the white mares milke is reserved for the

Prince. Then without the doore, thrice to the South, every one bowing his knee in honour of the fire; then the like to the East, in honour of the aire; then to the West, in honour of the water; and lastly to the North, in behalfe of the dead. After the servant hath done this duty to the foure quarters of the world, he returnes into the house; where his fellowes stand waiting, ready with two cups and two basons to give their master, and his wife that lay with him that night, to wash and drinke, who must keepe him company all the day following: and all his other wives come thither to drinke, where hee keepes his house that day; and all the gifts presented him till night, are laid vp in her chests; and at the doore a bench full of cups, and drinke for any of them to make merry. [1603]

CHAPTER XV.

Their feasts; common diet; Princes estate; buildings; tributes; lawes; slaves; entertainment of Ambassadours.

FOr their feasts they have all sorts of beasts, birds, fish, fruits, and hearbs they can get, but the more variety of wilde ones is the best; to which they have excellent drinke made of rice, millit, and honey, like wine; they have also wine, but in Summer they drinke most[ly] Cossmos, that standeth ready alwayes at the entrance of the doore, and by it a fidler. When the master of the house beginneth to drinke, they all cry, ha, ha, and the fidler playes; then they all clap their hands and dance, the men before their Masters, the women before their Mistresses: and ever when he drinks, they cry as before; then the fidler stayeth till they drinke all round. Sometimes they will drinke for the victory; and to provoke one to drinke, they will pull him by the ears, and lugge and draw him, to stretch and heat him, clapping their hands, stamping with their feet, and dancing before Their feasts.

[1603] the champions, offering them cups, then draw them backe againe to increase their appetite: and thus continue till they be drunke, or their drinke done, which they hold an honour, and no infirmity.

Their common diet. Though the ground be fertile, they sow little corne, yet the Gentlemen have bread and hony-wine; grapes they have plenty, and wine privately, and good flesh and fish; but the common sort [drink] stamped millit, mingled with milke and water. They call Cassa for meat, and drinke any thing; also any beast unprofitable for service they kill, when they are like to die, or however they die, they will eat them, guts liver and all: but the most fleshy parts they cut in thinne slices, and hang it up in the Sunne and wind without salting, where it will dry so hard, it will not putrifie in a long time. A Ramme they esteeme a great feast among forty or fiftie, which they cut in peeces boiled or roast; puts it in a great bowle with salt and water, for other sauce they have none: the master of the feast [28] giveth every one a peece; which he eateth by himselfe, or carrieth away with him.

How they become populous. Thus their hard fare makes them so infinite in Cattell; and their great number of captived women to breed vpon, makes them so populous.

But neere the Christian frontiers, the baser sort make little cottages of wood, called *Vlusi*, daubed over with durt and beasts dung, covered with sedge. Yet in Summer they leave them, beginning their progresse in Aprill, with their wives, children, and slaves, in their carted houses, scarce convenient for foure or five persons; driving their flocks towards *Perecopya*, and sometimes into *Taurica*, or *Osow*, a towne upon the river *Tanais*, which is great and swift, where the Turke hath a garrison: and in October returne againe to their Cottages.

Their Clothes are the skinnes of dogges, goats, and sheepe, lined with cotten cloath, made of their finest wooll: for of their worst they make their felt, which they use in aboundance, as well for shooes and caps, as houses, beds, and Idolls; also of the coarse wooll mingled with horse haire, they make all their cordage.

Their Princes state. Notwithstanding this wandring life, their Princes sit in great state upon beds, or carpits; and with great reverence

are attended both by men and women, and richly served in plate, and great silver cups, delivered upon the knee, attired in rich furres, lined with plush, or taffity, or robes of tissue. These *Tartars* possesse many large and goodly plaines, wherein feed innumerable herds of horse and cattell, as well wilde as tame; which are Elkes, Bisones, Horses, Deere, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Beares, and divers others. [1603]

Ancient buildings.

In those countries are the ruines of many faire Monasteries, Castles, and Cities, as *Bacasaray*, *Salutium*, *Almassary*, *Perecopya*, *Cremum*, *Sedacom*, *Caffa*, and divers others by the Sea, but all kept with strong garrisons for the great *Turke*, who yearely by trade or trafficke, receiveth the chiefe commodities those fertile countries afford, as Bezer, Rice, Furres, Hides, Butter, Salt, Cattell, and Slaves; yet by the spoiles they get from the secure and idle *Christians*, they maintaine themselves in this Pompe. Also their wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very costly, yet in a constant custome with decency.

Commodities for tribute to the *Turke*.

Good lawes yet no lawyers.

They are *Mahometans*, as are the *Turks*, from whom also they have their Lawes; but no Lawyers, nor Attournies, onely Iudges, and Iustices in every Village, or Hordia: but capitall criminalls, or matters of moment, before the Chan himselfe, or Priuie Counsells, of whom they are alwayes heard, and speedily discharged. For any may have accesse at any time to them, before whom they appeare with great reverence, adoring their Princes as Gods, and their spirituall Iudges as Saints; for Iustice is with such integrity and expedition executed, without covetousnesse, bribery, partiality, and brawling, that in six moneths they have sometimes scarce six causes to heare. About the Princes court none but his guard weares any weapon; but abroad they goe very strong, because there are many bandytos, and Theeves.

Their slaves

They use the *Hungarians*, *Russians*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavian* slaves (whereof they have plenty) as beasts to every worke: and those *Tartars* that serve the Chan, or noblemen, have only victuall and apparell; the rest are generally nasty, and idle, naturally miserable, and in their warres, better theeves than souldiers. [29]

This *Chan* hath yeerely a Donative from the King of

[1603] *Poland*, the Dukes of *Lituania*, *Moldavia*, and *Nagagon Tartars*; their Messengers commonly he useth bountifully, and verie nobly, but sometimes most cruelly.

His entertainment of Ambassadours.

When any of them doth bring their Presents, by his houshold Officers they are entertained in a plaine field, with a moderate proportion of flesh, bread and wine, for once; but when they come before him, the *Sultaines*, *Tuians*, *Vlans*, *Markies*, his chiefe Officers and Councellors attend. One man only bringeth the Ambassadour to the Court gate, but to the *Chan* he is led betweene two Councellors; where saluting him upon their bended knees, declaring their message, [they] are admitted to eat with him, and presented with a great silver cup full of Mead from his owne hand, but they drinke it upon their knees.

When they are dispatched, he invites them againe. The feast ended, they go backe a little from the Palace doore; and [are] rewarded with silke vestures wrought with gold downe to their anckles, with an horse or two, and sometimes a slave of their owne Nation.

In them [*those*] robes presently they come to him againe, to give him thankes, take their leave, and so depart.

CHAPTER XVI.

How he levieth an Armie; *their Armes and Provision*; *how he divideth the spoile*; *and his service to the* Great Turke.

How he levieth an Armie.

WHen he intends any warres, he must first have leave of the Great *Turke*, whom hee is bound to assist when hee commandeth; receiving daily for himselfe and chiefe of his Nobilitie, pensions from the *Turke*, that holds all Kings but slaves that pay tribute or are subject to any: signifying his intent to all his subjects, within a moneth commonly he raiseth his Armie, and everie man is to furnish himselfe for three moneths victuals; which is parched Millit, or grownd to

meale, which they ordinarily mingle with water (as is said), hard cheese or cruds dried and beaten to powder, a little will make much water like milke, and dried flesh, this they put also up in sackes. [1603]

The *Chan* and his Nobles have some bread and *Aquavitæ*, and quicke [*live*] cattell to kill when they please, wherewith verie sparingly they are contented.

Being provided with expert Guides, and got into the Countrey he intends to invade; he sends forth his Scouts to bring in what prisoners they can, from whom he will wrest the utmost of their knowledge fit for his purpose: having advised with his Councell, what is most fit to be done, the Nobilitie, according to their antiquitie, doth march; then moves he with his whole Armie. If hee finde there is no enemie to oppose him, he adviseth how farre they shall invade: commanding everie man (upon paine of his life) to kill all the obvious Rusticks; but not to hurt any women, or children.

The manner of his warres.

Ten, or fifteene thousand, he commonly placeth, where hee findeth most convenient for his standing Campe; the rest of his Armie hee divides [**30**] in several troops, bearing ten or twelve miles square before them, and ever within three or foure dayes [they] returne to their Campe, putting all to fire and sword but that they carrie with them backe to their Campe; and in this scattering manner he will invade a Countrey, and be gone with his prey, with an incredible expedition.

But if he understand of an enemie, he will either fight in Ambuscado, or flie; for he will never fight any battel if he can chuse, but upon treble advantage: yet by his innumerable flights of arrowes, I have seene flie from his flying troopes, we could not well judge, whether his fighting or flying was most dangerous, so good is his horse, and so expert his bow-men. But if they be so intangled they must fight, there is none can bee more hardy, or resolute in their defences.

How he divides the spoile.

Regaining his owne borders, he takes the tenth of the principall captives, man, woman, childe, or beast (but his captaines that take them, will accept of some particular person they best like for themselves): the rest are divided amongst the whole Armie, according to every mans desert,

[1603] and quality; that they keepe them, or sell them to who[m] will give most. But they will not forget to use all the meanes they can, to know their estates, friends, and quality; and the better they finde you, the worse they will use you, till you doe agree to pay such a ransome, as they will impose upon you: therefore many great persons have endured much misery to conceale themselves, because their ransomes are so intolerable. Their best hope is of some *Christian* Agent, that many times commeth to redeeme slaves, either with mony, or man for man: those Agents knowing so well the extreme covetousnesse of the *Tartars*, doe use to bribe some Iew or Merchant, that feigning they will sell them againe to some other nation, are oft redeemed for a very small ransome.

How the Chan doth serve the great *Turke*.

But to this *Tartarian* Armie, when the *Turke* commands, he goeth with some small artillery; and the *Nagagians*, *Perecopens*, *Crimes*, *Osovens*, and *Cersessians*, are his tributaries; but the *Petigorves*, *Oczaconians*, *Byalogordens*, and *Dobrueen Tartars*, the *Turke* by covenant commands to follow him; so that from all those *Tartars* he hath had an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand excellent, swift, stomackfull *Tartarian* horse; for foot they have none.

Now the Chan, his Sultaines and nobility, use *Turkish*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, *Parthian*, and other strange *Tartarian* horses; the swiftest they esteeme the best: seldome they feede any more at home, than they have present use for; but upon their plaines is a short wodde like heath, in some countries like gaile, full of berries, farre much better than any grasse.

Their Armes

Their Armes are such as they have surprised or got from the *Christians* or *Persians*, both brest-plates, swords, semiteres, and helmets; bowes and arrowes they make most[ly] themselves, also their bridles and saddles are indifferent: but the nobility are very handsome[ly], and well armed like the *Turkes*, in whom consisteth their greatest glory. The ordinary sort have little armor, some a plaine young pole unshaven, headed with a peece of iron for a lance; some an old *Christian* pike, or a *Turks* cavatine: yet those tattertimallions will have two or three horses, some [**31**] foure, or five, as well for service, as for to eat; which makes their Armies seem thrice so many as there are souldiers.

The *Chan* himselfe hath about his person ten thousand chosen *Tartars* and *Ianizaries*, some small Ordnance: and a white mares taile with a peece of greene taffity, on a great Pike, is carried before him for a standard; because they hold no beast so precious as a white mare; whose milke is onely for the King and nobility, and to sacrifice to their Idolls; but the rest have ensignes of divers colours. [1603]

For all this miserable knowledge, furniture, and equipage, the mischiefe they doe in *Christendome* is wonderfull: by reason of their hardnesse of life and constitution, obedience, agilitie, and their Emperours bountie, honours, grace, and dignities he ever bestoweth upon those that have done him any memorable service in the face of his enemies.

A description of the *Caspian* Sea.

The *Caspian* Sea, most men agree that have passed it, to be in length about 200. leagues, and in breadth an hundred and fifty: environed to the East, with the great desarts of the *Tartars* of *Turkamane*; to the West, by the *Circasses*, and the mountaine *Caucasus*; to the North, by the river *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay*; and to the South, by *Media*, and *Persia*. This sea is fresh water in many places, in others as salt as the great Ocean. It hath many great rivers which fall into it, as the mighty river of *Volga*, which is like a sea, running neere two thousand miles, through many great and large Countries, that send into it many other great rivers: also out of *Saberya*, *Yaick*, and *Yem*, out of the great mountaine *Caucasus*, the river *Sirus*, *Arash*, and divers others; yet no Sea neerer it than the blacke Sea, which is at least an hundred leagues distant. In which Country live the *Georgians*, now part *Armenians*, part *Nestorians*. It is neither found to increase or diminish, or empty it selfe any way, except it be under ground; and in some places they can finde no ground at two hundred fadome.

Many other most strange and wonderfull things are in the land of *Cathay* towards the North-east, and *Chyna* towards the South-east: where are many of the most famous Kingdomes in the world; where most arts, plenty, and curiosities are in such abundance, as might seeme incredible, which hereafter I will relate, as I have briefly gathered from such authors as have lived there.

CHAPTER XVII.

How captaine Smith *escaped his captivity; slew the* Bashaw *of* Nalbrits *in* Cambia; *his passage to* Russia, Transilvania, *and the middest of* Europe *to* Affrica.

[1603] How *Smith* escaped his captivity.

ALL the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thraldome was only the love of *Tragabigzanda*, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage: for although he had often debated the matter with some *Christians*, that had beene there a long time slaves, they could not finde how to make an escape, by any reason or possibility; but God beyond [**32**] mans expectation or imagination helpeth his servants, when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapned to him.

[*pp.*276, 854.]

So long he lived in this miserable estate, as he became a thresher at a grange in a great field, more than a league from the *Tymors* house [*at Nalbrits*]. The *Bashaw* as he oft used to visit his granges, visited him; and tooke occasion so to beat, spurne, and revile him, that [*Smith*] forgetting all reason, he beat out the *Tymors* braines with his threshing bat, for they have no flailes: and seeing his estate could be no worse than it was, clothed himselfe in his clothes, hid his body under the straw, filled his knapsacke with corne, shut the doores, mounted his horse, and ranne into the desart at all adventure.

Two or three dayes thus fearfully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was he met not any to aske the way. Being even as taking leave of this miserable world, God did direct him to the great way or Castragan, as they call it, which doth crosse these large territories, and [is] generally knowne among them by these markes.

Their guides in those Countries.

In every crossing of this great way is planted a post, and in it so many bobs with broad ends, as there be wayes, and every bob the figure painted on it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the *Cryms* Country, is marked with a halfe Moone,

if towards the *Georgians* and *Persia*, a blacke man, full of white spots; if towards China, the picture of the Sunne; if towards *Muscovia*, the signe of a Crosse; if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his standard is knowne. [1603]

To his dying spirits, thus God added some comfort in this melancholy journey: wherein if he had met any of that vilde generation, they had made him their slave; or knowing the figure engraven in the iron about his necke, (as all slaves have) he had beene sent backe againe to his master.

Sixteene dayes he travelled in this feare and torment, after the Crosse, till he arrived at *Æcopolis*, upon the river *Don*, a garrison of the *Muscovites*.

The governour after due examination of those his hard events, tooke off his irons, and so kindly used him, he thought himselfe new risen from death; and the good Lady *Callamata*, largely supplied all his wants. [*p.* 276.]

The description of *Cambia* and his passage to *Russia*.

This is as much as he could learne of those wilde Countries, that the Country of *Cambia* is two dayes journ[e]y from the head of the great river *Bruapo*, which springeth from many places of the mountaines of *Innagachi*, that joyne themselves together in the Poole *Kerkas*; which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea *Dissabacca*, called by some the lake *Meotis*, which receiveth also the river *Tanais*, and all the rivers that fall from the great Countries of the *Circassi*, the *Cartaches*, and many from the *Tauricaes*, *Precopes*, *Cummani*, *Cossunka*, and the *Cryme*. Through which Sea he sailed, and up the river *Bruapo* to *Nalbrits*, and thence through the desarts of *Circassi* to *Æcoplis*, as is related; where he stayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to *Coragnaw*.

Then with his certificate how hee found him, and had examined [him], with his friendly letters [he] sent him by *Zumalacke* to *Caragnaw*: whose Governour in like manner so kindly use nim, that by this meanes he went with a safe conduct to *Letch*, and *Donka*, in *Cologoske*, and thence to *Berniske*, and *Newgrod* in *Seberia*, by *Rezechica*, upon the river *Niper* in the confines [**33**] of *Littuania*. From whence with as much kindnesse he was convoyed in like manner

[1603] by *Coroski*, *Duberesko*, *Duzihell*, *Drohobus*, and *Ostroge* in *Volonia*; *Saslaw* and *Lasco* in *Podolia*; *Halico* and *Collonia* in *Polonia*; and so to *Hermonstat* in *Transilvania*. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment: and not any Governour where he came, but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges; seeing themselves as subject to the like calamity.

His observations in his journey to *Transilvania*, through the midst of *Europe*

Through those poore continually forraged Countries there is no passage, but with the Carravans or Convoyes; for they are Countries rather to be pitied, than envied; and it is a wonder any should make warres for them. The Villages are onely here and there a few houses of straight Firre trees, laid heads and points above one another, made fast by notches at the ends more than a mans height, and with broad split boards, pinned together with woodden pinnes, as thatched for coverture. In ten Villages you shall scarce finde ten iron nailes, except it be in some extraordinary mans house.

For their Townes, *Æcopolis*, *Letch*, and *Donko*, have rampiers made of that woodden walled fashion, double, and betwixt them earth and stones; but so latched with crosse timber, they are very strong against any thing but fire; and about them a deepe ditch, and a Palizado of young Firre trees: but most of the rest have only a great ditch cast about them, and the ditches earth is all their rampier; but round well environed with Palizadoes. Some have some few small peeces of small Ordnance, and slings, calievers, and muskets; but their generallest weapons are the *Russe* bowes and arrowes.

You shall find pavements over bogges, onely of young Firre trees laid crosse one over another, for two or three houres journey, or as the passage requires: and yet in two dayes travell you shall scarce see six habitations.

Notwithstanding, to see how their Lords, Governours, and Captaines are civilized, well attired and acoutred with Iewells, Sables, and Horses, and after their manner with curious furniture, it is wonderfull: but they are all Lords or slaves, which makes them so subject to every invasion.

In *Transilvania* he [*i.e.*, *Smith*] found so many good friends,

that but to see and rejoyce himselfe (after all those encounters) in his native Country, he would ever hardly have left them; though the mirrour of vertue, their Prince, was absent. [1603-4]

Being thus glutted with content, and neere drowned with joy; he passed high *Hungaria* by *Fileck*, *Tocka*, *Cassovia*, and *Vnderoroway*, by *Vlmicht*, in *Moravia*, to *Prague* in *Bohemia*: at last he found the most gracious Prince *Sigismundus*, with his Colonell [*Henry Volda, Earl of Meldritch, pp.* 842, 852], at *Lipswick* in *Misenland*: who gave him his Passe [9 *Dec.* 1603, *see p.* 845], intimating the service he had done, and the honours he had received, with fifteene hundred ducats [=*about* £500] of gold to repaire his losses.

With this, he spent some time to visit the faire Cities and Countries of *Drasdon* in *Saxonie*, *Magdaburg* and *Brunswicke*; *Cassell* in *Hessen*; *Wittenberg*, *Vllum*, and *Minikin* in *Bavaria*; *Aughsbrough*, and her Vniversities; *Hama*, *Franckford*, *Mentz*, the *Palatinate*; *Wormes*, *Speyre*, and *Strausborough*; passing *Nancie* in *Loraine*, and *France* by *Paris* to *Orleans*, hee went down the river of *Loyer*, to *Angiers*, and imbarked himselfe at *Nantz* in *Britanny*, for *Bilbao* in *Biskay*, to see *Burgos*, [**34**] *Valiadolid*, the admired monasterie of the *Escuriall*, *Madrill*, *Toledo*, *Cordua*, *Cuedyriall*, *Civill*, *Cheryes*, *Cales*, and Saint *Lucas* in *Spaine*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The observations of Captaine Smith, *Master* Henrie Archer *and others in* Barbarie.

BEing thus satisfied with *Europe* and *Asia*; understanding of the warres in *Barbarie*, hee went from *Gibralter* to *Guta* and *Tanger*, thence to *Saffee*: where growing into acquaintance with a French man of warre, the Captaine and some twelve more went to *Morocco*, to see the ancient monuments of that large renowned Citie. It was once the principall

[1604] Citie in *Barbarie*, situated in a goodly plaine Countrey, 14 miles from the great Mount *Atlas*, and sixtie miles from the *Atlanticke* Sea; but now little remaining, but the Kings Palace, which is like a Citie of it selfe, and the *Christian* Church, on whose flat square steeple is a great brouch of iron, whereon is placed the three golden Bals of *Affrica*: the first is neere three Ells in circumference, the next above it somewhat lesse, the uppermost the least over them, as it were an halfe Ball, and over all a prettie guilded *Pyramides*. Against those golden Bals hath been shot many a shot. Their weight is recorded 700. weight [784 *lbs.*] of pure gold, hollow within, yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any Conspirator attaine that honor as to get them downe. They report the Prince of *Morocco* betrothed himselfe to the Kings Daughter of *Æthiopia*, he dying before their marriage, she caused those three golden Balls to be set up for his Monument, and vowed virginitie all her life. The *Alfantica* is also a place of note, because it is invironed with a great wall, wherein lye the goods of all the Merchants securely guarded. The *Iuderea* is also (as it were) a Citie of it selfe, where dwell the *Iewes*: the rest for the most part is defaced: but by the many pinnacles and towers, with Balls on their tops, hath much appearance of much sumptuousnesse and curiositie. There have been many famous Universities, which are now but stables for Fowles and Beasts, and the houses in most parts lye tumbled one above another. The walls of Earth are with the great fresh flouds washed to the ground; nor is there any village in it, but tents for Strangers, *Larbes* [*Mountainers*, *p.* 873] and *Moores*.

The three golden Bals of *Affrica*.

The description of *Morocco*.

Strange tales they will tell of a great Garden, wherein were all sorts of Birds, Fishes, Beasts, Fruits and Fountaines, which for beautie, Art, and pleasure, exceeded any place knowne in the world; though now nothing but dung-hils, Pigeon-houses, shrubs and bushes. There are yet many excellent fountaines adorned with marble, and many arches, pillers, towers, ports and Temples; but most only reliques of lamentable ruines and sad desolation.

When *Mully Hamet* reigned in *Barbarie*, he had three sonnes, *Mully Shecke*, *Mully Sidan*, and *Mully Befferres*. He a most good and noble King, that governed well with

A bloudie Empresse.

peace and plentie, till his Empresse, more cruell [**35**] than any beast in *Affrica*, poysoned him, her owne daughter, *Mully Shecke* his eldest sonne borne of a Portugall Ladie, and his daughter; to bring *Mully Sidan* to the Crowne now reigning: which was the cause of all those brawles and warres that followed betwixt those Brothers, their children, and a *Saint* that start[ed] up (but he played the Devill). [1604]

King *Mully Hamet* was not blacke, as many suppose, but *Molata*, or tawnie, as are the most of his subjects; everie way noble, kinde and friendly, verie rich and pompous in State and Majestie: though hee sitteth not upon a Throne nor Chaire of Estate, but crosse legged upon a rich Carpet, as doth the *Turke*; whose Religion of *Mahomet*, with an incredible miserable curiositie they observe. His Ordinarie Guard is at least 5000; but in progresse he goeth not with lesse than 20000. horsemen: himselfe as rich in all his Equipage, as any Prince in Christendome, and yet a Contributor to the *Turke*. King *Mully Hamet*, or the Great *Zerif* of *Barbarie*.

In all his Kingdome were so few good Artificers, that hee entertained from *England*, Gold-smiths, Plummers, Carvers, and Polishers of stone, and Watch-makers: so much hee delighted in the reformation of workmanship, hee allowed each of them ten shillings a day standing fee, linnen, woollen, silkes, and what they would for diet and apparell; and custome-free to transport, or import what they would; for there were scarce any of those qualities in his Kingdomes but those, of which there are divers of them living at this present [1629] in *London*. His great love to Englishmen.

Amongst the rest, one Master *Henry Archer*, a Watch-maker, walking in *Morocco*, from the *Alfantica* to the *Iuderea*, the way being verie foule, met a great Priest, or a *Sante* (as they call all great Clergy-men) who would have thrust him into the durt for the way; but *Archer*, not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the eare: presently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and his hand cut off; but no sooner it was knowen at the Kings Court, but 300. of his Guard came, and broke open the Prison, and delivered him, although the fact was next degree to Treason.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth

[1604] noting: Not farre from Mount *Atlas*, a great Lionesse in
The strange love of a Lyon. the heat of the day, did use to bathe her selfe, and teach her young Puppies to swimme in the river *Cauzeff*, of a good bredth; yet she would carrie them one after another over the river: which some *Moores* perceiving watched their opportunitie, and when the river was betweene her and them, stole foure of her whelps; which she perceiving, with all the speed shee could passed the river, and comming neere them they let fall a whelpe (and fled with the rest) which she tooke in her mouth, and so returned to the rest.

A Male and a Female of those they gave Master *Archer*, who kept them in the Kings Garden, till the Male killed the Female; then he brought it up as a Puppy-dog lying upon his bed, till it grew so great as a Mastiffe, and no dog more tame or gentle to them hee knew: but being to returne for *England*, at *Saffee* he gave him to a Merchant of *Marsellis*, that presented him to the French King, who sent him to King *Iames*, where it was kept in the Tower seven yeeres.

After, one Master *Iohn Bull*, then servant to Master *Archer*, with divers of his friends, went to see the Lyons, not knowing any thing at all of him; yet this rare beast smelled him before hee [36] saw him, whining, groaning, and tumbling, with such an expression of acquaintance; that being informed by the Keepers how hee came thither, Master *Bull* so prevailed, the Keeper opened the grate, and *Bull* went in: But no Dogge could fawne more on his Master, than the Lyon on him, licking his feet, hands, and face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders; being satisfied with his acquaintance, he made shift to get out of the grate. But when the Lyon saw his friend gone; no beast by bellowing, roaring, scratching, and howling, could expresse more rage and sorrow: nor in foure dayes after would he either eat or drinke.

Another kinde Lyon in *Morocco*. In *Morocco*, the Kings Lyons are all together in a Court, invironed with a great high wall; to those they put a young Puppy-dogge: the greatest Lyon had a sore upon his necke, which this Dogge so licked that he was healed: the Lyon defended him from the furie of all the rest, nor durst they eat till the Dogge and he had fed; this Dog grew great, and lived amongst them many yeeres after.

[1604]

Fez also is a most large and plentifull Countrey, the chiefe Citie is called *Fez*, divided into two parts; old *Fez* containing about 80. thousand housholds, the other 4000. pleasantly situated vpon a River in the heart of *Barbarie*, part upon hils, part upon plaines, full of people, and all sorts of Merchandise. The description of *Fez*.

The great Temple is called *Carucen*, in bredth seventeene Arches, in length 120. borne up with 2500. white marble pillars: under the chiefe Arch, where the Tribunall is kept, hangeth a most huge lampe, compassed with 110. lesser, under the other also hang great lamps, and about some are burning fifteene hundred lights. They say they were all made of the bels the *Arabians* brought from *Spaine*. It hath three gates of notable height, Priests and Officers so many, that the circuit of the Church, the Yard, and other houses, is little lesse than a mile and an halfe in compasse.

There are in this Citie 200. Schooles, 200. Innes, 400. water-mils, 600. water-Conduits; 700. Temples and Oratories; but fiftie of them most stately and richly furnished. Their *Alcazar* or *Burse* is walled about, it hath twelve gates, and fifteen walks covered with tents to keepe the Sun from the Merchants, and them that come there. The Kings Palace, both for strength and beautie is excellent, and the Citizens have many great privileges.

Those two Countreyes of *Fez* and *Morocco*, are the best part of all *Barbarie*, abounding with people, cattell, and all good necessaries for mans use. Forthe rest, as the *Larbes* or Mountainers, the Kingdomes of *Cocow*, *Algier*, *Tripoly*, *Tunis*, and *Ægypt*; there are many large histories of them in divers languages, especially that writ by that most excellent Statesman, *John de Leo*, who afterward turned Christian.

A briefe description of the most unknowen parts of *Affrica*.

The unknowen Countries of *Ginny* and *Binne*, this six and twentie yeeres [1603–1629] have beene frequented with a few English ships only to trade, especially the river of *Senega*, by Captaine *Brimstead*, Captaine *Brockit*, Master *Crump*, and divers others.

Also the great river of *Gambra*, by Captaine *Iobson*, who is returned in thither againe in the yeere 1626. with Master *William Grent*, and thirteene or fourteene others, to stay in

[1479-1629] the Countrey, to discover some way to those rich mines of *Gago* or *Tumbatu*, from whence is supposed the *Moores* of [37] *Barbarie* have their gold; and the certaintie of those supposed descriptions and relations of those interiour parts, which daily the more they are sought into, the more they are corrected.

For surely, those interiour parts of *Affrica* are little knowen to either *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, though they use much the Coast; therefore wee will make a little bold with the observations of the *Portugalls*.

CHAPTER XIX.

The strange discoveries and observations of the Portugalls *in* Affrica.

How the *Portugalls* coasted to the *East Indies*.

THe *Portugalls* on those par[t]s have the glorie, who first coasting along this Westerne shore of *Affrica*, to finde passage to the *East Indies*, within this hundred and fiftie yeeres [1479-1629], even from the Streights of *Gibralter*, about the Cape of *Bone Esperance* to the *Persian Gulfe*, and thence all along the *Asian* Coast to the *Moluccas*, have subjected many great Kingdomes, erected many Common-wealths, built many great and strong Cities; and where is it they have not beene by trade or force? no not so much as *Cape de Verd*, and *Sermleone*; but most Bayes or Rivers, where there is any trade to bee had, especially gold, or conveniencie for refreshment, but they are scattered; living so amongst those *Blacks*, by time and cunning they seeme to bee naturalized amongst them.

As for the Isles of the *Canaries*, they have faire Townes, many Villages, and many thousands of people rich in commodities.

Or *Edward* *Ordoardo Lopez*, a noble *Portugall*, *Anno Dom* 1578. imbarquing himselfe for *Congo* to trade, where he found such entertainment, finding the King much oppressed with enemies, hee found meanes to bring in the *Portugalls* to assist him, whereby he planted there Christian Religion, and spent most of his life to bring those Countreyes to

the Crowne of Portugall, which he describeth in this manner. [1578]

The Kingdome of *Congo* is about 600. miles diameter any way; the chiefe Citie called *St. Savadore*, [is] seated upon an exceeding high mountaine, 150. miles from the Sea, verie fertile, and inhabited with more than 100000. persons, where is an excellent prospect over all the plaine Countreyes about it, well watered, lying (as it were) in the Center of this Kingdome: over all which the *Portugalls* now command, though but an handfull in comparison of *Negroes*. The Kingdome of *Congo*.

They have flesh and fruits verie plentifull of divers sorts.

This Kingdom is divided into five Provinces, viz. *Bamba*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Bacca*, and *Pembo*; but *Bamba* is the principall, and can affoord 400000. men of warre. Elephants are bred over all those Provinces, and of wonderfull greatnesse; though some report they cannot kneele, nor lye downe, they can doe both, and have their joynts as other creatures for use: with their fore-feet they will leape upon trees to pull downe the boughes, and are of that strength, they will shake a great *Cocar* tree for [38] the nuts, and pull downe a good tree with their tuskes, to get the leaves to eat, as well as sedge and long grasse, *Cocar* nuts and berries, &c. which with their trunke they put in their mouth, and chew it with their smaller teeth. Wilde Elephants.

In most of those Provinces, are many rich mines, but the *Negars* opposed the *Portugalls* for working in them.

The Kingdome of *Angola* is wonderfull populous, and rich in mines of silver, copper, and most other mettalls; fruitfull in all manner of food, and [with] sundry sorts of cattell, but dogges flesh they love better than any other meat: they use few clothes, and no Armour; bowes, arrowes, and clubs, are their weapons. But the *Portugalls* are well armed against those engines; and doe buy yearely of those *Blacks* more than five thousand slaves, and many are people exceeding well proportioned. The Kingdome of *Angola*

The *Anchicos* are a most valiant nation, but most strange to all about them. Their Armes are Bowes, short and small, wrapped about with serpents skinnes, of divers colours; but so smooth you would thinke them all one with the wood, and it makes them very strong: their strings little twigs, but exceeding tough and flexible; their arrowes The Kingdome of *Anchicos*

[1578] short, which they shoot with an incredible quicknesse. They have short axes of brasse and copper for swords; [are] wonderfull loyall and faithfull, and exceeding simple, yet so active, they skip amongst the rockes like goats. They trade with them of *Nubea*, and *Congo*, for *Lamache*, which is a small kinde of shell fish, of an excellent azure colour, male and female, but the female they hold most pure; they value them at divers prices, because they are of divers sorts: and those they use for coine, to buy and sell, as we doe gold and silver; nor will they have any other money in all those Countries, for which they give Elephants teeth; and slaves for salt, silke, linnen cloth, glasse-beads, and such like *Portugall* commodities.

A strange mony.

A shambles of mans flesh.

They circumcise themselves, and marke their faces with sundry slashes from their infancie. They keepe a shambles of mans flesh, as if it were beefe or other victuall: for when they cannot have a good market for their slaves; or their enemies they take, they kill and sell them in this manner. Some are so resolute in shewing how much they scorne death, they will offer themselves and slaves to this butchery to their Prince and friends; and though there be many nations will eat their enemies, in *America* and *Asia*, yet none but those are knowne to be so mad, as to eat their slaves and friends also.

Their Religions and Idols.

Religions and idolls they have as many, as nations and humours; but the devill hath the greatest part of their devotions, whom all those *Blacks* doe say is white; for there are no Saints but *Blacks*.

Divers nations yet unknowne, and the wonders of *Affrica*.

But besides those great Kingdomes of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Azichi* in those unfrequented parts are the Kingdomes of *Lango*, *Matania*, *Buttua*, *Sofola*, *Mozambeche*, *Quivola*, the Isle of Saint *Lawrence*, *Mombaza*, *Melinda*, the Empires of *Monomatopa*, *Monemugi*, and *Presbiter John*, with whom they have a kinde of trade; and their rites, customes, climates, temperatures, and commodities by relation.

Also of great Lakes, that deserve the names of Seas, and huge mountaines of divers [**39**] sorts, as some scorched with heat, some covered with snow; the mountaines of the Sunne, also of the Moone, some of crystall, some of iron, some of silver, and mountaines of gold, with the originall

of *Nilus*; likewise sundry sorts of cattell, fishes, Fowles, strange beasts, and monstrous serpents; for *Affrica* was alwayes noted to be a fruitfull mother of such terrible creatures: who meeting at their watering places, which are but Ponds in desart places, in regard of the heat of the Country, and their extremities of nature, make strange copulations, and so ingender those extraordinary monsters. [1604]

Of all these you may reade in the history of this *Edward Lopez*, translated into English by *Abraham Hartwell*, and dedicated to *Iohn* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 1597.

But because the particulars are most concerning the conversion of those Pagans, by a good poore Priest that first converted a Noble man, to convert the King, and the rest of the Nobility; [then] sent for so many Priests and ornaments into *Portugall*, to solemnize their baptismes with such magnificence, which was performed with such strange curiosities, that those poore *Negros* adored them as Gods, till the Priests grew to that wealth, a Bishop was sent to rule over them: which they would not endure, which endangered to spoile all before they could bee reconciled.

But not to trouble you too long with those rarities of uncertainties: let us returne againe to *Barbary*, where the warres being ended, and *Befferres* possessed of *Morocco*, and his fathers treasure; a new bruit arose amongst them, that *Muly Sidan*, was raising an Armie against him, who after tooke his brother *Befferres* prisoner.

But by reason of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloudy murthers rather than warre, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moores; *Smith* returned with *Merham*, [*or rather the French Captain, see p.* 869] and the rest to *Saffe*[*e*], and so aboard his Ship, to try some other conclusions at Sea.

CHAPTER XX.

A brave Sea fight betwixt two Spanish *men of warre, and Captaine* Merham *with* Smith.

[1604] *Merham* a captaine of a man of war then in the Road, invited captaine *Smith*, and two or three more of them aboord with him; where he spared not any thing he had to expresse his kindnesse, to bid them welcome, till it was too late to goe on shore, so that necessitie constrained them to stay aboord.

A fairer Evening could not bee: yet ere midnight such a storme did arise, they were forced to let slip Cable and Anchor, and put to Sea; spooning before the wind, till they were driven to the *Canaries*. In the calmes they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event.

Not long it was before they tooke a small Barke comming from *Teneryf*, loaded with Wine. Three or foure more they chased, two they tooke, but found little in them, save a few passengers, that told them of five *Dutch* men of warre, about the Isles: so that they stood for *Boyadora*, [40] upon the *Affrican* shore; betwixt which and *Cape Noa*, they descried t[w]o saile. *Merham* intending to know what they were, hailed them: very civilly they dansed their topsailes, and desired the man of warre to come aboord them, and take what he would; for they were but two poore distressed *Biskiners*.

But *Merham*, the old fox, seeing himselfe in the lions pawes, sprung his loufe; the other tacked after him, and came close up to his nether quarter, gave his broad side, and so loufed up to windward; the Vice-Admirall did the like; and at the next bout, the Admirall with a noise of Trumpets, and all his Ordnance, murtherers, and muskets, boorded him on his broad side; the other in like manner on his ley quarter, that it was so darke, there was little light, but fire and smoake. Long he stayed not,

before he fell off, leaving 4. or 5. of his men sprawling over the grating. [1604]

After they had battered *Merham* about an houre, they boorded him againe as before; and threw foure kedgers or grapnalls in iron chaines, then shearing off they thought so to have torne downe the grating; but the Admiralls yard was so intangled in their shrouds, *Merham* had time to discharge two crosse barre shot amongst them, and divers bolts of iron made for that purpose, against his bow, that made such a breach, he feared they both should have sunke for company. So that the *Spaniard* was as yare in slipping his chained Grapnalls, as *Merham* was in cutting the tackling, [that] kept fast their yards in his shrouds. The Vice-admirall presently cleared himselfe, but spared neither his Ordnance nor Muskets to keepe *Merham* from getting away, till the Admirall had repaired his leake.

From twelve at noone, till six at night, they thus interchanged one volly for another; then the Vice-admirall fell on starne, staying for the Admirall that came up againe to him, and all that night stood after *Merham*, that shaped his course for *Mamora*, but such small way they made, the next morning they were not three leagues off from *Cape Noa*.

The two *Spanish* men of warre, for so they were, and well appointed: taking it in scorne as it seemed, with their chase, broad side, and starne, the one after the other, within Musket shot, plying their ordnance; and after an houres worke commanded *Merham* a maine for the King of *Spaine* upon faire quarter.

Merham dranke to them, and so discharged his quarter peeces.

Which pride the *Spaniard* to revenge, [they] boorded him againe, and many of them were got to the top to unsling the maine saile; which the Master and some others from the round house, caused to their cost to come tumbling downe. About the round house the *Spaniards* so pestered, that they were forced to the great Cabben and blew it up; the smoake and fire was so vehement, as they thought the Ship on fire. They in the fore castle were no lesse assaulted, that blew up a peece of the grating, with a great many of *Spaniards* more; then they cleared themselves with all speed, and *Merham* with as much expedition

[1604] to quench the fire with wet clothes and water, which beganne to grow too fast. The *Spaniard* still playing upon him with all the shot they could; the open places presently they covered with old sailes, and prepared themselves to fight to the last man.

The angry *Spaniard* seeing the fire quenched, hung out a flagge of truce to have but a parley; but that desperate [**41**] *Merham* knew there was but one way with him, and would have none but the report of his Ordnance, which hee did know well how to use for his best advantage. Thus they spent the next after-noone, and halfe that night; when the *Spaniards* either lost them, or left them.

Seven and twentie men *Merham* had slaine, and sixteene wounded; and could finde they [*i.e.*, *the ship*] had received 140. great shot. A wounded *Spanyard* they kept alive, confessed they had lost 100. men in the Admirall, which they did feare would sinke, ere she could recover a Port.

Thus reaccommodating their sailes, they sailed for *Sancta Cruse, Cape Goa,* and *Magadore,* till they came againe to *Saffee;* and then he [*i.e.*, *Smith*] returned into *England.*

[The second part of *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations &c.*
1630.
The *Observations &c.*

A Continuation of The Generall Historie of Virginia, the Summer Islands, and New England, 1624–1629.

The English voyages to Guiana, and the river Amazon, 1595–1629.

The English beginnings at St. Christopher, Barbadoes, and Nevis, 1623–1629.

A short view of English pirates, 1588–1629.]

[In the original edition, while tne headline of the former part of this Work is

The Travels and Adventures &c.,

that over what follows is (but not uniformly)

The Travels and Observations &c.

With the exception of the Eye-witness description of Nevis, at *pp.* 909–10; this latter part is simply a compilation by our Author, out of such Relations as came to his hands.]

CHAPTER XXI.

The continuation of the generall Historie of Virginia; *the* Summer Iles; *and* New England; *with their present estate from* 1624. *to this present* 1629.

CONcerning these Countreyes, I would be [1629]
sorrie to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their Maps, Commodities, People, Government and Religion yet knowen, the beginning of those plantations, their numbers and names, with the names of the Adventurers, the yeerely proceedings of everie Governour both here and there. As for the misprisions, neglect, grievances, and the causes of all those rumours, losses and crosses that have happened; I referre you to the Generall Historie, where you shall finde all this at large; especially to those pages, where you may read my letter of advice to the Councell and Company, what of necessitie must be done, or lose all and leave the Countrey, pag. 70. [*p.* 442] what commodities I sent home, pag. 163. [*p.* 610] my opinion and offer to the Company, to feed and defend the Colonies, pag. 150. [*p.* 588] my account to them hereof myactions there, pag. 163. [*p.* 610] my seven answers to his Majesties Commissioners: seven questions what hath hindered *Virginia*, and the remedie, pag. 165 [*p.* 615].

How those noble Gentlemen spent neere two yeares in perusing all letters [that] came from thence; and the differences betwixt many factions, both here and there, with their

[1622–5] complaints; especially about the Sallerie, which should have beene a new office in *London*, for the well ordering [of] the sale of *Tobacco*, that 2500. pounds should yearely have beene raised out of it, to pay foure or five hundred pounds yearly to the Governor of that Companie; two or three hundred to his Deputie; the rest into stipends of thirtie or fiftie pounds yearely for their Clerks and under Officers which were never there, pag. 153 [*pp.* 590, 591], but but not one hundred pounds for all them in *Virginia*, or any thing for the most part of the Adventurers in *England*, except the undertakers for the Lotteries, Setters out of ships, Adventurers of commodities, also their Factors and many other Officers, there imployed only by friendship to raise their fortunes out of the labours of the true industrious planters by the title of their office, who [42] under the colour of sinceritie, did pillage and deceive all the rest most cunningly. For more than 150000. pounds have beene spent out of the common stocke, besides many thousands have beene there consumed, and neere 7000. people that there died, only for want of good order and government: otherwise long ere this there would have beene more than 20000. people; where after twentie yeeres spent onely in complement, and trying new conclusions, was remaining scarce 1500. with some few cattell.

Then the Company dissolved, but no account of any thing; so that his Majestie appointed Commissioners to oversee, and give order for their proceedings.

Being thus in a manner left to themselves, since then within these foure yeeres [1625–1629], you shall see how wonderfully they have increased beyond expectation: but so exactly as I desired, I cannot relate unto you. For although I have tired my selfe in seeking and discoursing with those returned thence, more than would a voyage to *Virginia*; few can tell me any thing, but of that place or places they have inhabited: and he is a great traveller that hath gone up and downe the river of *James* Towne, been at *Pamaunke, Smiths* Isles, or *Accomack*; wherein for the most part they keepe one tune of their now particular abundance, and their former wants, having beene there, some sixteene yeeres, some twelve, some six, some neere twentie,

&c. But of their generall estate, or any thing of worth, the most of them doth know verie little to any purpose. [1627]

Their estate.

Now the most I could understand in generall, was from the relation of Master *Nathaniel Cawsey*, that lived there with mee [*pp.* 410, 575], and returned *Anno Dom.* 1627.; and [of] some others [who] affirme: 1627.

Sir *George Yerley* was Governour, Captaine *Francis West*, Doctor *Iohn Poot*, Captaine *Roger Smith*, Captaine *Matthewes*, Captaine *Tucker*, Master *Clabourne* and Master *Farrer* of the Councell: their habitations many. The Governour, with two or three of the Councell, are for most part at *Iames* Towne; the rest repaire thither as there is occasion: but everie three moneths they have a generall meeting, to consider of their publike affaires.

Their numbers.

Their numbers then [1627] were about 1500. some say rather 2000. divided into seventeene or eighteene severall Plantations; the greatest part thereof towards the falls, are so inclosed with Pallizadoes they regard not the Salvages: and amongst those Plantations above *Iames* Towne, they have now found meanes to take plentie of fish, as well with lines as nets, and where the waters are the largest; having meanes, they need not want. [*p.* 927.]

Their condition with the Salvages.

Upon this River they seldome see any Salvages; but in the woods, many times their fires: yet some few there are, that upon their opportunitie have slaine some few stragglers, which have beene revenged with the death of so many of themselves; but no other attempt hath beene made upon them this two or three yeares [1624–7].

Their increase of Cattle and Poultrie.

Their Cattle, namely Oxen, Kine, Buls, they imagine to be about 2000. Goats great store and great increase; the wilde Hogs, which were infinite, are destroyed and eaten by the Salvages: but no family is so poore, that hath not tame Swine sufficient; and for Poultrie, he is a verie [**43**] bad husband [that] breedeth not an hundred in a yeere, and the richer sort doth daily feed on them.

Plenty of Corne.

For bread they have plentie, and so good, that those that make it well, better cannot be: divers have much English corne, especially Master *Abraham Perce*, which prepared this yeere [1627] to sow two hundred acres of English wheat, and as much with barley; feeding daily about the number of sixtie persons at his owne charges.

[1627-9] For drinke, some malt the Indian corne, others barley; of which they make good Ale, both strong and small, and such plentie thereof, few of the upper Planters drinke any water: but the better sort are well furnished with Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and good English Beere.

Their drinke.

Their servants diet.

Their servants commonly feed upon Milke Homini, which is bruized Indian corne pounded, and boiled thicke, and milke for the sauce; but boiled with milke the best of all will oft feed on it, and leave their flesh: with milke, butter and cheese; with fish, Bulls flesh, for they seldome kill any other; &c.

And everie one is so applyed to his labour about Tobacco and Corne, which doth yeeld them such profit, they never regard any food from the Salvages; nor have they any trade or conference with them, but upon meere accidents and defiances: and now the Merchants have left it, there have gone so many voluntarie ships within this two yeeres [1625-7], as have furnished them with Apparell, Sacke, *Aquavitæ*, and all necessaries, much better than ever before.

Their Armes and exercise.

For Armes, there is scarce any man but he is furnished with a Peece, a Jacke, a Coat of Maile, a Sword, or Rapier; and euerie Holy-day, everie Plantation doth exercise their men in Armes, by which meanes, [and] hunting and fowling, the most part of them are most excellent markmen.

Their health and discoveries.

For Discoveries they have made none; nor [to] any other commoditie than Tobacco doe they apply themselves unto, though never any was planted at first. And whereas the Countrey was heretofore held most intemperate and contagious by many: now they have houses, lodgings and victuall, and the Sunne hath power to exhale up the moyst vapours of the earth, where they have cut downe the wood, which before it could not, being covered with spreading tops of high trees; they finde it much more healthfull than before; nor for their numbers, few Countreyes are lesse troubled with death, sicknesse, or any other disease, nor where overgrowne women become more fruitfull.

The present estate of *Virginia*, 1629.

Since this, Sir *George Yerley* died 1628. Captaine *West* succeeded him; but about a yeere after returned for *England* [*in* 1629]: Now Doctor *Poot* is Governour, and the rest of the Councell as before.

Iames Towne is yet their chiefe seat, most of the wood destroyed, little corne there planted, but all converted into pasture and gardens; wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in *England* in abundance, and as good grasse as can be. Here most of their Cattle doe feed, their Owners being most some one way, some another, about their plantations; and returne againe when they please, or any shipping comes into trade. Here in winter they have hay for their Cattell: but in other places they browze upon wood, and the great huskes of their corne, with some corne in [**44**] them, doth keepe them well. [1629]

Master *Hutchins* saith, they have 2000 Cattle, and about 5000. people; but Master *Floud*, *John Davis*, *William Emerson*, and divers others, say, about five thousand people, and five thousand kine, calves, oxen, and bulls; for goats, hogs, and poultry; corne, fish, deere, and many sorts of other wilde beasts; and fowle in their season, they have so much more than they spend, they are able to feed three or foure hundred men more than they have; and doe oft much releeve many ships, both there, and for their returne; and this last yeare [1628] was there at least two or three and twenty saile.

Master *Hutchins*.

Five thousand people.

Five thousand cattell.

Goats, Hogs, and Poultry, infinite.

They have oft much salt fish from *New England*; but fresh fish enough, when they will take it; Peaches in abundance at *Kecoughtan*. Apples, Peares, Apricocks, Vines, figges, and other fruits some have planted, that prospered exceedingly; but their diligence about Tobacco left them to be spoiled by the cattell; yet now they beginne to revive.

Mistresse *Pearce*, an honest industrious woman, hath beene there neere twentie yeares [1610–1629], and now returned saith, shee hath a Garden at *Iames* towne, containing three or foure acres; where in one yeare shee hath gathered neere an hundred bushels of excellent figges: and that of her owne provision she can keepe a better house in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3. or 400. pounds a yeare; yet went thither with little or nothing.

Good Hospitality.

They have some tame geese, ducks, and turkies. The masters now do so traine up their servants and youth in shooting deere, and fowle, that the youths will kill them as well as their Masters. They have two brew-houses, but they

[1629] finde the *Indian* corne so much better than ours, they beginne to leave sowing it [*i.e.*, *wheat*].

Their Cities and Townes are onely scattered houses, they call plantations, as are our Country Villages, but no Ordnance mounted.

The Forts Captaine *Smith* left a building, [are] so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were.

No discoveries of any thing more than the curing of Tobacco, by which hitherto, being so present a commodity of gaine, it hath brought them to this abundance; but that they are so disjoynted, and every one commander of himselfe, to plant what he will.

Commodities worth making, Blacke Walnut, Ash for Pikes, Oke for planks, knees for Ships, Cipresse for Chests, &c.

They are now so well provided that they are able to subsist; and if they would joine together now to worke upon Sope-ashes, Iron, Rape-oile, Mader, Pitch and Tarre, Flax and Hempe; as for their Tobacco; there comes from many places such abundance, and the charge so great, it is not worth the bringing home.

There is gone, and now a going, divers Ships, as Captaine *Perse*, Captaine *Prine*, and Sir *John Harvy* to be their governour, with two or three hundred people: there is also some from *Bristow*, and other parts of the West Country a preparing: which I heartily pray to God to blesse, and send them a happy and prosperous voyage.

Nathaniel Causie, Master *Hutchins*, Master *Floud*, *Iohn Davis*, *William Emerson*, Master *William Barnet*, Master *Cooper*, and others. [45]

CHAPTER XXII.

The proceedings and present estate of the Summer Iles, *from* An. Dom. 1624 *to this present* 1629.

FRom the *Summer Iles*, Master *Ireland*, and divers others report, their Forts, Ordnance, and proceedings, are much as they were in the yeare 1622. as you may read in the generall History, page 199 [*p.* 686]. Captaine *Woodhouse* [is] governour. There are few sorts of any fruits in the *West Indies*, but they grow there in abundance; yet the fertility of the soile in many places decayeth, being planted every yeare. For their Plantaines, which is a most delicate fruit, they have lately found a way by pickling or drying them, to bring them over into *England*, there being no such fruit in *Europe*, and wonderfull for increase. For fish, flesh, figs, wine, and all sorts of most excellent hearbs, fruits, and rootes they have in abundance. [1622-9]

In this Governours time, a kinde of *Whale*, or rather a *Iubarta*, was driven on shore in *Southampton* tribe from the west, over an infinite number of rocks, so bruised, that the water in the Bay where she lay, was all oily, and the rocks about it all bedasht with Parmacitty, congealed like ice: a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any byle, hurt, or bruise; some burnt it in their lamps, which blowing out, the very snuffe will burne, so long as there is any of the oile remaining, for two or three dayes together.

The next Governour, was Captaine *Philip Bell*, whose

[1629] time being expired, Captaine *Roger Wood* possessed his place, a worthy Gentleman of good desert, and hath lived a long time in the Country.

The present estate of the *Summer Isles.* 1629.

Their numbers are about two or three thousand, men, women, and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint, is want of apparell, and too much custome [*import duties*], and too many officers; the pity is, there are more men than women, yet no great mischiefe, because there is so much lesse pride; the cattell they have increase exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the Merchants here, and Planters there; to be briefe, this isle is an excellent bit, to rule a great horse.

[*pp.* 629, 630.] All the Cohow birds and Egbirds are gone; seldome any wilde cats seene; no Rats to speake of; but the wormes are yet very troublesome; the people very healthfull; and the Ravens gone; fish enough but not so neere the shore as it used, by the much beating [of] it. It is an Ile that hath such a rampire and a ditch, and for the quantity so manned, victualled, and fortified, as few in the world doe exceed it, or is like it.

An evill mischance.

The 22. of March[1629], two ships came from thence; the *Peter Bonaventure*, neere two hundred tunnes, and sixteene peeces of Ordnance; the Captaine, *Thomas Sherwin*; the Master, Master *Edward Some*, like him in condition, a goodly, lusty, proper, valiant man: the *Lydia*, wherein was Master *Anthony Thorne*, a smaller ship. [They] were chased by eleuen ships of *Dunkerk*; being thus overmatched, Captaine *Sherwin* was taken by them in *Turbay*, only his valiant Master was slaine. The ship with about seventy *English* men, they carried betwixt *Dover* and *Callis*, to *Dunkerk*; but the *Lydia* safely recovered *Dartmouth*.

These noble adventurers for all those losses, patiently doe beare them; but they hope the King and state will understand it is worth keeping, though it afford nothing but Tobacco, and that now worth little or nothing, custome and fraught payed: yet it is worth keeping, and not supplanting; though great men feele not those losses, yet Gardiners, Carpenters, and Smiths doe pay for it.

From the relation of *Robert Chesteven*, and others.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The proceedings and present estate of New England, *since* 1624. *to this present* 1629.

WHen I went first [1614] to the North part of *Virginia*, where the Westerly Colony had beene planted, it had dissolved it selfe within a yeare [1606–7], and there was not one *Christian* in all the land. [1606-14]

I was set forth at the sole charge of foure Merchants of *London*; the Country being then reputed by your westerlings, a most rockie, barren, desolate desart; but the good returne I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the Country, which I made so manifest, some of them did beleeve me; and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings: for whom I had promised to undertake it, thinking to have joined them all together; but that might well have beene a worke for *Hercules*. [*pp.* 187, 240, 256, 697, 936.]

Betwixt them long there was much contention; the Londoners indeed went bravely forward; but in three or foure yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the *Plimothians*; who only fed me with delayes, promises, and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose. Considerations about the losse of time.

In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true; and that I had not taken that I brought home from the *French* men, as had beene reported: yet further for my paines to discredit me, and my calling it *New England*, they obscured it, and shadowed it, with the title of *Canada*; till at my humble suit, it

[1614] pleased our most Royall King *Charles*, whom God long keepe, blesse, and preserve, then Prince of *Wales*, to confirme it with my map and booke, by the title of *New England*.

The gaine thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty saile went yearly only to trade and fish; but nothing would bee done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownists of *England*, *Amsterdam*, and *Leyden*, went to *New Plimouth*, whose humorous ignorances caused them, for more than a yeare [1620–1621], to endure a wonderfull deale of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe: many other have used the [**47**] like good husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their selfe-willed conclusions.

The effect of niggardlinesse.

[*pp.* 941, 943.]

But those [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] in time doing well, divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves; but most vanished to nothing.

[*p.* 947.] Notwithstanding, the fishing ships made such good returnes, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattenties, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares; but money not comming in as they expected, [they] procured a Proclamation, none should goe thither without their licences to fish; but for every thirty tunnes of shipping, to pay them five pounds: besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut downe wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction; though all the Country is nothing but wood, and none to make use of it. With many such other pretences, for to make this Country plant it selfe, by its owne wealth: hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would goe; so that the Pattenties, who never one of them had beene there, seeing those projects would not prevaile, have since not hindred any to goe that would, [so] that within these few last yeares, more have gone thither than ever.

A new plantation. 1629.

Now this yeare 1629. a great company of people of good ranke, zeale, meanes, and quality, have made a great stocke, and with six good ships in the moneths of Aprill and May [1629], they set saile from *Thames*, for the Bay of the *Massachusetts*, otherwise called *Charles* River; viz. the

George Bonaventure, of twenty peeces of Ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteene, the *Lions-whelpe* eight, the *May-flower* fourteene, the *Foure Sisters*, foureteene, the *Pilgrim* foure, with three hundred and fifty, men, women, and children; also an hundred and fifteene head of Cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beast; one and forty goats, some Conies, with all provision for houshold, and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corselets, Drums, Colours, with all provisions necessary for a plantation, for the good of man. [1629]

Other particulars I understand of no more, than is writ in the generall historie of those Countries.

But you are to understand, that the noble Lord chiefe Justice *Popham*, Judge *Doderege*; the Right Honourable Earles of *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Salesbury*, and the rest, as I take it, they did all thinke, as I and them [that] went with me did: [p. 932.]

That had those two Countries beene planted, as it was intended, that no other nation should come plant betwixt us. If ever the King of *Spaine* and we should fall foule, those Countries being so capable of all materialls for shipping, by this [they] might have beene owners of a good Fleet of ships, and to have releeved a whole Navy from *England* upon occasion; yea, and to have furnished *England* with the most Easterly [*i.e.*, *Baltic*] commodities: and now since, seeing how conveniently the *Summer Iles* fell to our shares, so neere the *West Indies*, wee might with much more facility than the *Dutchmen* have invaded the *West Indies*; that doth now put in practice, what so long hath beene advised on, by many an honest *English* States-man.

Notes of inconveniencie.

Those Countries Captaine *Smith* oft times used to call his children that never had mother; and well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for so little content; and for those that would truly understand, how [**48**] many strange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. Had his designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, though few doth con- [p. 770] [p. 945.]

[1629] ceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new Invention to passe to the South Sea; or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery: or some portable Countrie; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Carocks in the *East Indies*; or Letters of Mart to rob some poore Merchants; what multitudes of both people and mony, would contend to be first imployed: but in those noble endevours (now) how few of quality, unlesse it be to beg some Monopolie; and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods; as you may reade at large in his generall history, page 217, 218, 219. [*pp.* 722–727] his generall observations and reasons for this plantation.

For yet those Countries are not so forward but they may become as miserable as ever, if better courses be not taken than is; as this *Smith* will plainly demonstrate to his Majesty; or any other noble person of ability, liable generously to undertake it: how within a short time to make *Virginia* able to resist any enemy, that as yet lieth open to all; and yeeld the King more custome within these few yeares, in certaine staple commodities, than ever it did in Tobacco; which now not being worth bringing home, the custome will bee as uncertaine to the King, as dangerous to the plantations.

CHAPTER XXIIII.

A briefe discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly Countrey of Guiana, *and the great River of the* Amazons; *relating also the present Plantation there.*

IT is not unknowen how that most industrious and honourable Knight Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, in the yeare of our Lord 1595. taking the Ile of *Trinidado*, fell with the Coast of *Guiana* Northward of the Line ten degrees, and coasted the Coast; and searched up the River *Oranoca*; where understanding that twentie severall voyages had beene made by the *Spanyards*, in discovering this Coast and River; to finde a passage to the great Citie of *Mano*[*a*], called by them the *Eldorado*, or the Golden Citie: he did his utmost to have found some better satisfaction than relations. [1595–1610]

Sparrow left to seeke the great Citie of *Mano*[*a*].

But meanes failing him, hee left his trustie servant *Francis Sparrow* to seeke it, who wandring up and downe those Countreyes, some foureteene or fifteene yeares [1595–1610] unexpectedly returned. I [*i.e.*, *Smith*] have heard him [*Sparrow*] say [*in* 1611], he was led blinded into this Citie by *Indians*; but little discourse of any purpose touching the largenesse of the report of it; his body seeming as a man of an uncurable consumption, [he] shortly dyed hereafter in *England*.

There are above thirtie faire rivers that fall into the

[1605-17] Sea, betweene the River of *Amazons* and *Oranoca*, which are some nine degrees asunder. [**49**]

Captaine *Charle Ley.* In the yeare 1605. Captaine *Ley*, brother to that noble Knight Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himselfe in the River *Weapoco*, wherein I should have beene a partie; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried: and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Sir *Thomas Roe.* Sir *Thomas Roe*, well knowen to be a most noble Gentlemen, before he went Lord Ambassadour to the Great *Magoll*, or the Great *Turke*, spent a yeare or two upon this Coast, and about the River of the *Amazones*; wherein he

Captain *Morton.* most imployed Captaine *Matthew Morton* [*pp.* 5, 91], an expert Sea-man in the discoverie of this famous River: a Gentleman that was the first shot and mortally supposed wounded to death with me in *Virginia*, yet since hath beene

Captaine *White.* twice with command in the *East Indies*. Also Captaine *William White*, and divers others worthy and industrious Gentlemen, both before and since, hath spent much time and charge to discover it more perfitly; but nothing more effected for a Plantation, till it was undertaken by Captaine *Robert Harcote*, 1609.

Captain *Harcote.* This worthy Gentleman, after he had by Commission made a discoverie to his minde, left his brother *Michael Harcote*, with some fiftie or sixtie men in the River *Weapoco*, and so presently returned to *England*, where he obtained by the favour of Prince *Henrie*, a large Patent for all that Coast called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazones*, to him and his heires: but so many troubles here surprized him, though he did his best to supply them, he was not able; only some few hee sent over as passengers with certaine *Dutch-men*, but to small purpose.

Thus this businesse lay dead for divers yeeres, till Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, accompanied with many valiant Souldiers and brave Gentlemen, went his last voyage to *Guiana* [1617], amongst the which was Captaine *Roger North*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Dudley North*, who upon this voyage having stayed and seene divers Rivers upon this Coast, tooke such a liking to those Countreyes: having had before this voyage more perfect and particular information of the excellencie of the great River of the *Amazones* above any of the rest, by certaine *Englishmen*

returned so rich from thence in good commodities, they would not goe with Sir *Walter Rauleigh* in search of gold; that after his returne for *England*, he endevoured by his best abilities to interest his Countrey and state in those faire Regions, which by the way of Letters Patents unto divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of qualitie, erected into a company and perpetuitie for trade and plantation, not knowing of the Interest of Captaine *Harcote*. [1617-26]

Whereupon accompanied with 120. Gentlemen and others, with a ship, a pinnace, and two shallops, to remaine in the Countrey, hee set saile from *Plimouth* the last of April 1620; and within seven weekes after hee arrived well in the *Amazones*, only with the losse of one old man: some hundred leagues they ran up the River to settle his men, where the sight of the Countrey and people so contented them, that never men thought themselves more happie. Some *English* and *Irish* that had lived there some eight yeeres [1612–1620], only supplyed by the *Dutch*; hee reduced [*joined*] to his company and to leave the *Dutch*. Captaine *Roger North*.

Having made a good voyage, to the value of more than the charge, he returned to *England* with divers good [**50**] commodities, besides Tobacco.

So that it may well be conceived, that if this action had not beene thus crossed, the Generalitie of *England* had by this time beene wonne and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come, that God would have this great businesse effected, by reason of the great power the Lord *Gundamore*, Ambassadour for the King of *Spaine*, had in *England*, to crosse and ruine those proceedings: and so unfortunate Captaine *North* was in this businesse, hee was twice committed prisoner to the Tower, and the goods detained till they were spoiled; who beyond all others was by much the greatest Adventurer and Loser.

Notwithstanding all this, those that he had left in the *Amazons* would not abandon the Countrey. Captaine *Thomas Painton*, a worthy Gentleman, his Lieutenant, [being] dead: Captaine *Charles Parker*, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Morley*, lived there six yeares after; Master *Iohn Christmas*, five yeares; so well, they would not returne, although they might, with divers other Gentlemen of qualitie and others: all thus destitute of any *Nota bene.*

[1626-9] supplyes from *England*. But all authoritie being dissolved, want of government did more wrong their proceedings, than all other crosses whatsoever. Some releefe they had sometime from the *Dutch*; who knowing their estates, gave what they pleased and tooke what they list.

Two brothers, Gentlemen, *Thomas* and *William Hixon*, who stayed three yeares there, are now gone to stay in the *Amazons*, in the ships lately sent thither.

[*p.* 900.] The businesse thus remaining in this sort, three private men left of that Company, named Master *Thomas Warriner*, *Iohn Rhodes*, and *Robert Bims*, having lived there about two yeares, came for *England*: and to be free from the disorders that did grow in the *Amazons* for want of Government amongst their Countrey-men, and to be quiet amongst themselves, made meanes to set themselves out for St. *Christophers*; their whole number being but fifteene persons, that payed for their passage in a ship going for *Virginia*: where they remained a yeare [28 *Jan.* 1623 *to* 18 *Mar.* 1624, *see p.* 900] before they were supplyed, and then that was but foure or five men.

Thus this Ile, by this small beginning, having no interruption by their owne Countrey, hath now got the start of the Continent and maine Land of *Guiana*, which hath beene layd apart and let alone untill that Captaine *North*, ever watching his best opportunitie and advantage of time in the state, hath now againe pursued and set on foot his former designe. Captaine *Harcote* being now willing to surrender his grant, and to joyne with Captaine *North* in passing a new Patent, and to erect a company for trade and plantation in the *Amazons*, and all the Coast and Countrey of *Guiana* for ever.

Whereupon they have sent this present yeare in Ianuarie [1629], and since 1628. foure ships with neere two hundred persons; [of] the first ship with 112 men, not one miscarried; the rest went since, [and are] not yet heard of, and [that] are preparing another with their best expedition. And since Ianuarie [1629] is gone from *Holland*, 100. *English* and *Irish*, conducted by the old Planters.

This great River lieth under the Line, the two chiefe

head lands North and South, are about three degrees asunder, the mouth of it is [51] so full of many great and small Iles, it is an easie matter for an unexperienced Pilot to lose his way. It is held one of the greatest rivers in *America*, and as most men thinke, in the world: and commeth downe with such a fresh, it maketh the Sea fresh more than thirtie miles from the shore. [1628-9]

Captaine *North* having seated his men about an hundred leagues in the Maine, sent Captaine *William White*, with thirtie Gentlemen and others, in a pinnace of thirtie tun, to discover further: which they did some two hundred leagues, where they found the River to divide it selfe in two parts, till then all full of Ilands, and a Countrey most healthfull, pleasant and fruitful; for they found food enough, and all returned safe and in good health.

In this discoverie, they saw many Townes well inhabited, some with three hundred people, some with five, six, or seven hundred; and of some they understood to be of so many thousands, most differing verie much, especially in their languages: whereof they suppose by those *Indians* they understand, are many hundreds more, unfrequented till then by any *Christian*; most of them starke naked, both men, women and children, but they saw not any such giant-like women as the Rivers name importeth.

But for those where Captaine *North* hath seated his company, it is not knowen where *Indians* were ever so kinde to any Nation; not sparing any paines, danger or labour, to feed and maintaine them. The *English* following their buildings, fortifications and sugar-workes; for which they have sent most expert men, and with them all things necessarie for that purpose: to effect which, they want not the helpe of those kinde *Indians* to produce; and many other good commodities, which (God willing) will ere long make plaine and apparent to this Kingdome, and all the Adventurers and Well-willers to this Plantation, to bee well worthy the cherishing and following with all alacritie.

1623.

CHAPTER XXV.

The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St. Christopher *by Captaine* Warner.

[1623-4] MAster *Ralfe Merifield* and others, having furnished this worthy industrious Gentleman, hee arrived at St. *Christophers*, as is said, with fifteene men, the 28. of Ianuarie, 1623. viz. *William Tested*, *Iohn Rhodes*, *Robert Bims*, Master *Benifield*, Sergeant *Iones*, Master *Ware*, *William Royle*, *Rowland Grascocke*, Master *Bond*, Master *Langley*, Master *Weaver*, *Edward Warner* their Captaines sonne (and now Deputy-Governour till his fathers returne), Sergeant *Aplon*, one Sailor and a Cooke.

At their arrivall they found three *French-men*, who sought to oppose Captaine *Warner*, and to set the *Indians* upon us; but at last we all became friends, and lived with the *Indians* a moneth. Then we built a Fort, and a house: and planting fruits, by September [1623] we made a crop of Tobacco; but upon the nineteenth of September came a *Hericano* and blew it away: all this while wee lived upon Cassada bread, Potatoes, Plantines, Pines, [**52**] Turtels, Guanes [*lizards*, *p.* 904], and fish plentie; for drinke wee had *Nicnobbie*.

A *Hericano.*

1624. The 18. of March 1624. arrived Captaine *Jefferson* with three men passengers in the *Hope-well* of *London*, with some trade for the Indians, and then we had another crop of Tobacco. In the meane time the *French* had planted themselves in the other end of the Ile; with this

crop Captaine *Warner* returned for *England* in September, [1625-7]
1625.

In his absence came in a French pinnace, under the 1625.
command of *Monsieur de Nombe*, that told us the *Indians* had slaine some *French-men* in other of the *Charybes* Iles, and that there were six Peryagoes, which are huge great trees formed as your Canowes, but so laid out on the sides with boords, they will seeme like a little Gally.

Six of those, with about foure or five hundred strange *Indians*, came unto us. We bade them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the *French* joyned together, and upon the fifth of November [1625] set upon them, and put them to flight. Their fight with the *Indians*.

Upon New-yeares Even [31 *Dec.* 1625] they came againe, found three *English* going about the Ile, whom they slue.

Untill the fourth of August [1626], we stood upon our 1626.
guard, living upon the spoile and did nothing.

But now Captaine *Warner* arriving againe with neere an hundred people, then we fell to worke and planting as before; but upon the fourth of September, came such a Hericano, as blewe downe all our houses, Tobacco, and two Drums into the aire we know not whither, [and] drove two ships on shore that were both split. A Hericano.

All our provision thus lost, we were very miserable, living onely on what we could get in the wilde woods. We made a small party of *French* and *English* to goe aboord for provision: but in their returning home, eight *French* men were slaine in the harbour. Eight French slaine.

Thus wee continued till neere Iune that the *Tortels* 1627.
came in, 1627.: but the *French* being like[ly] to starve, sought to surprize us, and all the Cassado, Potato[e]s, and Tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them.

The 26. of October [1627], came in Captaine *William Smith*, in the *Hopewell*, with some Ordnance, shot and powder, from the Earle of *Carlile*; with Captaine *Pelham* and thirty men. About that time also came the *Plow*; also a small ship of *Bristow*, with Captaine *Warners* wife, and six or seven women more.

Vpon the 25. of November [1627], the *Indians* set upon the *French*, for some injury about their women; and slew six and twentie *French* men, five *English*, and three *Indians*. Three *Indians* slaine.

[1627-9] Their weapons are bowes and arrowes; their bowes are never bent, but the string lies flat to the bow; their arrowes [are] a small reed, foure or five foot long, headed some with the poysoned sting of the taile of a Stingray, some with iron, some with wood, but all so poysoned, that if they draw but bloud, the hurt is incurable.

The arrivall of many English ships.

The next day [26 *Nov.* 1627] came in Captaine *Charles Saltonstall*, a young Gentleman, son of Sir *Samuell Saltonstall*, who brought with him good store of all commodities to releeve the plantation; but by reason some *Hollanders*, and others, had bin there lately before him, who carried away with them all the Tobacco, he was forced to put away all his commodities upon trust till the next crop; in the meane time hee resolved there to stay, and imploy himselfe and his company in planting Tobacco, hoping [**53**] thereby to make a voyage. But before he could be ready to returne for *England*, a *Hericano* hapning, his ship was split, to his great losse, being sole Merchant and owner himselfe, notwithstanding forced to pay to the Governour, the fift part of his Tobacco, and for fraught to *England*, three pence a pound, and nine pence a pound custome, which amounts together to more than threescore pound in the hundred pound, to the great discouragement of him and many others, that intended well to those plantations.

Neverthelesse he is gone againe this present yeare 1629. with a ship of about three hundred tunnes, and very neere two hundred people, with Sir *William Tuffton* Governour for the *Barbados*, and divers gentlemen, and all manner of commodities fit for a plantation.

Captaine *Prinne*, Captaine *Stone*, and divers others, came in about *Christmas* [1628]; so that this last yeare [1628] there hath beene about thirtie saile of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* ships; and all the *Indians* [are] forced out of the Ile: for they had done much mischiefe amongst the *French*, in cutting their throats, burning their houses, and spoyling their Tobacco. Amongst the rest *Tegramund*, a little childe the Kings sonne, his parents being slaine or fled, was by great chance saved, and carefully brought to *England* by Master *Merifield*, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his owne children.

[1629]

It lyeth seventeene degrees Northward of the line, about an hundred and twenty leagues from the *Cape de tres Puntas*, the neerest maine land in *America*. It is about eight leagues in length, and foure in bredth; an Iland amongst 100. Iles in the *West Indies*, called the *Caribes*, where ordinarily all them that frequent the *West Indies*, refresh themselves. Those most of them are rocky, little, and mountainous, yet frequented with the *Canibals*; many of them inhabited, as Saint *Domingo*, Saint *Mattalin*, Saint *Lucia*, Saint *Vincent*, *Granada* and *Margarita*, to the Southward; Northward, none but Saint *Christophers*, and it but lately: yet they will be ranging *Marigalanta*, *Guardalupo*, *Deceado*, *Monserat*, *Antigua*, *Mevis*, *Bernardo*, Saint *Martin*, Saint *Bartholomew*. But the worst of the foure Iles possessed by the *Spanyard*, as *Portorico*, or *Iam*[*a*]*ica*, is better than them all; as for *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, they are worthy the title of two rich Kingdomes: the rest [are] not respected by the *Spanyards*, for want of harbors; and their better choice of good land, and profit in the maine [*Mainland*]. The description of the Ile.

But Captaine *Warner*, having beene very familiar with Captain *Painton* in the *Amazon*, hearing his information of this St. *Christophers*; and having made a yeares tryall, as it is said, returned for *England*, joyning with Master *Merifield*, and his friends, got Letters Pattents, from King *Iames*, to plant and possesse it.

Since then, the Right Honourable the Earle of *Carlile*, hath got Letters Pattents also, not only of that, but all the *Caribes* Iles about it, who is now chiefe Lord of them, and the *English* his tenants, that doe possesse them; over whom he appointeth such Governours and Officers, as their affaires require; and although there be a great custome imposed upon them, considering their other charges, both to feed and maintaine themselves; yet there is there, and now a going, neere upon the number of three thousand people: where by reason of the rockinesse and thicknesse of the woods in the Ile, it is [**54**] difficult to passe, and such a snuffe [*breakers*] of the Sea goeth on the shore, ten may better defend than fifty assault. In this Ile are many springs, but yet water is scarce againe in many places; the valleyes and sides of the hills very fertile, but the The springs, temper, and seasons.

[1629] mountaines harsh, and of a sulphurous composition; all overgrowne with *Palmetas*, *Cotten* trees, *Lignum vitæ*, and divers other sorts, but none like any in *Christendome*, except those carried thither. The aire [is] very pleasant and healthfull, but exceeding hot, yet so tempered with coole breaths, it seemes very temperate to them that are a little used to it; the trees being alwaies greene, the daies and nights alwayes very neere equall in length, alwayes Summer; only they have in their seasons great gusts and raines, and sometimes a Hericano, which is an overgrowne and a most violent storme.

A strange hatching of egges for beasts.

In some of those Iles, are cattell, goats, and hogges, but here none but what they must carry; *Gwanes* they have, which is a little harmlesse beast, like a *Crokadell*, or *Aligator*, very fat and good meat. She layes egges in the sand, as doth the land Crabs, which live here in abundance, like Conies in Boroughs, unlesse about May, when they come downe to the Sea side, to lay in the sand, as the other; and all their egges are hatched by the heat of the Sunne.

Fish.

From May to September they have good store of *Tortasses*, that come out of the Sea to lay their egges in the sand, and are hatched as the other; they will lay halfe a pecke at a time, and neere a bushell ere they have done; and are round like Tenis-balls: this fish is like veale in taste, the fat of a brownish colour very good and wholsome. We seeke them in the nights, where we finde them on shore, we turne them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home. For they can never returne themselves, being so hard a cart may goe over them; and so bigge, one will suffice forty or fifty men to dinner. Divers sorts of other fish they have in abundance, and *Prawnes* most great and excellent, but none will keepe sweet scarce twelve houres.

Birds.

The best and greatest is a *Passer Flaminga*, which walking at her length is as tall as a man; *Pigeons* and *Turtle Doves* in abundance; some *Parrots*, wilde *Hawkes*, but divers other sorts of good Sea fowle, whose names we know not.

Roots.

Cassado is a root planted in the ground, of a wonderfull increase, and will make very good white bread: but the

juyce ranke poyson, yet boyled, better than wine; *Potatos*, *Cabbages*, and *Radish* plenty. [1629]

Mayes, like the *Virginia* wheat; we have Pine-apples, neere so bigge as an Hartichocke, but the most daintiest taste of any fruit; *Plantains*, an excellent, and a most increasing fruit; Apples, Prickell Peares, and Pease but differing all from ours. There is Pepper that groweth in a little red huske, as bigge as a Walnut, about foure inches in length, but the long cods are small, and much stronger, and better for use, than that from the *East Indies*.

There is two sorts of Cotten, the silke Cotten as in the *East Indies*, groweth upon a small stalke, as good for beds as downe; the other upon a shrub, and beareth a cod bigger than a Walnut, full of Cotten wooll. Anotto also groweth upon a shrub, with a cod like the other, and nine or ten on a bunch, full of Anotto, very [**55**] good for Dyers, though wilde. Sugar Canes, not tame, 4. or 5. foot high; also Masticke, and Locus trees; great and hard timber, Gourds, Muske Melons, Water Melons, Lettice, Parsly; all places naturally beare purslaine of it selfe; Sope-berries like a Musket-bullet, that washeth as white as Sope; in the middle of the root is a thing like a sedge, a very good fruit, we call Pengromes. A Pappaw is as great as an apple, coloured like an Orange, and good to eat. A small hard nut, like a hazell nut, growes close to the ground, and like this growes on the Palmetas, which we call a Mucca nut. Mustard-seed will grow to a great tree, but beares no seed, yet the leaves will make good mustard, The Mancinell tree the fruit is poyson; good figs in abundance: but the Palmeta serveth to build Forts and houses, the leaves to cover them, and many other uses; the juyce we draw from them (till we sucke them to death) is held restorative: and the top for meat doth serve us as Cabbage.

But oft we want poudered [*salted*] Beefe, and Bacon, and many other needfull necessaries.

By *Thomas Simons*, *Rowland Grascocke*, *Nicholas Burgh*, and others.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The first planting of the Barbados.

[1627] THe *Barbados* lies South-west and by South, an hundred leagues from Saint *Christophers*, threescore leagues West and South from *Trinidado*, and some fourescore leagues from *Cape de Salinos*, the next part of the maine.

The first planters brought thither by Captaine *Henry Powel*, were forty *English* with seven or eight *Negros*: then he went to *Disacuba* in the maine, where he got thirty *Indians*, men, women, and children, of the *Arawacos*, enemies both to the *Caribes*, and the *Spaniards*.

A description of the Ile.

The Ile is most like a triangle, each side forty or fifty miles square; some exceeding great rocks, but the most part exceeding good ground; abounding with an infinite number of Swine, some Turtles, and many sorts of excellent fish; many great ponds wherein is Ducke and Mallard; excellent clay for pots, wood and stone for building, and a spring neere the middest of the Ile, of Bitume: which is a liquid mixture like Tarre, that by the great raines falls from the tops of the mountaines; it floats upon the water in such abundance, that drying up, it remaines like great rocks of pitch, and as good as pitch for any use.

Fruits and trees.

The Mancinell apple, is of a most pleasant sweet smell, of the bignesse of a Crab, but ranke poyson, yet the Swine and Birds have wit to shun it; great store of exceeding great Locus trees, two or three fadome about, of a great

height, that beareth a cod full of meale, [that] will make bread in time of necessity. A tree like a Pine, beareth a fruit so great as a Muske Melon, which hath alwayes ripe fruit, flowers, or greene fruit, which will refresh two or three men, and very comfortable; Plumb trees [**56**] many, the fruit great and yellow, which but strained into water in foure and twenty houres will be very good drinke; wilde figge trees there are many. All those fruits doe fat the hogges; yet at some times of the yeare they are so leane, as carrion; Gwane trees beare a fruit so bigge as a Peare, good and wholsome; Palmetaes of three severall sorts; Papawes, Prickle Peares good to eat or make drinke; Cedar trees very tall and great; Fusticke trees are very great and the wood yellow, good for dying; sope berries, the kernell so bigge as a sloe, and good to eat; Pumpeons in abundance; Goads [*gourds*] so great as will make good great bottles, and, cut in two peeces, good dishes and platters; many small brooks of very good water; Ginni wheat, Cassado, Pines and Plantaines. All things we there plant doe grow exceedingly, so well as Tobacco. The corne, pease, and beanes, cut but away the stalke, young sprigs will grow, and so beare fruit for many yeares together, without any more planting. The Ile is overgrowne with wod or great reeds, those wods which are soft are exceeding light and full of pitch; and those that are hard, are so hard and great, they are as hard to cut as stone. [1627]

Their numbers.

Master *Iohn Powell* came thither the fourth of August 1627. with forty five men, where we stayed three weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an hundred people, and his sonne *Iohn Powell* for his Deputy, as Governour.

But there have beene so many factions amongst them, I cannot from so many variable relations give you any certainty for their orderly Government: for all those plenties, much misery they have endured, in regard of their weaknesse at their landing, and long stay without supplies; therefore those that goe thither, it were good they carry good provision with them; but the Ile is most healthfull, and all things planted doe increase abundantly: and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteene or sixteene hundred people.

[1627-9] Sir *William Curtine,* and Captaine *Iohn Powell,* were the first and chiefe adventurers to the planting this fortunate Ile; which had beene oft frequented by men of Warre to refresh themselves, and set up their shallops; being so farre remote from the rest of the Iles, they never were troubled with any of the *Indies.* Harbours they have none, but exceeding good Rodes; which with a small charge might bee very well fortified. It doth ebbe and flow foure or five foot, and they cannot perceive there hath ever beene any Hericano in that Ile.

From the relations of Captaine *Iohn White,* and Captaine *Wolverstone.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

The first plantation of the Ile of Mevis.

BEcause I have ranged and lived amongst those Ilands; what my authours cannot tell me, I think it no great errour in helping them to tell it my selfe. [1607]

In this little Ile of *Mevis*, more than twenty yeares [**57**] agoe [28 *Mar.*—2 *Apr.* 1607; *see pp.* lix, 90, 386]. I have remained a good time together, to wo[o]d, and water and refresh my men. It is all woddy, but by the Sea side Southward there are sands like downes, where a thousand men may quarter themselves conveniently; but in most places the wod groweth close to the water side, at a high water marke, and in some places so thicke of a soft spungy wood like a wilde figge tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with hatchets, or fauchions. Whether it was the dew of those trees, or of some others, I am not certain, but many of our men became so tormented with a burning swelling all over their bodies, they seemed like scalded men, and neere mad with paine. The description of the Ile. The Bath.

Here we found a great Poole, wherein bathing themselves, they found much ease; and finding it fed with a pleasant small streame that came out of the woods, we found the head halfe a mile within the land, distilling from a many of rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three dayes.

[1607-28] Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made; but Captaine [*p.* xxii.] *Smith*, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them: but not any one of the inventers but their lives by justice fell into his power to determine of at his pleasure; whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly would have betrayed him.

A great misprison.

The last yeare, 1628., Master *Littleton*, with some others got a Pattent of the Earle of *Carlile*, to plant the Ile called the *Barbados*, thirty leagues Northward of Saint *Christophers*; which by report of their informers, and undertakers, for the excellencie and pleasantnesse thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there, they found it such a barren rocke, they left it.

Although they were told as much before, they would not beleeve it, perswading themselves, those contradicters would get it for themselves, was thus by their cunning opinion, the deceiver of themselves; for seeing it lie conveniently for their purpose in a map, they had not patience to know the goodnesse or badnesse, the inconvenience nor probabilities of the quality, nor quantity; which errour [*pp.* 892, 941, 943.] doth predominate in most of our homebred adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it; and the more they contradicted, the more hot they are.

But you may see, by many examples in the generall history, how difficult a matter it is, to gather the truth from amongst so many forren and severall relations, except you have exceeding good experience both of the Countries, people, and their conditions: and those ignorant undertakings, have beene the greatest hinderance of all those plantations.

Their numbers.

At last because they would be absolute, they came to *Mevis*, a little Ile by Saint *Christophers*; where they seated themselves, well furnished with all necessaries: being about the number of an hundred, and since increased to an hundred and fifty persons; whereof many were old planters of Saint *Christophers*, especially Master *Anthony Hinton*, and Master *Edward Thompson*.

But because all those Iles for most part are so capable

to produce, and in nature like each other, let this discourse [1607-29] serve for the description of them all.

THus much concerning those plantations, which now after all this time, losse, and charge, should they be abandoned, suppressed, and dissolved, were most lamentable; and surely seeing they all strive so much about this Tobacco, and that the fraught thereof, and other charges are so great, and so open to any enemie; by that commodity they cannot long subsist.

And it is a wonder to me to see such miracles of mischiefes in men; how [58] greedily they persue to dispossesse the planters of the Name of Christ Iesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the world is unpossessed; yea, and better land than they so much strive for, murthering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many cities, villages, and Countries, and subverting so many kingdomes, when so much lieth [v]vast[e], or only possessed by a few poore Savages, that more serve the Devill for feare, than God for love: whose ignorance we pretend to reforme, but couetousnesse, humours, ambition, faction, and pride, hath so many instruments, we performe very little to any purpose; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion, or hinderance of any honest intended christian plantation.

Certaine exploits of Captaine *Smith*.

NOw to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine *Smith*; how first he planted *Virginia*, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wilde woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and downe their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a sacrifice for their Idoll; before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations; then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter *Pocahontas*

1608-16] saved his life, returned him to *James* towne, releeved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possesse those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations upon the rivers falling into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*; stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called Stingray: how [he drave] *Powhatan* out of his Country, tooke the Kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paspahegh* prisoners, forced thirty nine of those Kings to pay him contribution, [and] subjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for *England* to be cured:

Also how hee brought our new *England* to the subjection of the Kingdome of great *Britaine*; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many *French* men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the French against the *Spaniards*, their bad usage of him, how in *France* in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at Sea by himselfe, when thirteene *French* ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of *Ree*, the generall and most of his men drowned, when God to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped: you may read at large in his generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Iles*, and *New England*.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrats; and how they taught the Turks *and* Moores *to become men of warre.*

AS in all lands where there are many people, there are some theeves, so in all Seas much frequented, there are some pyrats; the most ancient within the memory of threescore yeares was one *Callis*, who most refreshed himselfe upon the Coast of *Wales*; *Clinton* and *Pursser* his companions, who grew famous, till Queene *Elizabeth* of blessed memory, hanged [59] them at *Wapping*; *Flemming* was as expert and as much sought for as they, yet such a friend to his Country, that discovering the *Spanish Armado*, he voluntarily came to *Plimouth*, yeelded himselfe freely to my Lord Admirall, and gave him notice of the *Spaniards* comming; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly, that he had his pardon, and a good reward. [1588–1603]

Some few Pirats there then remained; notwithstanding it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge; for there are so many difficulties in a great Navy, by wind and weather, victuall, sicknesse, losing and finding one another, they seldome defray halfe the charge: but for the grace, state, and defence of the Coast and narrow Seas, a great Navy is most necessary, but not to attempt any farre voyage,

The difficulties of a great Navie.

[1603-29] except there be such a competent stocke, [that] the want not wherewith to furnish and supply all things with expedition. But to the purpose.

What occasioneth Pirats.

After the death of our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, of blessed memory, our Royall King *Iames*, who from his infancie had reigned in peace with all Nations, had no imployment for those men of warre, so that those that were rich rested with that they had; those that were poore and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned Pirats; some, because they became sleighted of those for whom they had got much wealth; some, for that they could not get their due; some, that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetousnesse, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turne Pirats.

Their chiefe rendevouz.

Now because they grew hatefull to all *Christian* Princes, they retired to *Barbary*, where although there be not many good Harbours but *Tunis*, *Argier*, *Sally*, *Mamora*, and *Tituane*, there are many convenient Rodes, or the open Sea, which is theire chiefe Lordship. For their best harbours *Massalqueber*, the townes of *Oran*, *Mellila*, *Tanger*, and *Cuta*, within the Streights, are possessed by the *Spaniards*; without the Streights they have also *Arzella*, and *Mazagan*; *Mamora* likewise they [*the Spaniards*] have lately taken, and fortified.

Ward, a poore *English* sailer, and *Dansker* a *Dutchman*, made first here their Marts, when the *Moores* knew scarce how to saile a ship; *Bishop* was Ancient, and did little hurt; but *Easton* got so much, as made himselfe a Marquesse in *Savoy*; and *Ward* lived like a Bashaw in *Barbary*; those were the first that taught the *Moores* to be men of warre.

Gennings, *Harris*, *T*[*h*]*ompson*, and divers others, were taken in *Ireland*, a Coast they much frequented, and died [*i.e.*, *were hanged*] at *Wapping*. *Hewes*, *Bough*, *Smith*, *Walsingam*, *Ellis*, *Collins*, *Sawkwell*, *Wollistone*, *Barrow*, *Wilson*, *Sayres*, and divers others, all these were Captaines amongst the Pirats; whom King *Iames* mercifully pardoned: and was

it not strange, a few of these should command the Seas. [1629] Notwithstanding the *Malteses*, the Pope, *Florentines*, *Genoeses*, *Dutch*, and *English*, Gallies and Men of Warre; they would rob before their faces, and even at their owne Ports, yet seldome more than three, foure, five or six in a Fleet: many times they had very good ships, and well manned, but commonly in such factions amongst themselves, and so riotous, quarrellous, treacherous, blasphemous, and villanous, [that] it is more than a wonder they could so long continue, to doe so much mischiefe; and all they got, they basely consumed it amongst *Jewes*, *Turks*, *Moores*, and whores. Their conditions.

The best was, they would seldome goe to Sea, so long as they could [**60**] possibly live on shore, being compiled of *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Moores*, (but very few *Spanyards*, or *Italians*) commonly running one from another, till they became so disjoynted, disordered, debawched, and miserable, that the *Turks* and *Moores* beganne to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill: which many an accursed runnagado or *Christian* turned *Turke*, did, till they have made those Sally men, or *Moores* of *Barbary* so powerfull as they be, to the terror of all the Straights, and many times they take purchase [*prizes*] in the maine Ocean, yea sometimes even in the narrow Seas in *England*, and those are the most cruell villaines in *Turkie*, or *Barbarie*; whose natives are very noble, and of good natures, in comparison of them. Runnagados.

To conclude, the misery of a Pirate (although many are as sufficient Sea-men as any) yet in regard of his superfluity, you shall finde it such, that any wise man would rather live amongst wilde beasts than them; therefore let all unadvised persons take heed, how they entertaine that quality: and I could wish Merchants, Gentlemen, and all setters forth of ships, not to bee sparing of a competent pay, nor true payment; for neither Souldiers nor Sea-men can live without meanes, but necessity will force them to steale; and when they are once entered into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Advertisements for wilde heads.

Those titles of Sea-men and Souldiers, have beene most

[1629] worthily honoured and esteemed, but now regarded for most part, but as the scumme of the world; regaine therefore your wonted reputations, and endevour rather to adventure to those faire plantations of our *English* Nation; which however in the beginning were scorned and contemned, yet now you see how many rich and gallant people come from thence, who went thither as poore as any Souldier or Sailer, and gets more in one yeare, than you by Piracie in seven. I intreat you therefore to consider how many thousands yearely goe thither; also how many Ships and Sailers are imployed to transport them, and what custome they yearely pay to our most Royall King *Charles*; whose prosperity and his Kingdomes good, I humbly beseech the immortall God ever to preserve and increase.

FINIS.

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By Captaine IOHN SMITH, sometimes Governour of VIRGINIA, and Admirall of NEVV-ENGLAND.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND, and are to be sold by ROBERT MILBOVRNE, at the Grey-hound in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1631.

[This Work, the last one completed by our Author, was evidently written as a mark of good will to the Massachusetts Planters under Governor WINTHROP, who founded Boston in 1630.

It was evidently written in October 1630, as the passage on *p.* 955 shews; though it bears 1631 on the title page.

We even know where it was written.

"The high grove or tuft of trees upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir *Humphrey Mildmay*, so remarkable in *Essex* in the Parish of *Danbery*, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater." *p.* 950.

Though stated on the title page to be for sale, it was not entered for publication at Stationers' Hall, London.

For the bibliography of this Work see *p.* cxxxii.

"To the prevention whereof, I have not beene more willing, at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions su[i]ting my calling and profession to make good; and [to make] *Virginia* and *New-England*, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes." *pp.* 963–4.]

GENS · IN COGNITA · MIHI SERVIET

To the Most Reverend Father in God,
GEORGE Lord Arch-Bishop of CANTERBVRIE his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all ENGLAND:

AND
The Right Reverend Father in God,
SAMVEL Lord Arch-Bishop of YORKE his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of ENGLAND.

[1630] MY most Gracious Good Lords, I desire tc leave testimony to the world, how highly I honour as well the Miter as the Lance: therefore where my last Booke presented three most honourable Earles with a subject of Warre [*p.* 808], and received from them favourable acceptance: the worke I now prosecute, concerning the Plantation of *New England*, for the increase of Gods Church, converting Salvages, and enlarging the Kings Dominions, prostrates it selfe humbly to your Graces; who as you are in the name of Prelacy to this Kingdome, so you are to mee in goodnesse, both Fathers and Protectors unexpectedly. God long preserve your Gracious lives, and continue favour

Vnto both your Graces most
devoted servant,
IOHN SMITH.

To the Reader.

HONEST READER.

APelles *by the proportion of a foot, could make the whole proportion of a man: were hee now living, he might goe to schoole, for now are thousands can by opinion proportion Kingdomes, Cities, and Lordships, that never durst adventure to see them. Malignancy, I expect from those,* [*that*] *have lived* 10. *or* 12. *yeares in those actions, and returne as wise as they went, claiming time and experience for their tutor, that can neither shift Sun nor Moone, nor say their Compasse, yet will tell you of more than all the world, betwixt the* Exchange, Pauls *and* Westminster*: so it be newes, it matters not what, that will passe currant when truth must be stayed with an army of conceits that can make or marre anything, and tell as well what all England is by seeing but* Milford *haven, as what* Apelles *was by the picture of his great toe.* [1630]

Now because examples give a quicker impression than arguments, I have writ this discourse to satisfie understanding, wisdome, and honesty; and not such as can doe nothing but finde fault with what they neither know nor can amend.

So I rest

Your friend

Iohn Smith.

The Sea Marke.

[1630]

Aloofe, aloofe; and come no neare,
the dangers doe appeare;
Which if my ruine had not beene
you had not seene:
I onely lie upon this shelfe
to be a marke to all
which on the same might fall,
That none may perish but my selfe.

If in or outward you be bound,
doe not forget to sound;
Neglect of that was cause of this
to steare amisse.
The Seas were calme, the wind was faire
that made me so secure,
that now I must indure
All weathers be they foule or faire.

The Winters cold, the Summers heat
alternatively beat
Upon my bruised sides, that rue
because too true
That no releefe can ever come.
But why should I despaire
being promised so faire
That there shall be a day of Dome.

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ADVERTISEMENTS:

OR,

The Path-way to Experience

to erect a Plantation.

CHAPTER I.

What people they are that beginne this plantation: the bane of Virginia: *strange misprisions of wise men.*

THE Warres in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*, taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in *Virginia* and *New-England*, in *America*; which now after many a stormy blast of ignorant contradictors, projectors, and undertakers, both they and I have beene so tossed and tortured into so many extremities, as despaire [1630]

[1629-30] was the next wee both [2] expected, till it pleased God now at last to stirre up some good mindes, that I hope will produce glory to God, honour to his Majesty, and profit to his Kingdomes: although all our Plantations have beene so foyled and abused, their best good willers have beene for the most part discouraged, and their good intents disgraced, as the generall History of them will at large truly relate [to] you.

No Brownist nor Separatist admitted.

Pardon me if I offend in loving that I have cherished truly, by the losse of my prime fortunes, meanes, and youth: If it over-glad me to see Industry her selfe adventure now to make use of my aged ende[a]vours, not by such (I hope) as rumour doth report, a many of discontented Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puritans, Separatists, and such factious Humorists: for no such they will suffer among them, if knowne, as many of the chiefe of them [*John Winthrop &c.*] have assured mee; and the much conferences I have had with many of them, doth confidently perswade me to write thus much in their behalfe.

I meane not the Brownists of *Leyden* and *Amsterdam* at *New-Plimoth,* who although by accident, ignorance, and wilfulnesse, [they] have endured, with a wonderfull patience, many losses and extremities; yet they subsist and prosper so well, not any of them will abandon the Country, but to the utmost of their powers increase their numbers. But

What they are that beginne this Plantation.

of those which are gone within this eighteene moneths [*April* 1629—*Oct.* 1630] for Cape *Anne,* and the Bay of the *Massachusets.* Those which are their chiefe Vndertakers are Gentlemen of good estate, some of 500, some a thousand pound land a yeere, all which they say they will sell for the advancing [of] this harmlesse and pious worke; men of good credit and well-beloved in their Country [*district*], not such as flye for debt, or any scandall at home; and are good Catholike Protestants according to the reformed Church of *England,* if not, it is well they are gone. The rest of them men of good meanes, or Arts, Occupations, and Qualities, much more fit for such a businesse, and better furnished of all necessaries if they arrive well, than was ever any Plantation went out of *England.*

I will not say but some of them may be more precise than needs, nor that they all be so good as they should be; [3]

for Christ had but twelve apostles, and one was a traitor : and if there be no dissemblers among them, it is more than a wonder ; therefore doe not condemne all for some. But however they have as good authority from his Majesty as they could desire: if they doe ill, the losse is but their owne; if well, a great glory and exceeding good to this Kingdome, to make good at last what all our former conclusions have disgraced. [1622-30]

The bane of Virginia.

Now they take not that course the *Virginia* company did for the Planters there, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in *London* who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits: every yeare trying new conclusions, altering every thing yearely as they altered opinions, till they had consumed more than two hundred thousand pounds, and neere eight thousand mens lives.

It is true, in the yeere of our Lord 1622. they were, the Company in *England* say 7. or 8. thousand : the Counsell in *Virginia* say but 2200. or thereabouts, English indifferently well furnished with most necessaries, and many of them grew to that height of bravery, living in that plenty and excesse, that went thither not worth any thing, [that] made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there; and all this proceeded by surviving those that died : nor were they ignorant to use as curious tricks there as here, and out of the juice of Tabacco, which at first they sold at such good rates, they regarded nothing but Tabacco; a commodity then so vendable, it provided them all things. And the loving Salvages their kinde friends, they trained so well up to shoot in a Peece, to hunt and kill them fowle, they became more expert than our owne Country-men ; whose labours were more profitable to their Masters in planting Tabacco and other businesse.

The differences betwixt my beginning in Virginia, and the proceedings of my successors. [*p.* 932.]

This superfluity caused my poore beginnings [to be] scorned, or to be spoken of but with much derision, that never sent Ship from thence fraught, but onely some small quantities of Wainscot, Clap-board, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Sope-ashes, Glasse, Cedar, Cypresse, Blacke Walnut, Knees for Ships, Ash for Pikes, Iron Ore none better, some Silver Ore but so poore it was not regarded ; better there may be, for I

[1607-9] was no Mineralist; [4] some Sturgion, but it was too tart of the Vinegar (which was of my owne store, for little came from them which was good); and Wine of the Countries wilde Grapes, but it was too sowre; yet better than they sent us any, [which was] in two or three years but one Hogshead of Claret. Onely spending my time to revenge my imprisonment upon the harmlesse innocent Salvages, who by my cruelty I forced to feed me with their contribution; and to send any [who] offended my idle humour to *Iames* towne to punish at mine owne discretion; or keepe their Kings and subjects in chaines, and make them worke. Things cleane contrary to my Commission; whilst I and my company tooke our needlesse pleasures in discovering the Countries about us, building of Forts, and such unnecessary fooleries, where an Egge-shell (as they writ) had beene sufficient against such enemies; neglecting to answer the Merchants expectations with profit, feeding the Company onely with Letters and tastes of such commodities as we writ the Country would afford in time by industry, as Silke, Wines, Oyles of Olives, Rape, and Linsed, Rasons, Prunes, Flax, Hempe, and Iron. As for Tobacco, wee never then dreamt of it.

[*Smith's* ironical description of the malicious charges against his gouernment in Virginia.]

Now because I sent not their ships full fraught home with those commodities; they kindly writ to me, if we failed the next returne, they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure; with such tedious Letters, directions, and instructions, and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire [*wonder*] how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities: making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Iewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tobacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkemen, with [not only] all their appurtenances but materialls, and all those had great summes out of the common stocke; and [were] so many spies and super-intendents over us, as if they supposed we would turne Rebels, all striving [5] to suppresse and advance they knew not what.

[*p.* 442.]

A strange mistake in wise men.

At last [they] got a Commission in their owne names, promising the King custome within seven yeares, where[as] we were free for one and twenty; appointing the Lord *De-la-ware* for Governour, with as many great and stately officers, and offices under him, as doth belong to a great Kingdome, with good summes for their extraordinary expences; also privileges for Cities; Charters for Corporations, Universities, Free-scholes, and Glebe-land; putting all those in practice before there was either people, students, or schollers to build or use them, or provision or victuall to feed them [that] were then there: and to amend this, most of the Tradesmen in *London* that would adventure but twelue pounds ten shillings, had the furnishing [of] the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such jug[g]ling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committies [*Committee men*] their associats, that all the trash they could get in *London* was sent us to *Virginia*, they being well payed [as] for that [which] was good. [1609 24]

Much they blamed us for not converting the Salvages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse; nor did they all, convert any of those [*natives*] we sent them to *England* for that purpose. So doating of Mines of gold, and the South Sea; that all the world could not have devised better courses to bring us to ruine than they did themselves, with many more such like strange conceits.

By this you may avoid the like inconveniences, and take heed by those examples, you have not too many irons in the fire at once; neither such change of Governours, nor such a multitude of Officers; neither more Masters, Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, and children, than you have men to worke, which idle charge you will finde very troublesome, and the effects dangerous: and one hundred good labourers better than a thousand such Gallants as were sent me, that would doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire, when they saw our miseries and all things so clean contrary to the report in *England*; yet must I provide as well for them as for my selfe. [6] [*Ap.* 155, 472 487.]

CHAPTER II.

Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.

[1607-9] THis the Mariners and Saylers did ever all they could to conceale; who had alwayes good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses: never caring how long they stayed upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces; when wee lived upon a little corne and water, and not halfe enough of that, the most of which we had from amongst the Salvages. Now although there be Deere in the woods, Fish in the rivers, and Fowles in abundance in their seasons: yet the woods are so wide, the rivers so broad, and the beasts so wild, and wee so unskilfull to catch them, wee little troubled them nor they us.

The effect of flattery, the cause of misery.

For all this, our letters that still signified unto them the plaine truth, would not be beleeved, because they required such things as was most necessary: but their opinion was otherwayes, for they desired but to packe over so many as they could, saying necessity would make them get victuals for themselves, as for good labourers they were more usefull here in *England.*

But they found it otherwayes; the charge was all one to send a workman as a roarer; whose clamors to appease, we had much adoe to get fish and corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came with more loyterers without victuals still to make us worse and worse, for the most of them would rather starve than worke: yet had it not beene for some few that were Gentlemen, both by birth, industry, and discretion, we could not possibly have subsisted.

[*pp.* 487, 616.] [*pp.* 155, 472.]

Many did urge I might have forced them to it, having authority that extended so farre as death: but I say, having neither meat, drinke, lodging, pay, nor hope of any thing or preferment; and seeing the Merchants onely did what they listed with all they wrought for, I know not what punishment could be greater than that they indured;

Take heed of factions bred in England.

which miseries caused us alwaies to be in factions: the most part striving [7] by any meanes to abandon the Country, and I with my party to prevent them and cause them stay. But indeed the cause of our factions was bred here in *England*, and grew to that maturity among themselves that spoyled all, as all the Kingdome and other Nations can too well testifie. [1609-30]

Yet in the yeare 1622. there were about seven or eight thousand *English*, as hath beene said [*see p.* 927], so well trained, secure, and well furnished, as they reported and conceited. These simple Salvages, their bosome friends, I so much oppressed, had laid their plot how to cut all their throats in a morning: and upon the 22. of March [1622], so innocently attempted it, they slew three hundred forty seven, set their houses on fire, slew their cattell, and brought them to that distraction and confusion [that] within lesse than a yeare, there were not many more than two thousand remaining. *The Massacre in Virginia*

The which losse to repaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke [*capital*] as is said: then they broke [*became bankrupt*], not making any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any; whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businesse to a few that lost not by it. So that his Majesty recalled their Commission [*June* 1624]: and [that] by more iust cause then they perswaded King *Iames* to call in ours [*in* 1609], which were the first beginners, without our knowledge or consent, disposing of us and all our indevours at their pleasures. *How the company dissolved.*

CHAPTER III.

A great comfort to new England, *it is no Iland: a strange plague.*

NOtwithstanding since they have beene left in a manner, as it were, to themselves, they have increased [*by Oct.* 1630] their numbers to foure or five thousand [*pp.* 885–7], and neere as *The abundance of victuals now in* Virginia.

[1606-3 many catell, with plenty of Goats: abundance of Swine Poultry and Corne, that as they report, they have sufficient and to spare, to entertaine three or foure hundred people, which is much better than to have many people more than provision.

Now having glutted the world with their too [8] much overabounding Tabacco: Reason, or necessity, or both, will cause them, I hope, [to] learne in time better to fortifie themselves, and make better use of the trials of their grosse commodities that I have propounded, and at the first sent over: and were it not a lamentable dishonour so goodly a Countrey after so much cost, losse, and trouble, should now in this estate not bee regarded and supplied.

[*p.* 927.]

A great comfort for New England *by* Virginia.

And to those of *New-England* may it not be a great comfort to have so neare a neighbour of their owne Nation, that may furnish them with their spare cattell, swine, poultry, and other roots and fruits, much better than from *England*. But I feare the seed of envy, and the rust of covetousnesse doth grow too fast, for some would have all men advance *Virginia* to the ruine of *New-England*; and others the losse of *Virginia* to sustaine *New-England*, which God of his mercy forbid: for at first it was intended by that most memorable Judge Sir *Iohn Popham*, then Lord chiefe Justice of *England*, and the Lords of his Majesties Privy Councel, with divers others, that two Colonies should be planted, as now they be, for the better strengthening each other against all occurrences; the which to performe, shall ever be my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to increase and continue that mutuall love betwixt them for ever.

[*p.* 893.]

The differences betwixt the beginning of Virginia, *and them of* Salem.

By this you may perceive somewhat, what unexpected inconveniences are incident to a plantation, especially in such a multitude of voluntary contributers, superfluity of officers, and unexperienced Commissioners. But it is not so, as yet, with those for *New-England*; for they will neither beleeve nor use such officers, in that they are overseers of their owne estates, and so well bred in labour and good husbandry as any in *England*: where as few as I say was sent me to *Virginia*, but those [that] were naught here and worse there.

"Now when these shall have laid the foundations, and

" provided meanes beforehand; they may entertain all the [1614–21]
" poore artificers and laborers in *England*, and their *A necessary consideration.*
" families which are burthensome to their Parishes and
" Countries [*counties*] where they live upon almes and
" benevolence for want of worke: which if they would
" but pay for their transportation, they should never be
" troubled with them more. For there is vast land enough New England *is no Iland but the maine continent.*
" for all the people in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*:
" and it seemes God hath provided this Country for our
" Nation, destroying the natives by the plague, it not
" touching one Englishman, though many traded and were
" conversant amongst them; for they had three plagues in
" three yeares successively neere two hundred miles along
" the Sea coast, that in some places there scarce remained
" five of a hundred, and as they report thus it began:

A fishing ship being cast away upon the coast, two of the men escaped on shore; one of them died, the other lived among the natives till he had learned their language; then he perswaded them to become Christians, shewing them a Testament, some parts thereof expounding so well as he could, but they so much derided him, that he told them hee feared his God would destroy them: whereat the King assembled all his people about a hill, himselfe with the Christian standing on the top, demanded if his God had so many people and able to kill all those?

He answered yes, and surely would, and bring in strangers to possesse their land: but so long they mocked him and his God, that not long after such a sicknesse came, that of five or six hundred about the *Massachusets* there remained but thirty, on whom their neighbours fell and slew twenty-eight: the two [*p.* 754] remaining fled the Country till the *English* came, then they returned and surrendered their Country and title to the *English*. *A strange plague among the Salvages.*

If this be not true in every particular, excuse me, I pray you, for I am not the Author: but it is most certaine there was an exceeding great plague amongst them; for where I have seene [*in* 1614] two or three hundred, within three yeares after [1617] remained scarce thirty [*pp.* 747, 754]. But what disease it was the Salvages knew not till the *English* told them; never having seene, nor heard of the like before. [**10**]

CHAPTER IV.

Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations, rare examples.

[1630] *By what right wee may possesse those Countries lawfully.*

MAny good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages.

Which poore curiosity will answer it selfe; for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient. And here in *Florida*, *Virginia*, *New-England*, and *Cannada*, is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure [*cultivate*], and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and culturate. And shall we here keepe such a coyle for land, and at such great rents and rates, when there is so much of the world uninhabited, and as much more in other places, and as good or rather better than any wee possesse, were it manured and used accordingly.

If this be not a reason sufficient to such tender consciences; for a copper knife and a few toyes, as beads and hatchets, they will sell you a whole Countrey [*district*]; and for a small matter, their houses and the ground they dwell upon; but those of the *Massachusets* have resigned theirs freely.

True reasons for those plantations. [*pp.*228,741.]

Now the reasons for plantations are many. *Adam* and *Eve* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity; but not without labour, trouble, and industry. Noah and his family began againe the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one Country another, and so the world to that estate it is; but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters: had those worthy Fathers and their memorable offspring not beene more diligent for us now in those ages,

than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for after-livers: Had the seed of *Abraham*, our [**11**] Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe; than we, even we our selves had at this present beene as Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized. [1630]

The *Hebrewes*, *Lacedemonians*, the *Goths*, *Grecians*, *Romans*, and the rest; what was it they would not undertake to inlarge their Territories, inrich their subjects, and resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no silvered idle golden Pharisees, but industrious honest hearted Publicans; they regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, than jewels, ease and delight for themselves; riches was their servants, not their masters; they ruled as fathers, not as tyrants; their people as children, not as slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances: and what hath ever beene the worke of the best great Princes of the world, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civility and humanity; whose eternall actions fils our histories with more honour than those that have wasted and consumed them by warres.

Rare examples of the Spaniards, Portugals, *and the Ancients.*

Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* that first began plantations in this unknowne world of *America* till within this 140. yeares [1476–1616], whose everlasting actions before our eyes, will testifie our idlenesse and ingratitude to all posterity, and neglect of our duty and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrey, and want of charity to those poore Salvages, whose Countries we challenge, use, and possesse: except wee be but made to marre what our forefathers made; or but only tell what they did; or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines where there is so much reason, liberty, and action offers it selfe. Having as much power and meanes as others, why should English men despaire, and not doe so much as any? Was it vertue in those Hero[e]s to provide that [which] doth maintaine us, and basenesse in us to doe the like for others to come? Surely no; then seeing wee are not borne for ourselves

[1614] but each to helpe other; and our abilities are much alike at
[*pp.* 229, 742.] the [**12**] howre of our birth and minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or bad, by faith in Christs merits, is all wee have to carry our soules to heaven or hell: Seeing honour is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes we would be abated of the dignitie and glory of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors; or at least not hinder, if not further, them that would and doe their utmost and best endevour.

CHAPTER V.

My first voyage to new England, *my returne and profit.*

My first voyage to Norumbega *now called* New-Ergland. 1614.

TO begin with the originals of the voyages to those coasts, I referre you to my generall history [*pp.* 696–7]; for *New England* by the most of them was esteemed a most barren rocky desart.

Notwithstanding at the sole charges of four Marchants
[*pp.* 187, 240, 256, 697, 891.] of London and my selfe, 1614. within eight weekes sayling I arrived at *Monahigan*, an Ile in *America* in 43. degrees 39. minutes of Northerly latitude.

Had the fishing for Whale proved as we expected, I had stayed in the Country: but we found the plots [*charts*] wee had, so false; and the seasons for fishing and trade by the unskilfulnesse of our Pylot so much mistaken; I was contented, having taken by hookes and lines, with fifteene or eighteene men at most, more than 60000 Cod in lesse than a moneth: whilst my selfe and eight others of them [that] might best be spared, by an houre glasse of three moneths, ranging the coast in a small boat, got for trifles eleven hundred Bever skins besides Otters and Martins
We get 1500. *pound in six months.* [skins]; all amounting to the value of fifteene hundred pound, and arrived in *England* with all my men in health, in six or seven months.

But Northward the *French* returned this yeare [1614] to *France* five and twenty thousand bevers [skins] and good furres; whilest we were contending about Patents and Commissions, with such fearefull incredulity that more dazeled our eyes than opened them. [1614-16] 25,000 *Bevers sent to* France.

In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called [**13**] it *New-England:* but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the eccho of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday*, and *Penaquid*; till, at my humble su[i]te, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Princes of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did change [*p.* 232] the barbarous names of their principal Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their Godfather: and in my opinion it should seeme an unmannerly presumption in any that doth alter them without his leave. [*pp.* 188, 699.]

My second voyage was to beginne a Plantation, and to doe what else I could, but by extreme tempests that tore neare all my Masts by the boord, being more than two hundred leagues at Sea, [I] was forced to returne to *Plimoth* with a Jury-Mast. *My second and third voyage[s].* 1615. [*pp.* 220–222; 731–736.]

The third was intercepted by English and French Pyrats, by my trecherous company that betrayed me to them; who ran away with my Ship and all that I had: such enemies the Sailers were to a Plantation, and the greatest losse being mine, [they] did easily excuse themselves to the Merchants in *England*, that still provided to follow the fishing. 1616.

Much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings to ingrosse it, who now would adventure thousands, that when I went first would not adventure a groat; yet there went foure or five good Ships: but what by their dissention, and the Turkes men of warre that tooke the best of them in the Straits, they scarce saved themselves this yeare.

At my returne from France [*Dec.* 1615], I did my best to have united them; but that had beene more than a worke for *Hercules*, so violent is the folly of greedy covetousnesse. [*pp.* 227, 740.]

CHAPTER VI.

A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Landmarks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.

[1614] THis Country wee now speake of, lyeth betwixt 41. and 44½, the very meane for heat and cold betwixt the Equinoctiall and the North Pole, in which I have sounded about five and twenty very good Harbors; in many [**14**] whereof is Anc[h]orage for fiue hundred good ships of any burden, in some of them for a thousand: and more than three hundred Iles overgrowne with good timber, or divers sorts of other woods; in most of them (in their seasons) plenty of wilde fruits, Fish, and Fowle, and pure springs of most excellent water pleasantly distilling from their rockie foundations.

[*pp.* 192, 706.] *A description of the Country.*

The principal habitations I was at North-ward, was *Pennobscot*, who are in warres with the *Terentines*, their next Northerly neighbours.

Southerly up the Rivers, and along the Coast, wee found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Sagadahock*, *Satquin*, *Aumughcawgen*, and *Kenabeca:* to those belong the Countries and people of *Segotago*, *Pauhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Wabigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigwick*, *Moshoquen*, *Waccogo*, *Pasharanack*, *&c.* To these are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticus*, *Passataquak*, *Augawoam* and *Naemkeck*. All these for any thing I could perceive differ little in language or any thing, though most of them be *Sagamos*, and Lords of themselves; yet they hold the Bashabes of *Pennobscot* the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

The next is *Mattahunt*, *Totunt*, *Massachuset*, *Paconekick*, [*pp.* 192, 707.] then *Cape Cod*, by which is *Pawmet*, the Iles of *Nawset* and *Capawuck*: neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues; and [are] very dangerous betwixt the degrees of 40. and 41.

Now beyond *Cape Cod*, the land extendeth it selfe

Southward to *Virginia*, *Florida*, the *West Indies*, the *Amazons* and *Brasele*, to the straits of *Magelanus*, two and fifty degrees Southward beyond the Line; all those great Countries, differing as they are in distance North or South from the Equinoctiall, in temper, heat, cold, Woods, Fruits, Fishes, Beasts, Birds, the increase and decrease of the night and day, to six moneths day and six moneths night. Some say, many of those Nations are so brute [*brutish*] they have no Religion, wherein surely they may be deceived; for my part I never saw nor heard of any Nation in the world which had not Religion, Deare, [**15**] Bowes, and Arrowes. [1614-16]

Vnder the Equinoctiall, twelve houres day, and twelve night.

Those in *New-England*, I take it, beleeve much alike as those in *Virginia*, of many divine Powers, yet of one above the rest; as the Southerly *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa*, and that we now inhabit *Okee*: but all their Kings *Werowances*. The *Massachusets* call their great God *Kichian*, and their Kings *Sachemes*; and that we suppose their Devill, they call *Habamouk*. The *Pennobscots*, their God, *Tantum*; their Kings, *Sagamos*. About those Countries are abundance of severall Nations and languages, but much alike in their simple curiosities, living and workemanship, except the wilde estate of their chiefe Kings, &c.

Their Religion.

[*pp.* 75, 321, 767.]

Of whose particular miserable magnificence (yet most happy in this, that they neuer trouble themselues with such variety of Apparell, Drinkes, Viands, Sawses, Perfumes, Perservatives, and niceties as we; yet live as long, and much more healthfull and hardy): also the deities of their chiefest Gods, Priests, Conjurers, Religion, Temples, Triumphs, Physicke, and Chirurgerie; their births, educations, duty of their women, exercise for their men; how they make all their Instruments and Engines to cut downe Trees, make their Cloaths, Boats, Lines, Nets, Fish-hooks, We[i]res, and Traps, Mats, Houses, Pots, Platters, Morters, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Swords, Clubs, Jewels, and Hatchets. Their severall sorts of Woods, Serpents, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Roots, Berries, Fruits, Stones, and Clay. Their best trade, what is most fit to trade with them. With the particulars of the charge of a fishing voyage, and all the necessaries belonging to it, their best countries to vent it for their best returnes; also the particulars for every private man or family that goeth

[*p.* 721.]

[1616-17] to plant, and the best seasons to goe or returne thence; with the particular description of the Salvages, Habitations, Harbours, and Land-markes, their Latitude, Longitude, or severall distance, with their old names and the new by the Map augmented. Lastly, the power of their Kings, obedience of their subjects, Lawes, executions, planting their Fields, Huntings, Fishings, the manner of their warres and treacheries yet knowne; and in generall, their lives and conversation, and how to bridle their brute, [*pp.* 695, 767.] barbarous, [**16**] and salvage dispositions: of all these particulars you may reade at large in the general History of *Virginia*, *New-England*, and the *Summer Iles*, with many more such strange actions and accidents that to an ordinary capacity might rather seeme miracles than wonders possibly to bee effected; which though they are but wound up as bottoms of fine silke, which with a good needle might be flourished into a far larger worke, yet the Images of great things are best discerned, contracted into smaller glasses.

CHAPTER VII.

New Englands *yearely trials, the planting of New* Plimoth, *suprisals prevented, their wonderful industry and fishing.*

1617. *Eight ships to fish.*

FOr all those differences there went eight tall ships before I arrived [*in Dec.* 1615] in *England*, from *France*, so that I spent that yeare [1617] in the West Country, to perswade the Cities, [*pp.* 241, 257, 745.] Townes, and Gentrie for a Plantation; which the Merchants very little liked, because they would have the coast free only for themselves, and the Gentlemen were doubtfull of their true accounts.

Oft and much it was so disputed, that at last they promised me the next yeere [1618] twenty saile well furnished, made me Admirall of the Country for my life under their hands

and the Colonels [*Colony's*] Seale for *New-England*; and in renewing their Letters Patents, to be a Patentee for my paines; yet nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected, for all this aire. [1617-22]

In those yeares many Ships made exceeding good voyages, some in six moneths, others in five: but one of two hundred tunne in six weekes, with eight and thirty men and boyes had her fraught, which shee sold at the first penny for one and twenty hundred pounds, besides her Furres. Six or seven more went out of the West, and some Sailers that had but a single share, had twenty pounds [=£80 *now*] and at home againe in seven moneths; which was more than such a one should have got in twenty moneths, had he gone for wages any where: yet for all this, in all this time, though I had divulged to my great labour, [**17**] cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in *London*, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels; so fresh were the living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Iles in their memories. 1618. 1619. 1620. *Eight and thirty men in six weeks tooke two thousand one hundred pounds worth of fish.* [*pp.* 242, 256, 748.]

At last, upon those inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are termed, with some Gentlemen and Merchants of *Layden* and *Amsterdam*, to save charges [*i.e., the expense of employing Captain Smith* (*pp.* 892, 943)], would try their owne conclusions, though with great losse and much miserie till time had taught them to see their owne error; for such humorists [*fanatics*] will never beleeve well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod. [*pp.* 243, 267 771.]

They were supplied [*reinforced*] with a small Ship with seven and thirty passengers, who found all them [that] were left after they were seated, well all but six that died, for all their poverties: in this ship they returned, the value of five hundred pounds [=£2,000 *now*], which was taken by a French-man upon the coast of *England*. 1621. [*pp.* 260–1.]

There is gone from the West to fish five and thirty saile; two from *London* with sixty passengers for them at *New-Plimoth*: and all made good voyages. 1622. *Seven and thirty sail to fish.*

Now you are to understand, the seven and thirty passengers miscarrying twice upon the coast of *England*, came so ill provided, they onely relyed upon that poore [*pp.* 261.761.]

[1622-3] company they found [*i.e., the Pilgrim Fathers*], that had lived two yeares by their naked [*simple*] industry, and what the Country naturally afforded. It is true, at first, there hath beene taken a thousand Bayses [*bass*] at a draught, and more than twelve hogsheads of Herrings in a night; of other fish when and what they would, when they had meanes; but wanting most necessaries for fishing and fowling, it is a wonder how they could subsist, fortifie themselves, resist their enemies, and plant their plants.

In Iuly [1622], a many of stragling forlorne Englishmen, whose wants they releeved, though [they] wanted themselves; the which to requite [them], destroyed their Corne and Fruits, and would have done the like to them, and have surprised what they had. The salvages also intended the like, but wisely they slew the salvage [**18**] Captaines; and revenged those injuries upon the fugitive English, that would have done the like to them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Extremity next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate; they make good salt, an unknowne rich myne.

1623. AT *New-Plimoth*, having planted the[i]re Fields and Gardens, such an extraordinary drought insued, all things withered, that they expected no harvest; and having long expected a supply, they heard no newes, but [of] a wracke split upon their Coast, they supposed their Ship: thus in the very labyrinth of despaire, they solemnly assembled themselves together nine houres in prayer. At their departure, the parching faire skies [were] all overcast with blacke clouds; and the next morning, such a pleasant moderate raine continued fourteene daies, that it was hard to say, whether their withered fruits or drooping affections were most revived.

Not long after came two Ships to supply [*reinforce*] them, with all their Passengers well, except one, and he presently recovered: for themselves, for all their wants, there

was not one sicke person amongst them. The greater Ship they returned fraught with commodities. [1623-4]

This yeare went from *England*, onely to fish, five and forty saile, and have all made a better voyage than euer. *Five and forty saile to fish.*

In this Plantation there is about an hundred and foure-score persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds [=£2,000 or £2,400 *now*] in other goods; impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lo[a]me, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted: and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares [1621–1624]: yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth*, for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in [**19**] wandring up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks [*creeks*] and swamps, forty of them died; and threescore were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth* where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed: whose misery and variable opinions for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them. **1624.** [*p.* 782.] [*pp.* 260, 941.]

These disasters, losses, and uncertain ties, made such disagreement among the Adventurers in *England*, who beganne to repent, and [would] rather lose all than longer continue the charge, being out of purse six or seven thousand pounds; accounting my bookes and their relations as old Almanacks. [*pp.* 831 910 941.]

But the Planters, rather than leave the Country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves, and to all their adventurers [to] pay them for nine years two hundred pounds yearely without any other account: where more than six hundred Adventurers for *Virginia*, for more than two hundred thousand pounds, had not six pence.

Since they have made a salt worke, wherewith they preserve all the fish they take; and have fraughted this yeare a ship of an hundred and foure score tun: living so *They make store of good salt.*

[1614-30] well they desire nothing but more company; and what ever they take, [they] returne commodities to the value.

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying [that] I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene; and some, the same yeare, returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleeving me, and excuse their owne misprisions: some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it.

Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences: for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods Name bee there praised by my Country-men, I have my desire: and the benefit of this salt and fish, for breeding Mariners and building [**20**] ships, will make so many fit men to raise a Common-wealth, if but managed, as my general history will shew you, it might well by this have beene as profitable as the best Mine the King of *Spaine* hath in his West Indies.

An incredible rich mine.

CHAPTER IX.

Notes worth observation: miserableness no good husbandry.

Notes worthy observation.

NOw if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers: [you] cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercy both to them and me.

Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions that the wiser sort often gave mee [up] for lost, alwayes in mutinies [*i.e., of others*] wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder; A long time [a] prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift all such a stormy winter night, when their ships were split, more than a hundred thousand pound [= £400,000 *now*] lost [which] they had taken at sea, and most of them drowned upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths [have] lived in the fields: yet to have lived neere 37. yeares [1593–1630] in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine, by which many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them [that] went first with me to *Virginia*: and [yet to] see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God thankes, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me, [**21**] to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner. [1593–1630]

Goods ill-gotten ill spent.

Had my designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, as I know many have done that knew no such matter; though few doe conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it: or some new invention to passe to the South sea: or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Charaques [*carracks*]: or letters of mart [*marque*] to rob some poore Merchant or honest fisher men: what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first imployed. But in those noble indevours now, how few, unlesse it bee to begge them as Monopolies, and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods. as the 217. the 218. and the 219. pages in the generall history [*see* [*pp.* 722–728] will shew. But only those noble Gentlemen [*pp.* 893–4.]

[1620-8] and their associates, for whose better incouragements I have recollected those [? *these*] experienced memorandums, as an Apologie against all calumniating detracters, as well for my selfe as them.

Miserablenesse no good husbandry. [*pp.* 243, 267, 771, 892, 910, 941, 943.]

Now since them called Brownists went (some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired); many other directers they had as wise as themselves, but that was best, that liked their owne conceits: for indeed they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority; because they could not be equals, they would have no superiors. In this fooles Paradise, they so long used that good husbandry, they have payed soundly in trying their owne follies: who undertaking in small handfuls to make many plantations, and to bee severall Lords and Kings of themselves, most vanished to nothing; to the great disparagement of the generall businesse, therefore let them take heed that doe follow their example. [**22**]

CHAPTER X.

The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, incouragements for servants.

1625. 1626. 1627. 1628.

WHo would not thinke that all those certainties should not have made both me and this Countrey have prospered well by this? but it fell out otherwayes. For by the instigation of some, whose policy had long watched their op[p]ortunity by the assurance of those profitable returnes, procured new Letters Patents from King *Iames*; drawing in many Noblemen and others to the number of twenty, for Patentees; dividing my map and that tract of land from the North

Sea to the South Sea, East and West, which is supposed [1628-30] by most Cosmographers [to be] at least more than two thousand miles; and from 41. degrees to 48. of Northerly latitude about 560 miles; the bounds *Virginia* to the South, and South Sea [*Pacific Ocean*] to the West, *Canada* to the North, and the maine Ocean to the East; all this they divided into twenty parts, for which they cast lots: but no lot for me but *Smiths* Iles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars. *The effect of the last great Patent.*

Those Patentees procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping; neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast over boord, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Manor; some of which for some of them I beleeve will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare. Thus whereas this Country, as the contrivers of those projects, should have planted it selfe of it selfe; especially all the chiefe parts along the coast the first year, as they have oft told me: and chiefly by the fishing ships and some small helpe of their owne, thinking men would be glad upon any termes to be admitted under their protections: but it proved so contrary, none would [**23**] goe at all. So, for feare to make a contempt against the Proclamation, it hath ever since beene little frequented to any purpose: nor would they doe anything, but left it to it selfe. *A Proclamation for New England.*

Thus it lay againe in a manner vast [*waste*], till those noble Gentlemen [*J. Winthrop, &c.*] thus voluntarily undertooke it, whom I intreat to take this as a memorandum of my love, to make your plantations so neere and great as you can; for many hands make light worke, whereas yet your small parties can doe nothing availeable; nor stand too much upon the letting, setting, or selling those wild Countries, nor impose too much upon the commonalty either by your maggazines [*victualling ships or stores, see pp.* 665, 676–7] which commonly eat out all poore mens labours; nor any other too hard imposition for present gaine; but let every man so it bee by order allotted him, *Memorandums for Masters.*

[1629-30] plant freely without limitation so much as hee can, bee it by the halfes or otherwayes. And at the end of five or six yeares, or when you make a division, for every acre he hath planted, let him have twenty, thirty, forty, or an hundred; or as you finde hee hath extraordinarily deserved, by it selfe to him and his heires for ever; all his charges being defrayed to his lord or master, and publike good.

Incouragements for servants. In so doing, a servant that will labour, within foure or five yeares may live as well there as his master did here: for where there is so much land lie waste, it were a madnesse in a man at the first to buy, or hire, or pay any thing more than an acknowledgement to whom it shall be due; and hee is double mad that will leave his friends, meanes, and freedome in *England*, to be worse there than here.

Therefore let all men have as much freedome in reason as may be, and true dealing; for it is the greatest comfort you can give them, where the very name of servitude will breed much ill bloud, and become odious to God and man: but mildly temper correction with mercy, for I know well you will have occasion enough to use both; and in thus doing, doubtlesse God will blesse you, and quickly triple and multiply your numbers; the which to my utmost I will doe my best indevour. [**24**]

CHAPTER XI.

The planting [*of*] Bastable *or* Salem *and* Charlton, *a description of the* Massachusets.

1629. *The planting* [*of*] *Salem.* IN all those plantations, yea, of those that have done least, yet the most will say, we were the first; and so every next supply, still the next beginner: But seeing history is the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happinesse of the living; because I have more plainly discovered, and described, and discoursed of those Countries than any as yet I know, I am the bolder to continue the story, and

doe all men right so neere as I can in those new beginnings, which hereafter perhaps may bee in better request than a forest of nine dayes pamphlets. [1629]

Their provisions for Salem.

In the yeare 1629. about March, six good ships are gone with 350. men, women, and children; people professing themselves of good ranke, zeale, meanes and quality: also 150. head of cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beasts; 41. goats, some conies, with all provision for houshold and apparell; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Drums and Colours, with all provisions necessary for the good of man.

They are seated about 42. degrees and 38. minutes, at a place called by the natives *Naemkecke*, by our Royall King *Charles*, *Bastable*; but now by the planters, *Salem*: where they arrived for most part exceeding well, their cattell and all things else prospering exceedingly, farre beyond their expectation.

The planting Salem and Charlton.

At this place they found some reasonable good provision and houses built by some few of *Dorchester*, with whom they are joyned in society with two hundred men.

An hundred and fifty more they have sent to the *Massachusets*, which they call *Charlton*, or *Charles* Towne.

A description of the Massachusets Bay.

I tooke the fairest reach in this Bay for a river, whereupon I called it *Charles* river, after the name of our Royall King *Charles*; but they find that faire Channell to divide it selfe into so many faire branches as make forty or fifty pleasant Ilands within that excellent Bay, [**25**] where the land is of divers and sundry sorts, in some places very blacke and fat, in others good clay, sand and gravell, the superficies neither too flat in plaines, nor too high in hils. In the Iles you may keepe your hogs, horse, cattell, conies or poultry, and secure for little or nothing, and to command when you list; onely having a care of provision for some extraordinary cold winter. In those Iles, as in the maine, you may make your nurseries for fruits and plants where you put no cattell; in the maine [*Mainland*] you may shape your Orchards, Vineyards, Pastures, Gardens, Walkes, Parkes, and Corne fields out of the whole peece as you please into such plots, one adjoining to another, leaving every of

[1629-30] them invironed with two, three, foure, or six, or so many rowes of well growne trees as you will, ready growne to your hands, to defend them from ill weather, which in a champion you could not in many ages; and this at first you may doe with as much facility, as carelesly or ignorantly cut downe all before you, and then after better consideration make ditches, pales, plant young trees with an excessive charge and labour, seeing you may have so many great and small growing trees for your maineposts, to fix hedges, palisados, houses, rales, or what you will. Which order in *Virginia* hath not beene so well observed as it might: where all the woods for many an hundred mile for the most part grow sleight, like unto the high grove or tuft of trees upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir *Humphrey Mildmay*, so remarkable in *Essex* in the Parish of *Danbery*, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater; neither grow they so thicke together by the halfe, and much good ground betweene them without shrubs, and the best is ever knowne by the greatnesse of the trees and the vesture it beareth.

Now in *New-England* the trees are commonly lower, but much thicker and firmer wood, and more proper for shipping, of which I will speake a little, [it] being the chiefe engine wee are to use in this worke; and the rather for that within a [*pp.* 193,708.] square of twenty leagues, you may have all, or most of the chiefe materials belonging to them, were they wrought to their perfection as in other places. [**26**]

The masterpeece of workmanship. Of all fabricks a ship is the most excellent, requiring more art in building, rigging, sayling, trimming, defending, and moaring, with such a number of severall termes and names in continuall motion, not understood of any landman, as none would thinke of, but some few that know them; for whose better instruction I writ my Sea-Grammar [*pp.* 785–804]: a booke most necessary for those plantations, because there is scarce any thing belonging to a ship, but the Sea-termes, charge and duty of every officer is plainly expressed, and also any indifferent capacity may conceive how to direct an unskilfull Carpenter, or Sailer to build Boats and Barkes sufficient to saile those coasts and rivers, and put a good workman in minde of many things in this businesse hee may easily mistake or forget.

But to be excellent in this faculty is the master-peece of all most necessary workmen in the world. The first rule or modell thereof being directed by God himselfe to *Noah* for his Arke; which he never did to any other building but his Temple: which is tossed and turned up and downe the world with the like dangers, miseries, and extremities as a ship, sometimes tasting the fury of the foure Elements, as well as shee, by unlimited tyrants in their cruelty for tortures, that it is hard to conceive whether those in humanes exceed the beasts of the Forrest, the birds of the Aire, the fishes of the Sea, either in numbers, greatnesse, swiftnesse, fiercenesse, or cruelty: whose actions and varieties, with such memorable observations as I have collected, you shall finde with admiration in my history of the Sea, if God be pleased I live to finish it. [1629]

CHAPTER XII.

Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods for any thing, their healths.

Extraordinary meanes for buildings.

FOr the building [of] houses, townes, and fortresses, where shall a man finde the like conveniency, as stones of most sorts, as well lime stone, if I be not much deceived, as Iron stone, smooth stone, blew slate for covering houses, and great rockes we supposed Marble, so that one place is called [**27**] the marble harbour. [*pp.* 193, 707.]

There is grasse plenty, though very long and thicke stalked, which being neither mowne nor eaten, is very ranke; yet all their cattell like and prosper well therewith: but indeed it is weeds, herbs, and grasse growing together, which although they be good and sweet in the Summer, they will deceive your cattell in winter. Therefore be carefull in the Spring to mow the swamps, and the low Ilands of *Auguan*, where you may have harsh

Caveats for cattell.

[1629] sheare-grasse enough to make hay of, till you can cleare ground to make pasture; which will beare as good grasse as can grow any where, as now it doth in *Virginia*: and unlesse you make this provision, if there come an extraordinary winter, you will lose many of them and hazard the rest; especially if you bring them in the latter end of Summer, or before the grasse bee growne in the Spring, comming weake from Sea.

All things they plant prosper exceedingly: but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase.

How to spoyle the woods for pasture and corne.

The best way wee found in *Virginia* to spoile the woods, was first to cut a notch in the barke a hand broad round about the tree, which pill off and the tree will sprout no more, and all the small boughs in a yeare or two will decay: the greatest branches in the root they spoyle with fire, but you with more ease may cut them from the body and they will quickly rot.

Betwixt those trees they plant their corne, whose great bodies doe much defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne; where that in the plaines, where the trees by time they have consumed, is subject to both: and this is the most easie way to have pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other.

In *Virginia* they never manure their overworne fields, which is very few, the ground for most part is so fertile: but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne, a herring or two; which commeth in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with.

A silly complaint of cold, the reason and remedy.

Some infirmed bodies, or tender educats, complaine of the piercing cold, especially in January and February; yet the [**28**] *French* in *Canada*, the *Russians*, *Swethlanders*, *Polanders*, *Germans*, and our neighbour *Hollanders*, are much colder and farre more Northward; [and] for all that, rich Countreyes and live well. Now they have wood enough if they will but cut it, at their doores to make fires; and traine oyle with the splinters of the roots of firre trees for candles: where[as] in *Holland* they have little or none to

build ships, houses, or anything but what they fetch from forren Countries, yet they dwell but in the latitude of Yorkshire; and *New-England* is in the heighth of the North cape of *Spaine*, which is 10. degrees, 200. leagues, or 600. miles nearer the Sunne than wee, where upon the mountaines of *Bisky* I have felt [*in* 1604, *p.* 869] as much cold, frost, and snow as in *England*. And of this I am sure, a good part of the best Countries and kingdomes of the world, both Northward and Southward of the line, lie in the same paralels of *Virginia* and *New-England*, as at large you may finde in the 210. page of the generall history [*p.* 710]. [1629-30] [*p.* 196.]

Provisoes for passengers and saylers at sea.

Thus you may see how prosperously thus farre they have proceeded, in which course by Gods grace they may continue; but great care would be had they pester not their ships too much with cattell nor passengers, and to make good conditions for your peoples diet, for therein is used much legerdemaine: therefore in that you cannot be too carefull to keepe your men well, and in health at Sea. In this case some masters are very provident, but the most part so they can get fraught enough, care not much whether the passengers live or die; for a common sailer regards not a landman, especially a poore passenger; as I have seene too oft approved by lamentable experience, although we have victualled them all at our owne charges.

CHAPTER XIII.

Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage.

WHo would not thinke but that all those trials had beene sufficient to lay a foundation for a plantation; but we see many men many mindes, and still new Lords, new lawes: for those 350 men with all their cattell [**29**] that so well arived and promised so much, not being of one body, but severall mens servants, few could command and fewer obey, lived 1630.

Their present estate.

[1630] merrily of that they had, neither planting or building any thing to any purpose, but one faire house for the Governour, till all was spent and the winter approached; then they grew into many diseases, and as many inconveniences, depending only of a supply from *England*, which expected Houses, Gardens, and Corne fields ready planted by them for their entertainment.

It is true, that Master *Iohn Wynthrop*, their now Governour, a worthy Gentleman both in estate and esteeme, went so well provided (for six or seven hundred people went with him) as could be devised; but at Sea, such an extraordinarie storme encountred his Fleet, continuing ten daies, that of two hundred Cattell which were so tossed and bru[i]sed, threescore and ten died, many of their people fell sicke, and in this perplexed estate, after ten weekes, they arrived [*in June–July* 1630] in *New-England* at severall times: where they found threescore of their people dead, the rest sicke, nothing done; but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to shew it selfe.

And to second this, neare as many more came after them, but so ill provided, with such multitudes of women and children, as redoubled their necessities.

The fruits of counterfeits. This small triall of their patience caused among them no small confusion, and put the Governour and his Councell to their utmost wits. Some could not endure the name of a Bishop, others not the sight of a Crosse nor Surplesse, others by no meanes the booke of common Prayer. This absolute crue, only of the Elect, holding all (but such as themselves) reprobates and cast-awaies, now make more haste to returne to *Babel* as they tearmed *England*, than stay to enjoy the land they called *Canaan*: somewhat they must say to excuse themselves.

Those he found Brownists, hee let goe for *New-Plimoth*; who are now betwixt foure or five hundred, and live well without want.

Some two hundred of the rest he was content to returne for *England*, whose clamors are as variable as their [**30**] humours and Auditors. Some say they could see no timber of two feet diameter, some the Country is all Woods; others they drunke all the Springs and

Ponds dry, yet like to famish for want of fresh water; [1630]
some of the danger of the rattell Snake; and that others sold their provisions at what rates they pleased to them that wanted, and so returned to *England* great gainers out of others miseries: yet all that returned are not of those humors.

Notwithstanding all this, the noble Governour was no way disanimated, neither repents him of his enterprise for all those mistakes: but did order all things with that temperance and discretion, and so releeved those that wanted with his owne provision, that there is six or seven hundred remained with him; and more than 1600. English in all the Country, with three or foure hundred head of Cattell.

As for Corne they are very ignorant, if upon the coast *of America*, they doe not before the end of this October [1630. *This fixes the date of the writing of these* Advertisements] (for toies) furnish themselves with two or three thousand bushels of Indian Corne, which is better than ours; and in a short time cause the Salvages to doe them as good service as their owne men, as I did in *Virginia*; and yet neither use cruelty nor tyranny amongst them: a consequence well worth putting in practice; and till it be effected, they will hardly doe well.

I know ignorance will say it is impossible, but this impossible taske, ever since the massacre in *Virginia* [22 *Mar.* 1622], I have been a su[i]ter to have undertaken but with 150. men, to have got Corne, fortified the Country, and discovered them more land than they all yet know or have demonstrated [*p.* 588]: but the Merchants common answer was, necessity in time would force the Planters [to] doe it [*p.* 590.] themselves; and rather thus husbandly to lose ten sheepe, than be at the charge of a halfe penny worth of Tarre.

Who is it that knowes not what a small handfull of *Note well.* Spaniards in the West Indies, subdued millions of the inhabitants, so depopulating those Countries they conquered, that they are glad to buy *Negroes* in *Affrica* at a great rate, in Countries farre remote from them; which although they bee as idle and as devilish people as any in the world, yet they cause them quickly to bee their best servants. Notwithstanding, [**31**] there is for every foure or five naturall Spaniards, two or three hundred Indians and

[1630] Negros; and in *Virginia* and *New-England* more English than Salvages that can assemble themselves to assault or hurt them, and it is much better to helpe to plant a country than unplant it and then replant it: but there Indians were in such multitudes, the Spaniards had no other remedy; and ours such a few, and so dispersed, it were nothing in a short time to bring them to labour and obedience.

It is strange to me, that English men should not doe as much as any; but upon every sleight affront, in stead to amend it, we make it worse. Notwithstanding the worst of all those rumours, the better sort there are constant in their resolutions, and so are the most of their best friends here; and making provision to supply them, many conceit they make a dearth here, which is nothing so; for they would spend more here than they transport thither.

One Ship this Summer [1630] with twenty cattell, and forty or fifty passengers, arived all well; and the Ship at home againe in nine weekes: another for all this exclamation of want, is returned with 10000. Corfish, and fourescore Kegs of Sturgion; which they did take and save when the season was neare past, and in the very heat of Summer; yet as good as can be.

Since another ship is gone from *Bristow*, and many more a providing to follow them with all speed.

Thus you may plainly see for all these rumours, they are in no such distresse as is supposed: as for their mischances, misprisions, or what accidents may befall them, I hope none is so malicious, as attribute the fault to the Country nor mee: yet if some blame us not both, it were more than a wonder. For I am not ignorant that ignorance and too curious spectators, make it a great part of their profession to censure (however) any mans actions, who having lost the path to vertue, will make most excellent shifts to mount up any way; such incomparable connivency is in the Devils most punctuall cheaters, they will hazard a joint, but where God hath his Church they wil have a Chapel; a mischiefe so hard to be prevented, that I have thus plainly adventured to shew my affection, [**32**] through the weaknesse of my abilitie. You may easily know them by their absolutenesse in opinions, holding experience but

the mother of fooles, which indeed is the very ground of reason; and he that contemnes her in those actions, may finde occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdome hee hath to correct his owne folly, that thinkes to finde amongst those salvages such Churches, Palaces, Monuments, and Buildings as are in *England*. [1630]

CHAPTER XIV.

Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia, *authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at* Bastable *now called* Salem.

Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia.

NOw because I have spoke so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have beene demanded by so many, how we beganne to preach the Gospell in *Virginia*, and by what authority; what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers; therefore I thinke it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings.

When I went first to *Virginia*, I well remember wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walles were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees till we cut plankes, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. In foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent; for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls: the best of our houses [were] of the like curiosity; but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend [from] wind nor raine.

Yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the [*p.* 52]

[1630] holy Communion, till our Minister died: but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers [**33**] came: and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wildernesse.

[*pp.* 161–169, 478–485.]

Their estates at this day.

Notwithstanding, out of the relicks of our miseries, time and experience had brought that Country to a great happinesse; had they not so much doated on their Tabacco, on whose fumish foundation there is small stability: there being so many good commodities besides. Yet by it they have builded many pretty Villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are growne good Benefices of 120. pounds a yeare, besides their owne mundall industry. But *Iames* towne was 500. pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councell here, allowed by the Councell there, and confirmed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all *England*, *An.* 1605. to master *Richard Hacluit* Prebend of *Westminster*: who by his authority sent master *Robert Hunt*, an honest, religious, and couragious Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.

Their order of teaching in Salem.

Now in *New-England* they have all our examples to teach them how to beware, and choice [*choose*] men, wee [being] most ignorant in all things, or little better; therfore presage not the event of all such actions by our defailments: For they write, they doubt not ere long to be able to defend themselves against any indifferent enemy; in the interim, they have Preachers erected among themselves, and Gods true Religion (they say) taught amongst them, the Sabbath day observed, the common Prayer (as I understand) and Sermons performed, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and commendable good orders to bring those people with whom they have to deale withall into a Christian conversation, to live well, to feare God, serve the King, and love the Country; which done, in time from both those Plantations may grow a good addition to the Church of *England*: but *Rome* was not built in one

day, whose beginnings was once as unhopefull as theirs; and to make them as eminent shall be my humble and hearty prayers. [34] [1630]

The miserable effects of faction in Religion.

But as yet it is not well understood of any authority they have sought for the government and tranquillity of the Church, which doth cause those suspicions of factions in Religion; wherein although I be no Divine, yet I hope without offence I may speake my opinion as well in this, as I have done in the rest.

He that will but truly consider the greatnesse of the Turks Empire and power here in Christendome, shall finde the naturall Turkes are generally of one religion, and the Christians in so many divisions and opinions, that they are among themselves worse enemies than the Turkes: whose disjoyntednesse hath given him that opportunity to command so many hundred thousand of Christians as he doth; where had they beene constant to one God, one Christ, and one Church, Christians might have beene more able to have commanded as many Turkes, as now the Turkes doe poore miserable Christians. Let this example remember you to beware of faction in that nature: for my owne part, I have seene many of you here in *London* goe to Church as orderly as any.

The necessity of order and authority.

Therefore I doubt not but you will seeke to the prime authority of the Church of *England*, for such an orderly authority as in most mens opinions is fit for you both to intreat for and to have, which I thinke will not be denied; and you have good reason, seeing you have such liberty to transport so many of his Majesties subjects, with all sorts of cattell, armes, and provision as you please, and can provide means to accomplish: nor can you have any certaine releefe, nor long subsist, without more supplies from *England*. Besides, this might prevent many inconveniences may insue, and would clearely take away all those idle and malicious rumours, and occasion you many good and great friends and assistance you yet dreame not of; for you know better than I can tell, that the maintainers of good Orders and Lawes is the best preservation next God of a Kingdome: but when they are stuffed with hypocrisie and corruption, that state is not doubtfull but

[1630] lamentable in a well setled Common-wealth, much more in such as yours, which is but a beginning, for as the Lawes corrupt, the state consumes. [35]

CHAPTER XV.

The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations, and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene Elizabeths *Sea Captaines.*

The effect of a Cittadell, or the true modell of a Plantation.

IN regard of all that is past, it is better of those slow proceedings than lose all, and better to amend late than never. I know how hatefull it is to envy, pride, flattery, and greatnesse to be advised, but I hope my true meaning wise men will excuse, for making my opinion plaine: I have beene so often and by so many honest men intreated for the rest, the more they mislike it, the better I like it my selfe.

Concerning this point of a Cittadell, it is not the least, though the last remembred: therefore seeing you have such good meanes and power of your owne I never had, with the best convenient speed may be erect a Fort, a Castle or Cittadell, which in a manner is all one. Towards the building, provision, and maintenance thereof, every man for every acre he doth culturate to pay foure pence yearely, and some small matter out of every hundred of

fish taken or used within five or ten miles, or as you please about it; it being the Center as a Fortresse for ever belonging to the State, and when the charge shall be defrayed to the chiefe undertaker (in reason) let him be Governour for his life: the overplus to goe forward to the erecting another in like manner in a most convenient place; and so one after another, as your abilities can accomplish, by benevolences, forfeitures, fines, and impositions, as reason and the necessitie of the common good requireth; all men holding their lands on those manners as they doe of Churches, Universities, and Hospitals, but all depending upon one principall, and this would avoid all faction among the Superiours, extremities from the comminalty, and none would repine at such payments, when they shall see it justly imployed for their owne defence and security. As for corruption in so small a Government; you may quickly perceive, and punish it accordingly. [**36**] [1630]

The conditions of trade and freedome

Now as his Majesty hath made you custome-free for seven yeares, have a care that all your Country men [that] shall come to trade with you, be not troubled with Pilatage, Boyage. Anc[h]orage, Wharfage, Custome, or any such tricks as hath beene lately used in most of new Plantations, where they would be Kings before their folly; to the discouragement of many, and a scorne to them of understanding: for Dutch, French, Biskin, or any will as yet use freely the Coast without controule, and why not English as well as they.

Therefore use all commers with that respect, courtesie, and liberty [that] is fitting; which in a short time will much increase your trade, and shipping to fetch it from you: for as yet it were not good to adventure any more abroad with factors till you bee better provided. Now there is nothing more inricheth a Common-wealth than much trade: nor no meanes better to increase than small custome, as *Holland*, *Genua*, *Ligorne*, and divers other those places can well tell you; and doth most beggar places where they take most custome, as *Turkie*, the *Archipelagan Iles*, *Cicilia*, the *Spanish ports*, but that their

[1630] officers will connive to inrich themselves, though undoe the State.

In this your infancy, imagine you have many eyes attending your actions, some for one end, and some onely to finde fault; neglect therefore no opportunity, to informe his Majesty truly your [of] orderly proceedings, which if it be to his liking, and contrary to the common rumour here in *England*, doubtlesse his Majesty will continue you custome free, till you have recovered your selves, and are able to subsist.

For till such time, to take any custome from a Plantation is not the way to make them prosper; nor is it likely those Patentees shall accomplish any thing, that will neither maintaine them nor defend them, but with Countenances, Councells, and advice, which any reasonable man there may better advise himselfe, than one thousand of them here who were never there: nor will any man, that hath any wit, throw himselfe into such a kinde of subjection, especially at his owne cost and charges; but it is too oft seene that sometimes one is enough to deceive one hundred, but two hundred not sufficient to keepe one from being deceived. [**37**]

The Spaniards glory.

I speak not this to discourage any with vaine feares, but could wish every English man to carry alwaies this Motto in his heart; Why should the brave Spanish Souldiers brag; The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King: who within these few hundred of yeares, was one of the least of most of his neighbours; but to animate us to doe the like for ours, who is no way his inferior.

And truly there is no pleasure comparable to [that of] a generous spirit; as good imploiment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens, and Infidels; to see daily new Countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems; [to] releeve the oppressed, comfort his friends, passe miseries, subdue enemies, adventure upon any feazable danger for God and his Country. It is true, it is a happy thing to be borne to strength, wealth, and honour; but that which is got by prowesse and magnanimity is the

truest lustre: and those can the best distinguish content, [1630] that have escaped most honourable dangers; as if, out of every extremity, he found himselfe now [? *new*] borne to a new life, to learne how to amend and maintaine his age.

Provisoes for exercise of Armes.

Those harsh conclusions have so oft plundered me in those perplexed actions, that if I could not freely expresse my selfe to them [who] doth second them, I should thinke my selfe guilty of a most damnable crime worse than ingratitude; however some over-weining capricious conceits may attribute it to vaine-glory, ambition, or what other idle Epithete such pleased to bestow on me. But such trash I so much scorne, that I presume further to advise those, lesse advised than my selfe, that as your fish and trade increaseth, so let your forts and exercise of armes; drilling your men at your most convenient times, to ranke, file, march, skirmish, and retire, in file, manaples, battalia, or ambuskados, which service there is most proper; also how to assault and defend your forts, and be not sparing of a little extraordinary shot and powder to make them mark-men, especially your Gentlemen, and those you finde most capable, for shot must be your best weapon: yet all this will not doe unlesse you have at least 100. or as many as you can, of expert, blouded, approved good Souldiers, who dare boldly lead them; not to shoot a ducke, a goose or a dead marke, but at men, from whom you must expect such as you send.

The want of [38] this, and the presumptuous assurance of literall Captaines, was the losse of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Florida*, each surprising other; and lately neare the ruine of *Mevis*, and Saint *Christophers* in the Indies [*pp.* 901, 910]: also the *French* at Port Riall [*p.* 517], and those at *Canada*, now your next English neighbours: Lastly, *Cape Britton* not far from you, called *New-Scotland*.

Questionlesse there were some good Souldiers among them, yet somewhat was the cause they were undone by those that watched the advantage of opportunity: for as rich preyes make true men theeves; so you must not expect, if you be once worth taking and unprovided, but by some to bee attempted in the like manner: to the

[1630] prevention whereof, I have not beene more willing, at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions su[i]ting my calling and profession to make good; and [to make] *Virginia* and *New-England*, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes.

A reference to the action of all our prime discoverers and planters.

Now because I cannot expresse halfe that which is necessary for your full satisfaction and instruction belonging to this businesse in this small pamphlet, I referre you to the generall history of *Virginia*, the Summer Iles, and *New-England*; wherein you may plainly see all the discoveries, plantations, accidents, the misprisions and causes of defailments of all those noble and worthy Captaines; Captaine *Philip Amadas*, and *Barlow*; that most [*ff.* 303-340.] renowned Knight Sir *Richard Greenvile*, worthy Sir *Ralph Layne*, and learned Master *Hariot*, Captaine *Iohn White*, Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, Captaine *Martin Pring*, and *George Waymouth*; with mine owne observations by sea, rivers and land, and all the governours that yearely suc- [*ff.* 625-638.] ceeded mee in *Virginia*. Also those most industrious Captaines, Sir *George Summers*, and Sir *Thomas Gates*; with all the governours that succeeded them in the [*ff.* 696-7.] Summer Iles. Likewise the plantation of *Sagadahock*, by those noble Captaines, *George Popham*, *Rawley Gilbert*, *Edward Harlow*, *Robert Davis*, *Iames Davis*, *Iohn Davis*, and divers others; with the maps of those Countries.

With it [*or rather in* The true Travels &c.] also you [*ff.* 895-912.] may finde the plantations of Saint *Christophers*, *Mevis*, the *Berbados*, and the great river of the *Amazons*; whose greatest defects, and the best meanes to amend them are there yearely recorded, to be warnings and examples to them that are not too wise to learne to understand. [**39**]

What is requisite to be in a Governour of a plantation. [*ff.* 191, 705.]

This great worke, though small in conceit, is not a worke for every one to mannage such an affaire, as make a discovery, and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein best to be imployed,

and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misimploying men in their undertakings. *Columbus, Curtes, Pitzara, Zotto, Magellanus*, and the rest, served more than an apprentiship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies, which to the wonder of all ages, successfully they effected; when many hundreds farre above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, scorning to follow their blunt examples, but in great state, with new inventions, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their noblenesse, state, nor greatnesse; but to answer those questionlesse questions that keepe us from imitating the others brave spirits, that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, and their King to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest glory, power, and renowne. [1630]

The expeditions of Queene Elizabeths Sea-Captaines.

Till his greatnesse and security made his so rich remote and dispersed plantations such great booties and honours, to the incomparable Sir *Fr. Drake*, the renowned Captain *Candish*, Sir *Richard Luson*, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, Captaine *Carlile*, and Sir *Martin Furbisher*, &c. and the most memorable and right honourable Earles, *Cumberland, Essex, Southampton*, and *Nottingham* that good L[ord]. Admirall; with many hundreds of brave English Souldiers, Captaines and Gentlemen, that have taught the Hollanders to doe the like. Those would never stand upon a demurre who should give the first blow, when they see [*saw*] peace was onely but an empty name, and no sure league, but impuissance to doe hurt; found it better to buy peace by warre, than take it up at interest of those [that] could better guide penknives than use swords. And there is no misery worse than [to] be conducted by a foole, or commanded by a coward; for who can indure to be assaulted by any, see his men and selfe imbrued in their owne bloud, for feare of a checke, [**40**] when it is so contrary to nature and necessity, and yet as obedient to government and their Soveraigne, as duty required.

[1630] Now your best plea is to stand upon your guard, and provide to defend as they did offend, especially at landing. If you be forced to retire, you have the advantage five for one in your retreat, wherein there is more discipline, than in a brave charge: and though it seeme lesse in fortune, it is as much in valour to defend as to get; but it is more easie to defend than assault, especially in woods where an enemy is ignorant.

Lastly, remember as faction, pride, and security, produces nothing but confusion, miserie, and dissolution; so the contraries well practised will in short time make you happy, and the most admired people of all our plantations for your time in the world.

Iohn Smith writ this with his owne hand.

[*Captain John Smith's*
last Will, and Epitaph.
1631.]

Captain *John Smith*'s last Will and Epitaph.

WE have printed the following from the original Will in the Will Office of the Prerogative Court at Somerset House, London. It is numbered *St. John* 89.

It would seem from the wording of this Will, as if our Author died in the house of Sir SAMUEL SALTONSTALL, in St. Sephulchre's parish.

THE WILL.

In the name of God Amen. The one and twentieth daie of June in the seaventh yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne lord *Charles* by the grace of God King of *England Scotland France* and *Ireland* Defendour of the faith &c.

I Captain *Iohn Smith* of the parish of St. *Sepulchers London* Esquiour, being sicke in body, but of perfect mynde and memory, thankes be given vnto Allmightie God therefore, Revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, Doe make and ordeine this my last will and testament in manner following. First I commend my soule into the handes of Allmightie God my maker hoping through the merites of *Christ Iesus* my Redeemer to receave full remission of all my sinnes, and to inherit a place in the euerlasting kingdome. My body I committ to the earth from whence it came, to be interred according to the discrecion of myne Executours hereunder named. And of suche worldly goodes whereof it hath pleased God in his mercie to make me an vnworthie Receaver, I giue and bequeath them as hereafter followeth.

First I give and bequeath vnto *Thomas Packer* Esquiour one of the Clerkes of His Maiesties Privy Seale, and to his heires for euer, all my houses landes tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoeuer scituate lyenge and being in the parishes of Lowthe and greate Carleton [*p.* xx] in the Countie of Lincolne together with my Coate of Armes. *Item* my Will and meaninge is, that in consideracion thereof the sayd *Thomas Packer* shall disburse and pay all such sommes of money and legacies as hereafter in this my Will are giuen bequeathed and reserued not exceeding the somme of fowerscore poundes of Lawfull mony of England, That is to saie: First I reserue vnto my self to be disposed as I shall thynke good in my life tyme, the somme of twentie pounds. *Item* he shall disburse about my funerall the somme of twentie poundes. *Item* I give and bequeath out of the residue of the fourscore poundes as followeth, vizt I give and bequeath unto my much honored and most worthie friend Sir *Samuel Saltonstall* Knight the somme of fyve poundes. *Item* to Mistris *Tredway* the somme of fyve poundes. *Item* to my sister *Smith* the Widowe of my brother the some of tenn poundes. Item to my cousin *Steven Smith* and his sister the somme [of] six poundes thirteene shillinges and fower pence betweene them. *Item* to the said *Thomas Packer, Ioan* his wife and *Eleanour* his Daughter the somme of Tenne poundes among them. *Item* to Master *Reynoldes* the Saymaster [*Assay Master*] of the Gouldsmiths Hall, the somme of fortie shillinges. All which legacies my meaning and Will is shall be paid by the said *Thomas Packer* his heires executours or administratours within one yeare after my Decease.

Item, I give vnto *Thomas Packer*, sonne of the above sayd *Thomas Packer*, my trunck standing in my chamber at Sir *Samuell Saltonstalls* house in St *Sepulchers* parish, together with my best suite of aparrell, of a tawney color, vizt hose doublet ierkin and cloake.

Item I give unto him my trunke bound with iron barres standing in the house of *Richard Hinde* in Lambeth, togeather with halfe the bookes therein, to be chosen by the said *Thomas Packer* and allowed by myne Executours; and the other halfe parte of the bookes I giue unto Master *Iohn Tredeskyn* [? *Tradescant*] and the said *Richard Hynde* to be divided betweene them.

Item, I nominate apointe and ordeine my said much honored friend Sir *Samuel Saltonstall* and the said *Thomas Packer* the elder, ioynt executours of this my last Will and testament.

the marke of the + sayd *Iohn Smithe.*

Read acknowledged, sealed and deliuered by the said Captain *Iohn Smith* to be his last Will and testament in the presence of us who have subscribed our names

per me Willelmum Keble Senior civitatis London,

William Packer

Elizabeth Sewster

Marmaduke Walker, + his marke.

Wytnes.

Probate issued to THOMAS PARKER *on* 1 *July*, 1631.

THE EPITAPH.

Two years after our Author's death, appeared MUNDAY and DYSON's enlarged edition of STOW's *Survey of London*, 1633; in which, at *p.* 779, will be found the following Epitaph:

This Table is on the South side
of the Quire in Saint *Sepulchers*,
with this Inscription.

To the living Memory of his deceased Friend, Captaine
IOHN SMITH, who departed this mortall
life on the 21. day of Iune, 1631.

With his Armes, and this Motto,

Accordamus. Vincere est vivere.

Here lies one conquer'd that hath conquer'd Kings,
Subdu'd large Territories, and done things
Which to the World impossible would seeme,
But that the truth is held in more esteeme.

Shall I report his former service done
In honour of his God and Christendome:
How that he did divide from Pagans three,
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry:
For which great service in that Climate done,
Brave *Sigismundus* (King of *Hungarion*)
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to weare,
Those conquer'd heads got by his Sword and Speare?
Or shall I tell of his adventures since,
Done in *Virginia*, that large Continence:
How that he subdu'd Kings unto his yoke,
And made those Heathen flie, as wind doth smoke;
And made their Land, being of so large a Station,
A habitation for our Christian Nation:
Where God is glorifi'd, their wants suppli'd,
Which else for necessaries might have di'd?
But what availes his Conquest, now he lyes
Inter'd in earth, a prey for Wormes and Flies?
O may his soule in sweet Elizium sleepe,
Vntill the Keeper that all soules doth keepe,
Returne to Iudgement, and that after thence,
With Angels he may have his recompence.

Captaine *Iohn Smith*, sometime Governour
of *Virginia*, and Admirall of
New England.

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OF

All *personal* Names (except in the *Titles* and *Contents* pages, and the List of *Adventurers* at *pp.* 549–560); and also of all names of *places* in the New World.

The following abbreviations have been used:—*Pres.*, President; *Gov.*, Governor; *Bp.*, Bishop; *Rev.*, Reverend; *Col.*, Colonel; *Maj.*, Major; *Capt.*, Captain; *Lieut.*, Lieutenant; *Ens.*, Ensign; *Serg.*, Sergeant; *Corp.*, Corporal; (?) signifies that the Christian name is not given.

The spelling of the Indian names in the text is often inconsistent, *c* and *k*, *i* and *y*, *u* and *n* frequently interchanging, and vowels being occasionally dropped out: therefore references have been given to words that *seem* to be the same, regardless of variations of spelling.

The same word, as indexed, may therefore signify chief, tribe, wigwam, district, or river. Possibly, also, two persons of the same name are occasionally indexed as one. Where places are well known, they are given in the modern spelling.

Most of the Old World names of places in the text, will also be found in the Itineraries at *pp.* xxv-xxviii.

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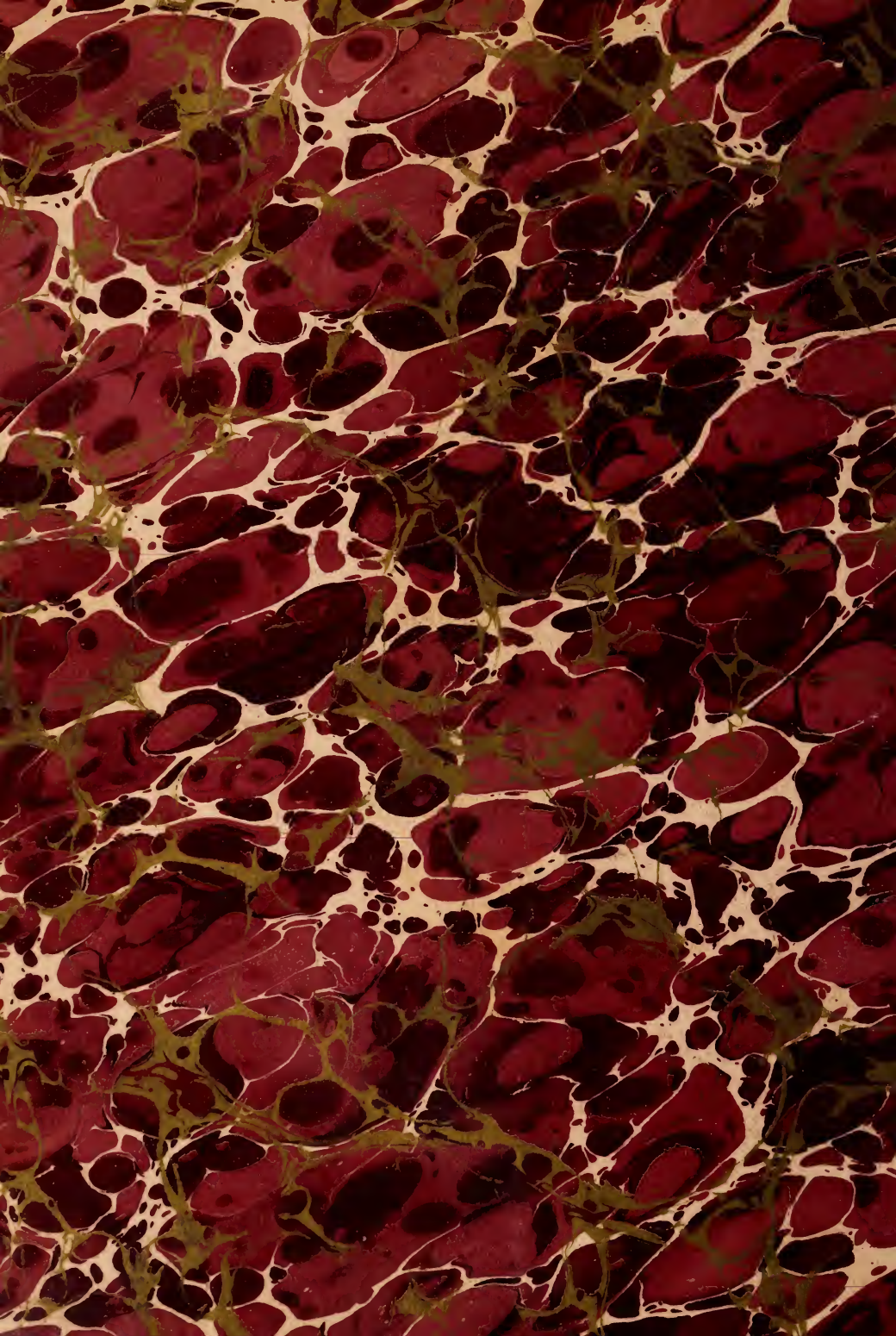
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